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A

NEW AND FULL

METHOD

OF SETTLING

THE CANONICAL AUTHORITY

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED

A VINDICATION OF THE FORMER PART

OF

ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL,

FROM MR. WHISTON'S CHARGE OF DISLOCATIONS.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY

THE REV. JEREMIAH JONES.

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A

METHOD

FOR

SETTLING THE CANON

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

PART III.

CHAP. I.

The Letter of Abgarus to Chriſt, with Chriſt's Anſwer to Abgarus in Greek and Engliſh. The Accounts of the Antients, viz. Euſebius, Ephraem Syrus, &c. relating to them. The Sentiments of modern Writers concerning them. They have been rejected by moſt, but eſteemed as genuine by ſeveral learned Men in England.

Numb. I. The EPISTLE of JESUS CHRIST to ABGARUS, KING of EDESSA.

THAT there were formerly ſeveral writings aſcribed *to our Saviour*, as well as his Apoſtles, I have obſerved in the preceding volume (viz. Part II. Ch. XIV, XV.) Tho[illegible] but were undoubtedly ſpurious and ſuppoſititious

ſititious pieces, as I have there largely endeavoured to prove. But beſides theſe, there is now extant a letter under the name of Chriſt to an Arabian king, which, tranſlated out of Syriack into Greek, is preſerved in the writings of Euſebius [a]. It has been eſteemed by many learned men after Euſebius to be truly genuine, and conſequently muſt be one of the moſt valuable and antient monuments of the Chriſtian religion. It deſerves therefore a very ſtrict enquiry, which I ſhall attempt with all the brevity and clearneſs I can; and in order to that, firſt produce the *letter itſelf*, with *that of Abgarus to our Saviour*, which occaſioned it, or to which it is an anſwer. Both indeed have appeared before now in Engliſh, viz. in the *Engliſh edition of Euſebius*, and the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury's Prefatory Diſcourſe to his *Tranſlation of the Apoſtolick Fathers* (Ch. IX. p. 137.), and elſewhere [b]; but I judged it notwithſtanding needful to inſert a tranſlation of them, for the ſake of thoſe, who neither having ſeen theſe books, nor underſtanding the Greek language, may have the curioſity of deſiring to ſee any thing which is by ſo many learned men ſuppoſed to be written by Chriſt himſelf.

Ἀντίγραφον Ἐπιστολῆς γραφείσης ὑπὸ Ἀβγάρου τοπάρχου τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ πεμφθείσης αὐτῷ διὰ Ἀνανίου ταχυδρόμου εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

A copy of a letter written by King Abgarus to Jeſus, and ſent to him by Ananias, his footman, to Jeruſalem.

ἈΒΓΑΡΟΣ τοπάρχης Ἐδέσσης Ἰησοῦ Σωτῆρι ἀγαθῷ ἀναφανέντι ἐν τόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων, χαίρειν. Ἤκουσά μοι τὰ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἰαμάτων, ὡς

ABGARUS, king of Edeſſa, to Jeſus the good Saviour, who appears at Jeruſalem, Greeting. I have been informed concerning you and your cures, which are per-

[a] Hiſtor. Eccl. l. 1. c. 13.

[b] The common people in England have it in their houſes, in many places, fixed in a frame with our Saviour's picture before it; and they generally with much honeſty and devotion regard it as the word of God, and the genuine Epiſtle of Chriſt.

formed

ἄνευ φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν ὑπὸ σὲ γινομένων· ὡς γὰρ λόγος, τυφλὰς ἀναβλέπειν ποιεῖς, χωλὰς περιπατεῖν, καὶ λεπροὺς καθαρίζεις, καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας ἐκβάλλεις, καὶ τοὺς ἐν μακρονοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις, καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρεις. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἀκούσας περὶ σὲ κατὰ νοῦν ἐθέμην τὸ ἕτερον τῶν δύο· ἢ ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ποιεῖς ταῦτα, ἢ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιῶν ταῦτα. Διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν γράψας ἐδεήθην σου σκυλῆναι πρός με καὶ τὸ πάθος ὃ ἔχω θεραπεῦσαι. Καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσί σου, καὶ βούλονται κακῶσαί σου. Πόλις δὲ μικροτάτη μοι ἐστὶ καὶ σεμνή, ἥτις ἐξαρκεῖ ἀμφοτέροις.

formed without the uſe of medicines and herbs. For it is reported, that you cauſe the blind to ſee, the lame to walk, do both cleanſe lepers, and caſt out unclean ſpirits and devils, and reſtore them to health who have been long diſeaſed, and raiſeſt up the dead: all which when I heard, I was perſuaded of one of theſe two, viz. either that you are God himſelf deſcended from heaven, who do theſe things, or the Son of God. On this account therefore I have wrote to you, earneſtly to deſire you would take the trouble of a journey hither, and cure a diſeaſe which I am under. For I hear the Jews ridicule you, and intend you miſchief. My city is indeed ſmall, but neat, and large enough for us both.

Τὰ ἀντιγραφέντα ὑπ' Ἰησοῦ διὰ Ἀνανίου ταχυδρόμου τοπάρχῃ Ἀβγάρῳ.

The anſwer of Jeſus by Ananias the footman to Abgarus the king.

Ἄβγαρε, μακάριος εἶ, πιστεύσας ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ ἑωρακώς με. Γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ, τοὺς ἑωρακότας με μὴ πιστεύσειν μοι, ἵνα οἱ μὴ ἑωρακότες αὐτοὶ

ABGARUS, you are happy, foraſmuch as you have believed on me, whom you have not ſeen. For it is written concerning me, that thoſe who have ſeen me ſhould not be-

πιστεύσωσι καὶ ζήσωνται. Περὶ δὲ ἧς ἔγραψάς μοι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σὲ, δέον ἐστὶ πάντα δι' ἃ ἀπεστάλην, ἐνταῦθα πληρῶσαί με, καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι, ἔτως ἀναληφθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με. Καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοι τινὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ἵνα ἰάσηταί σε τὸ πάθος, καὶ ζωὴν σοὶ, καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ παρέσχηται.

lieve on me, that they who have not ſeen might believe and live. As to that part of your letter, which relates to my giving you a viſit (I muſt inform you), that I muſt fulfill all the ends of my miſſion in this country, and after that be received up again to him who ſent me. But after my aſcenſion I will ſend one of my diſciples, who will cure your diſeaſe, and give life to you, and all that are with you.

In diſcuſſing the queſtion concerning the genuineneſs of theſe epiſtles, I ſhall proceed in my uſual method, viz. ſhewing

I. What account we have from the antients.
II. The opinion of the moderns.
III. That which ſeems moſt probable upon the whole.

I. *As to the accounts we have from the antients*, I obſerve that theſe epiſtles are firſt mentioned

1. By Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 13.

The ſubſtance of his account is; "That our Saviour's "miraculous works drew innumerable perſons to him from "the moſt remote countries, to be healed of their diſtempers; "that Abgarus, a famous king beyond Euphrates, wrote to "him, becauſe he was afflicted with a diſtemper incurable by "human art; and that whereas our Saviour promiſed to ſend "one of his diſciples to heal him, this was accordingly done "by Thaddæus, one of the Seventy Apoſtles, who was ſent "thither by Thomas, according to an inſtruction which he "had received from heaven on that head. For the proof of "all this he appeals to the public regiſtries and records of the "city

" city of Edeſſa, where Abgarus then reigned, and in which all " the records of his reign were preſerved till the time of his " writing, out of which in the Syriack language he ſaith he " took, and being tranſlated into Greek he publiſhed, the two " preceding epiſtles, and the following hiſtory, viz. That when " Thaddæus came to Edeſſa, after Chriſt's aſcenſion, and had " wrought many miracles, and cured many diſtempers, Ab- " garus, ſuppoſing him to be the perſon whom Chriſt had " promiſed in his letter to ſend, ordered him to be brought to " him. As ſoon as he came, the king perceiving ſomething " extraordinary in his countenance, fell down before him, at " which the noblemen who were preſent were ſurpriſed, they " perceiving nothing of it. The king then enquired whe- " ther he were the perſon whom Chriſt promiſed to ſend: he " anſwered, that on account of his faith in Chriſt he was ſent, " and aſſured him all things ſhould be according to his faith. " To which the king replied, he believed ſo much in Chriſt, " that he was reſolved, had he not feared the power of the " Roman empire, to have made war againſt the Jews, and " deſtroyed them for crucifying Chriſt. Thaddæus informed " him of Chriſt's aſcenſion to his Father; to which the king " replied, that he believed on him and his Father both: upon " which the Apoſtle ſaid, *I lay my hand on thee in the name of* " *our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; and the king was inſtantly cured of " his diſeaſe. He alſo cured one Abdus of the gout by the " laying on of his hands, and many others, working alſo di- " verſe miracles. After which the king ordered on the mor- " row all the city to meet together, to hear the Apoſtle " preach; which he promiſed to do concerning all the heads " of the Chriſtian religion. The king offered him gold and " ſilver, but he refuſed it, ſaying, *We have left our own, why* " *ſhould we take that which is anothers?* Theſe things were " done in the year 340, and tranſlated out of Syriack."

2. Theſe Epiſtles are mentioned by Ephraem Syrus, in Teſtament. tom. iii.

He was a deacon in this city of Edeſſa in the latter end of

the fourth century. Dr. Grabe* has obliged the world with the Greek words out of a Manuſcript in the Bodleian Library, which are as follow:

Καὶ εὐλογημένη ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις Ἔδεσσα καὶ μητὴρ, ἥτις καὶ ἀποφαντικῶς ηὐλόγηται ἐκ στόματος Κυρίε διὰ τῶν αὐτῦ μαθητῶν, ἡμετέρων δὲ ἀποστόλων· ὁπηνίκα ἀποστείλας Αὔγαρος ὁ ταύτην ἀνεγείρας βασιλεὺς ἠξίε δεξιῶσθαι τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐπιδημίᾳ ἀναφανέντα σωτῆρα τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότην Χριστὸν, λέγων· Ἤκουσα πάντα τὰ ὑπὸ σῦ διαπραττόμενα· καὶ ὅσα πέπονθας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθετέντων σε Ἰουδαίων· ἔλθε τοιγαροῦν ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἴκησόν με. Ἔχω ἐμαυτῷ μικρὰν ταύτην τὴν πόλιν, ἥτις τυχήσοι σοί τε καὶ ἐμοί· καὶ θαυμάσας ὁ Κύριος τὴν πίστιν αὐτῦ, πέμψας δι' ἀγγέλων αἰωνίου ηὐλόγησε τὴν πόλιν, ἑδράσας αὐτῆς τὰ θεμέλια. Ἐκείνη ἔν ἡ εὐλογία αὐλισθεῖσα ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκηνώσει, ἄχρις οὗ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἅγιος ἐξ οὐρανῦ Ἰησῆς ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ υἱὸς τῦ Θεῦ, καὶ Θεὸς ἐκ Θεῦ.

And bleſſed be your city and mother Edeſſa, which was expreſsly bleſſed by the mouth of our Lord by his Diſciples, but our Apoſtles; for when Abgarus the king, who built that city, thought fit to ſend and acknowledge Chriſt the Lord and Saviour of all, in his pilgrimage on earth, ſaying: I have heard all things which are done by you, and how much you have ſuffered by the Jews, who contemn you; wherefore come hither, and take up your reſidence with me. I have here a little city, which ſhall be equally yours and mine. Hereupon the Lord admiring his faith, ſent by meſſengers a bleſſing to the city, which ſhould abide for ever, eſtabliſhing its foundations. That bleſſing therefore ſhall always abide upon it, till the Holy One be revealed from heaven, even Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, and God of God.

I know no others within my time who have mentioned

* Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 1, 2.

theſe

theſe Epiſtles; Jerome indeed ſeems to refer to the hiſtory in his Comment on Matthew ch. x. as does Darius Comes in an Epiſtle to Auſtin; and Pope Gelaſius[b] *rejects among the ſpurious and Apocryphal books the Epiſtle under the name of Chriſt to Abgarus.* In the following centuries there is more frequent mention of it. Procopius Cæſarienſis, who wrote about the year of Chriſt DXXX. (whether a Chriſtian or Pagan is not certain) in his hiſtory of the Perſian war[c], relates, "That Abgarus had been long afflicted with the gout, and "finding no relief from his Phyſicians, but hearing of the "miracles of Chriſt, ſent to him, deſired he would come and "live with him; and that upon his receiving an anſwer from "Chriſt, he was inſtantly cured. He adds, that our Saviour "in the end of his letter gave Abgarus aſſurance that his city "ſhould never be taken by enemies, though he himſelf "queſtions the truth of this." Euagrius[d], an eccleſiaſtical writer in the latter end of the ſixth century, appeals to this account of Procopius, and confirms the ſtory of the city's never being to be taken, by ſome inſtances, "as particularly "when Choſroes King of Perſia, not crediting the common "rumour, that this city was impregnable, beſieged it, but "that he failed in his attempt by means of a miracle which "was wrought by a picture of Chriſt's face, which himſelf "impreſſed upon a handkerchief, and ſent to Abgarus at his "earneſt requeſt." Cedrenus adds to all the reſt[e], that Chriſt ſealed his letter with a ſeal conſiſting of ſeven Hebrew letters, the interpretation of which, ſays he, is in Greek, Οὗ Θεάθη, Θαῦμα θεῖον, i. e. *The divine miracle of God is ſeen.* Thus much concerning the antient accounts. I proceed,

II. To give ſome account of *the ſentiments of later writers concerning it.* And in collecting theſe I obſerve, that the whole ſtory, as well as the Epiſtles themſelves, are generally reckoned by Proteſtants and Papiſts to be ſpurious and Apocryphal.

[a] Edit. Lovan. Epiſt. 263.
[b] In Decret. See Part II. of this work. Chap. VI.
[c] Lib. 2. c. 12.
[d] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 26.
[e] Apud Grab. Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 8. The ſame is in the end of an antient Manuſcript copy of this Epiſtle in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

There are indeed ſome few Romiſh writers, and three or four divines of the Church of England, who have entertained more favourable thoughts of the matter.

Dr. Parker[a], though he would not, as he ſays, lay any great ſtreſs upon the ſtory or letters, yet adds, that *he could ſee no ground to ſuſpect it of forgery*; and the weightieſt objections that are made againſt it are too light to weigh any thing with him; and elſewhere[b], "*I cannot find any thing that may in the* "*leaſt ſhake or impair the credit of the ſtory. Nay, the contents* "*of our Saviour's letter agree ſo exactly with the whole deſign* "*of his life in the Goſpels, as by that alone to give itſelf conſi-* "*derable authority*, viz. *to put off the exerciſe of his power, and* "*obſcure the reputation of his glory as much as he could, till* "*after his reſurrection.*" Accordingly he endeavours in both the places referred to, to anſwer the objections which are urged againſt the Epiſtles, and to offer arguments for their genuineneſs.

Dr. Cave[c] declares it as his opinion, "*That ſo antient a mo-* "*nument of Chriſtianity ought not to be rejected, which as it con-* "*tains no evidences of an impoſture, nor any thing unworthy of* "*Chriſt, ſo alſo is delivered down to us as genuine by Euſebius,* "*and ſeveral others of the antients.*" He adds, that all the arguments againſt it are trifling, and endeavours to anſwer them.

Dr. Grabe urges ſeveral arguments for the Epiſtle[d], and propoſes to anſwer all that is ſaid againſt it, though, ſays he, *I do not hereby own that they are undoubtedly genuine*, but leave the matter in doubt.

On the other hand Cocus[e], Rivet[f], Chemnitius[g], Oſi-

[a] Demonſtrat. of the Law of Nature and the Chriſtian Religion, in the Preface, p. 34, &c.

[b] Part II. §. 16. p. 235, &c.

[c] Hiſt. Liter. in Chriſt. p. 2, 3. Vol. 1.

[d] Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 4. et in notis, præcipue p. 319.

[e] Cenſur. Vet. Scriptor. p. 2.

[f] Vid. Critic. Sacr. l. 3. c. 2. et alibi.

[g] Exam. Conc. Trid. Vol. IV. p. 44.

ander,

ander[a], Walther[b], Father Simon[c], Du Pin[d], the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury[e], Mr. Spanheim the younger[f], Mr. Fabritius[g], and Mr. Le Clerc[h], beſides many others, have judged the whole ſtory and the Epiſtles ſpurious, and have ſeveral of them by good arguments demonſtrated them to be ſo.

CHAP. II.

The Epiſtles and Hiſtory of our Saviour and Abgarus proved Spurious by ſeveral Arguments, viz. *Becauſe there is no Intimation nor Mention of them by the Apoſtles or Writers of the firſt three Centuries. Chriſt's Epiſtle Spurious, becauſe after its Publication by Euſebius, it was univerſally rejected; and becauſe it contains ſeveral Things later than the time of our Saviour; becauſe it contains ſomewhat contrary to Chriſt's Character, and mentions Chriſt's Aſcenſion.*

HAVING in the former Chapter propoſed the opinions of ſeveral learned men concerning theſe Epiſtles and Hiſtory, I proceed now,

III. *To offer that which ſeems to me moſt probable in the matter*, and without a prolix and tedious repetition of what has been already ſaid, to diſcuſs the ſubject in as clear and compendious a manner as I can.

That the above-mentioned Letters and hiſtory were in the archives or records of Edeſſa, cannot, I think, be reaſonably doubted by any who are acquainted with the character of Eu-

[a] Epitom. Hiſt. Cent. I. l. 2. c. 9.
[b] Officin. Biblic. §. 1440. p. 1215.
[c] Crit. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Part I. c. 3.
[d] Hiſt. of the Canon. Vol. II. c. 6. §. 1.
[e] Preface to his Tranſlation of the Apoſtolick Fathers, Ch. IX.
[f] Hiſtor. Chriſt. Secul. p. 578, 579.
[g] Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſtam. Par. 1. p. 379.
[h] Hiſtor. Eccleſ. ad Ann. 29. §. 12.

ſebius,

ſebius, and the impartiality of his hiſtory. He poſitively aſſerts, *that he himſelf received them out of the Archives of that city*, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων ἡμῖν λεφθεῖσων (unleſs for ἀρχείων perhaps we ſhould rather read ἀρχαίων, and ſo Euſebius only mean, that *they of his time received them from the primitive or elder Chriſtians*) though it does not ſo evidently appear, as it is preſumed always, that Euſebius was at Edeſſa, and there tranſcribed them, much leſs that he tranſlated them into Greek out of Syriack, as Dr. Cave, the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and moſt who have lately wrote on this ſubject have ſuppoſed, being led into the miſtake by following the Latin Tranſlation of Valeſius, without due regard to the original of Euſebius. That which is moſt probable is, that *Euſebius himſelf never was at Edeſſa*, becauſe he does not aſſert it, which he would very probably have done, if he really had been there; and that he did not tranſlate theſe Epiſtles himſelf out of Syriack into Greek, becauſe it is, I think, very evident, that *he did not underſtand that language*[a]. This being premiſed, I ſhall offer the following arguments againſt the genuineneſs of theſe Epiſtles and hiſtory, viz.

ARG. 1. The Epiſtles and Hiſtory of our Saviour and Abgarus are ſpurious and Apocryphal, becauſe they *are not referred to, or mentioned, either in the now received Goſpels, or by any writer or writers of the three firſt centuries after Chriſt.* It is true indeed, there were many tranſactions in the life of Chriſt not mentioned in our preſent Goſpels, nor was it the intention of the Authors to publiſh every thing he ſaid and did; but it is on the other hand as diſagreeable to their deſign to omit a hiſtory ſo very remarkable as this, than which nothing, if true, could have a greater tendency to raiſe men's opinion of our Saviour: but that which ſeems to make this argument undeniable, is, that *there was the moſt urgent neceſſity for the Apoſtles to have publiſhed this hiſtory*, becauſe a controverſy was aroſe not only between them and the believing Jews, but even between themſelves, *Whether the Goſpel was to be*

[a] Vid. Cleric. jam cit.

preached

preached to the Gentiles at all, or *whether it was not only to be confined to the Jews?* Now, if this hiſtory were true, and known to the Apoſtles, as there could not have been any foundation for this controverſy, ſo, if it had aroſe, this Epiſtle of Chriſt muſt ſoon have ended it, ſeeing he there *expreſsly appoints the preaching of the Goſpel to this Gentile king and his city.* I conclude it therefore a forgery after Chriſt's time, and conſequently Apocryphal. Add to all this the prevailing opinion among the antients, that *Chriſt himſelf never wrote any thing.* Thus Origen [a], Jerome [b], and Auſtin [c], in ſo many words aſſure us; and the laſt particularly writing againſt an Epiſtle under the name of Chriſt, which the Manichees boaſted of, thus reaſons [d]; "*If there really be any ſuch letter,* "*how comes it to paſs, that it is not publickly read, and received* "*in the Church with the higheſt regard by thoſe who are the* "*ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles?*" The Epiſtle therefore of Chriſt to Abgarus, and conſequently the whole hiſtory, not being mentioned by our Evangeliſts, nor any of the primitive writers till Euſebius, and expreſsly rejected by Pope Gelaſius, I conclude to be Apocryphal by Prop. IV, V, VI. Part I.

ARG. 2. I argue againſt this Epiſtle under the name of Chriſt, viz. that it was a ſpurious piece, becauſe *even after the publication of it by Euſebius, it was univerſally rejected.* It does not appear that the credit and zeal of that hiſtorian procured it any reſpect, but on the contrary, as it was not known in the three preceding centuries, ſo it was as much diſregarded in the fourth, no one writer of that century having made any mention of it, except only Ephraem Syrus, and Darius Comes, though I much queſtion, whether that Epiſtle under his name to Auſtin be genuine, becauſe that Father (as in the place now cited) knew nothing of any letter under the name of Chriſt, of which that Epiſtle, if there had been

[a] Contr. Celſ. l. 1. p. 34.
[b] Comment. in Ezek. 44.
[c] De Conſenſ. Evang. lib. I. c. 7. t. opp. 4.
[d] Contr. Fauſt. Manich. l. 28. c. 4. t. opp. 6. See the paſſage at large above, Part II. Chap. XV.

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any ſuch one, muſt have informed him. Now hence I argue, that if the ſtory of Euſebius had been genuine, concerning the communication between Chriſt and Abgarus, it would have been regarded by Lactantius, Athanaſius, Epiphanius, Hilary, Baſil, Gregory, Jerome, or ſome of the writers of that century; every one who had credited Euſebius's account muſt have received the Epiſtle with the greateſt veneration, and undoubtedly it would have been admitted into the Canon of the books of the New Teſtament, and eſtabliſhed at the Council of Laodicea, which was ſoon after his time, and determined concerning the Canonical books. But on the contrary we find nothing of this, but an entire ſilence, as much as in the former ages, and therefore I conclude it Apocryphal by Prop IV, V, and VI. I might add here, that the ſtory of Euſebius appears the more evidently to be diſcredited and diſregarded, in that it was now, when he publiſhed it, the time when the Arian controverſy was come to a great height, and it cannot be thought but thoſe who were warm againſt the Arians, would have urged the teſtimony of Abgarus againſt them in his letter, where he confeſſes Chriſt to be either *God, or the Son of God*, if they had looked upon it as genuine.

ARG. 3. The Epiſtle under the name of our Saviour to Abgarus is apparently ſpurious and Apocryphal, inaſmuch as it relates *that to have been done by Chriſt, which could not poſſibly have been done till a conſiderable time after Chriſt's aſcenſion.* The inſtance which I aſſign of this is, that in the beginning of the Epiſtle *a paſſage is cited out of St. John's Goſpel*, which was not written till a conſiderable time after our Lord's Aſcenſion: the words are, *Abgarus, you are happy, foraſmuch as you have believed on me whom you have not ſeen*; for it is written concerning me, *That thoſe who have ſeen me ſhould not believe on me, that they who have not ſeen might believe and live.* This is a manifeſt alluſion to thoſe words of our Saviour to Thomas, John xx. 29. *Bleſſed are they who have not ſeen, and yet have believed.* Here indeed that, which the Epiſtle ſays, is written concerning Chriſt, but no where elſe

elſe beſides: Valeſius indeed ſays, the words of the Prophet Iſai. vi. 9. are like to this ſuppoſed citation of Chriſt[a]; but though he did not believe it himſelf, Dr. Grabe greedily ſwallows it as a ſufficient anſwer[b], whereas nothing can be more evidently a miſtake; for beſides that the words of the Prophet there (viz. *Hear ye indeed, but underſtand not, and ſee ye indeed, but perceive not*) are not at all like to the citation in this Epiſtle, it is obſervable that our Saviour has ſeveral times in the Goſpels cited theſe words of the Prophet quite different from what they are in this Epiſtle, both as to the words and ſenſe, but exactly as they are in the Prophet; and ſo alſo has St. Paul more than once; ſee Matt. xiii. 14. John xii. 40. Acts xxviii. 26. Rom. xi. 8. Dr. Cave[c] and Dr. Parker[d], being aware of the inſufficiency of this evaſion, do, with no greater probability, ſolve the difficulty, by ſuppoſing, that *the citation in the Epiſtle reſpects not one particular prophecy, but many, concerning the ſtubbornneſs and infidelity of the Jews.* But this is evidently a conjecture to ſerve an hypotheſis. I conclude therefore, that ſeeing the Goſpel of John was wrote long after Chriſt's aſcenſion, this Epiſtle could not be written by Chriſt, and conſequently is to be judged Apocryphal by Prop. X.

ARG. 4. It is no ſmall evidence of the ſpuriouſneſs of this Epiſtle under the name of Chriſt, that *Chriſt is made therein to defer the curing of Abgarus, till after his aſcenſion one of his Apoſtles ſhould come and do it*; for

1.) *Chriſt always immediately cured thoſe who made believing applications here* to him, as Abgarus is ſaid to do.

2.) *It would not be much ſatisfaction to Abgarus to be told of a cure to be wrought in an uncertain time to come*, which conſequently muſt ſhock his faith which he is ſuppoſed to have; and therefore Chriſt would not write after this manner, when he could with one word ſpeaking have performed the cure, and ſo not only eſtabliſhed, but increaſed his faith. This is to

[a] Annot. in Euſeb. l. 1. c. 13.
[b] Spicil. g. Patr. tom. I. p. 322.
[c] Hiſtor. Literar. in Chriſto, P. 3.
[d] Demonſtrat. of the Law of Nature, &c. Preface, p. 37.

make

make Chriſt act not only different from what he uſually did, but contrary to the deſigns of his kingdom and miſſion, and therefore Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

ARG. 5. *The account of our Saviour's aſcenſion in the Epiſtle ſeems to be a further proof of its ſpurioufneſs.* It is there twice mentioned in very plain terms; but in the whole hiſtory of the Goſpels we do not find above one or two, and thoſe very obſcure intimations of this event before our Saviour's reſurrection. There follows therefore one or other of theſe abſurdities hereupon, viz. either that *Abgarus was more acquainted with this doctrine than Chriſt's conſtant Apoſtles and companions were*, or elſe, that *Chriſt was willing he ſhould be ſo*; or if not, *that he wrote to him that which he could not poſſibly underſtand*; each of which being contradictions to known fact, prove the Epiſtle to be Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

CHAP. III.

Other Arguments againſt Abgarus's Epiſtle to Chriſt, and the whole Hiſtory, viz. The Improbability of a Heathen Prince's acknowledging Chriſt's Divinity. A Contradiction in it. Several Improbabilities. The Article of Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell, mentioned in this Hiſtory, not known till ſeveral Centuries after Chriſt.

THE preceding arguments ſeem evidently to conclude againſt the Epiſtle; the firſt of them indeed concludes equally againſt the Epiſtle and the whole hiſtory; and by a juſt conſequence, whatever proves againſt the one, will prove againſt the other, the truth of both depending upon the ſame evidence. But it may not be amiſs to add a few diſtinct arguments alſo againſt the genuineneſs of the Epiſtle of Abgarus to Chriſt, and the whole hiſtory. As

1. It is exceedingly improbable, that a *Heathen prince ſhould ſo readily acknowledge the divinity of our Saviour*, as Abgarus

garus is made to do in his letter. Mr. Le Clerc's [a] remark on this matter ſeems very juſt, as to the Greek words ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς—ἢ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. The article, ſays he, prefixed in Greek to the name God, ſhews, that the author meant *God the Father* (Deus κατ' ἐξοχήν), which is a phraſeology not likely to have proceeded from a Heathen, who would rather have omitted the article, and ſaid τις Θεὸς, thou art *ſome God*; the other way of expreſſing being peculiar to thoſe who believed in one God. Prop. VIII.

2. *There ſeems to me in this Epiſtle a contradiction* ſo manifeſt, as to demonſtrate its ſpuriouſneſs. In the beginning of the Epiſtle Abgarus is made to confeſs his faith in Chriſt as God, or as the Son of God; in the latter end he invites Chriſt to dwell with him in his city, becauſe of the malice of the Jews, who intended him miſchief. This, I ſay, is a plain contradiction; for had he really thought him God, he muſt certainly think him poſſeſſed of Almighty power, and conſequently to be in no need of the protection of his city. This ſeems to me as clear demonſtration, as ſubjects of this ſort are capable of receiving; nor am I ſenſible of any objection that can be made, unleſs it be that Peter, who had confeſſed him to be the Son of God, Matt. xvi. 16. yet when he came to be apprehended, thought it neceſſary to interpoſe with human force to attempt his reſcue, Matt. xxvi. 51. compared with John xviii. 10. To which it is eaſy to anſwer, that whatever opinion Peter, or indeed any of the Apoſtles, had of Chriſt before this time, they ſeem now to have changed it, and by the proſpects of his danger and death to have grown cool in their opinion of his Almighty power, elſe they would never all have forſaken him at his crucifixion as they did. But nothing of this can be ſuppoſed in the caſe of Abgarus, who cannot be imagined to have altered his ſentiments in the interval of writing ſo ſhort an Epiſtle. Prop. VII.

3. Mr. Du Pin [b] thinks it very improbable, that *Abgarus*

[a] Hiſt. Eccl. ſec. 1. ann. 29. §. 13. where he well anſwers the only important objection that can be raiſed againſt the force of this argument.

[b] Hiſtory of the Canon, Vol. II. c. 6. §. 1.

ſhould

ſhould at once offer half his kingdom to a perſon who was a ſtranger to him.

4. It looks not a little fabulous, that *upon Thaddæus's appearing before the king, he ſhould ſee ſomewhat extraordinary in his countenance, which none of the company elſe could perceive.* Euſebius calls it ὅραμα μέγα, *a great viſion:* Valeſius renders it *divinum neſcio quid*, ſome divine appearance. Prop. IX.

5. The account in the hiſtory, that *Abgarus deſigned to make war upon the Jews for crucifying Chriſt*, ſeems very unlikely; becauſe it is plain *he was prince only of a ſmall mean city*, and that at *a vaſt diſtance from Judea*, viz. in Arabia, and therefore could never be ſo extravagant as to imagine himſelf able to deſtroy ſo powerful a nation as the Jews then were, Prop. VIII, IX.

6. The account in the hiſtory, *that Thaddæus promiſed Abgarus that he would preach to him and his people concerning the heads of the Chriſtian religion*, proves the whole much later than it pretends to be, becauſe he is there made to ſay, that he would preach to them how Chriſt κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα καὶ ἀνέστη, *deſcended into hell, and divided the partition which was never divided before.* But this every one knows was a phraſeology, or doctrine, not known in the Church in the Apoſtles' days, nor till a long time after; and though it be an article in that called *The Apoſtles' Creed*, yet it was not in the antient Creeds in the three firſt centuries; and to uſe Biſhop Pearſon's words on this article; "The firſt place we find it uſed in was in the Church "of Aquileia, and the time we are ſure it was uſed in the "Creed of that Church, was leſs (and but little leſs) than "400 years after Chriſt. It is not to be found in the rules "of faith delivered by Irenæus [a], by Origen [b], by Tertullian [c]. It is not expreſſed in thoſe Creeds which were "made by the Councils as larger explications of the Apoſtles' "Creed; not in the Nicene, or Conſtantinopolitan; not in

[a] Lib. 1. c. 2.
[b] Lib. de Princip. in Proœm.
[c] Adverſ. Praxeam. c. 2. De Virgin. veland. c. 1.—De Præſcript. adverſ. Hæreſ. c. 13.

"thoſe

" thoſe of Epheſus, or Chalcedon; not in thoſe confeſſions " made at Sardica, Antioch, Seleucia, Sirmium, &c. It is " not mentioned in ſeveral confeſſions of faith delivered by " particular perſons; not in that of Euſebius Cæſarienſis, " preſented to the Council of Nice [a]; not in that of Marcel- " lus, Biſhop of Ancyra, delivered to Pope Julius [b]; not in " that of Arius and Euzoius, preſented to Conſtantine [c]; not " in that of Acacius, Biſhop of Cæſarea, delivered in the ſy- " nod of Seleucia [d]; not in that of Euſtathius, Theophilus, " and Sylvanus, ſent to Liberius [e]: there is no mention of it " in the Creed of St. Baſil [f]; in the Creed of Epiphanius [g], " Gelaſius, Damaſus, Macarius, &c. It is not in the Creed " expounded by St. Cyril, though ſome have produced that " Creed to prove it. It is not in the Creed expounded by " St. Auguſtine [h]; not in that other [i], attributed to St. Au- " guſtine in another place; not in that expounded by Maxi- " mus Taurinenſis; nor that ſo often interpreted by Petrus " Chryſologus; nor in that of the Church of Antioch, deli- " vered by Caſſianus [k]; neither is it to be ſeen in the MS. " Creeds ſet forth by the learned Archbiſhop of Armagh. It " is affirmed by Ruffin, that in his time it was neither in the " Roman, nor the Oriental Creeds [l]." Thus far Biſhop Pearſon. The certainty of all which may be eaſily perceived by any one, who will be at the pains to ſearch into theſe an- cient books, or but caſt his eye upon that collection which the preſent Lord Chief-Juſtice, Sir Peter King, has made of all the Creeds within the three firſt centuries [m]. This article therefore, *concerning the deſcent of Chriſt into hell*, cannot be ſuppoſed to be one of thoſe concerning which Thaddæus is ſaid in this hiſtory to have preached at Edeſſa, and therefore the words κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾅδην, i. e. *he deſcended into hell*, could

[a] Theodoret. l. 1. c. 2.
[b] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 72.
[c] Socrat. l. 1. c. 19.
[d] Ibid. l. 2. c. 40.
[e] Ibid. l. 4. c. 12.
[f] Tract. de Fide in Aſcet.
[g] In Anchorat. c. 120.
[h] De Fide et Symbolo.
[i] De Symbolo ad Catechumenos.
[k] De Incarnat. lib. 6.
[l] Expoſit. in Symbol. Apoſt. §. 20.
[m] Enquiry into the Worſhip, &c. of the Primitive Church. Part II. c. 3.

not be the language of this Apoſtle, but of ſome perſon long after his time; whence it moſt undeniably follows, that this whole hiſtory in the Edeſſene archives is ſpurious and Apocryphal. Prop. X.

CHAP. IV.

The main Objection againſt the preceding Proof anſwered, taken from the Credit of Euſebius. A Character of that Hiſtorian. A Conjecture that this Hiſtory is an Interpolation into the Works of Euſebius. Several Arguments to ſupport this Conjecture. A Fragment concerning Chriſt's Picture which he ſent to Abgarus, taken out of the Orthodoxographa. The Story of the Picture common among the Writers of the ſixth and following Centuries. A Digreſſion out of Monſieur Durant concerning ſeveral Pictures of Chriſt, made in his Lifetime.

THE moſt conſiderable, and indeed only objection that can be made againſt the foregoing proof, is the credit of Euſebius, who relates the ſtory, and is ſo univerſally reputed an hiſtorian of the moſt accurate judgment and perfect ſincerity. To which I anſwer, either,

1. That Euſebius was in *this matter too credulous*, and betrayed too eaſily into the belief of that, which, if he had more carefully examined, he would have as eaſily rejected. This has been a fault often charged upon this learned writer of Chriſtian antiquities. *No one*, ſays Scaliger [a], *has contributed more to the Chriſtian hiſtory, and no one is guilty of more miſtakes.* And in another place [b], *If a perſon's learning is to be judged of by his reading, nobody can deny Euſebius the charac-*

[a] Elench. Trithær. c. 29.

[b] In Chronic. Euſeb. p. 8. See a particular account of Euſebius and his character in Father Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Arianiſm, in French, tom. i. l. 1. p. 32, &c. and Valeſius's Life of Euſebius, prefixed to his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

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ter of a learned man; but if he is to be eſteemed learned, who has ſhewn judgment, together with his reading, Euſebius is not ſuch. It is certain, notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid for him, there are too many inſtances in his works both of partiality and credulity, to ſay no worſe, beſides that he frequently truſts too much to his memory. I ſhall omit inſtances of this ſort, being much more willing they ſhould be obſerved by others, than enlarged on by me. In the main he is certainly a good hiſtorian; and though there be ſeveral miſtakes in his works, yet there ſeems to me none more conſiderable than this which we are now upon, if indeed it was really his; for,

2. I offer it as a probable conjecture, that *this chapter in the works of Euſebius, containing theſe two Epiſtles, viz. the Letter of Abgarus to Chriſt, and his Reply, with the ſubſequent hiſtory of Thaddæus at Edeſſa, was not really written by Euſebius, but foiſted into his works, and an interpolation not made till the latter end of the fourth, or perhaps the fifth century.* I am apprehenſive a conjecture of this ſort will ſeem ſurpriſing, but I hope not improbable to thoſe, who will impartially conſider the following remarks, viz.

1.) That the article of the deſcent of Chriſt into hell has been proved not only to have been *an invention after the Apoſtles' time, but even after the time of Euſebius.* For this I refer the reader to the proof juſt now brought of this matter out of Biſhop Pearſon and Sir Peter King; no mention at all being made of it till the latter end of the fourth century, in Ruffin's Expoſition, whereas Euſebius lived in the beginning of it. It follows therefore, that unleſs Euſebius could ſpeak of theſe things or doctrines not yet known in his time, that this hiſtory was interpolated or inſerted into his works after his time. That which mightily ſtrengthens this argument is, that neither in the Nicene Creed, which was ſettled and approved by Euſebius, as well as the other Biſhops there; nor even in that which Euſebius himſelf tendered to them for their approbation, is there any the leaſt intimation of this article *;

* See them both at large in Scultet. Medull. Patr. d: Concil. Nicæno, p. 405, &c.

ſo that it is evident, that Euſebius being ignorant of it, it was foiſted into his works.

2.) That this hiſtory is an interpolation into Euſebius, ſeems evident by conſidering *the context and ſeries of the hiſtory preceding*. In order to which I obſerve, that the deſign of the firſt book, of which this is the laſt chapter, is to treat concerning Chriſt and things relating to his time; and having in the preceding chapter juſt mentioned our Saviour's Apoſtles, he propoſes to defer the conſideration of them and their actions after Chriſt's aſcenſion; which is accordingly the main ſubject of the ſecond book. Now I ſay, for Euſebius here to bring in the ſtory of Thaddæus, which was after Chriſt's aſcenſion, is to contradict himſelf, and break in upon his own deſign and order of hiſtory, which he propoſed; wherefore I conclude this an interpolation, and the rather, becauſe Euſebius expreſsly ſays, in the beginning of the ſecond book, that he had only related thoſe things which concerned the hiſtory of our Saviour, and the choice or nomination of his Apoſtles, in the firſt book; but now, ſays he, I proceed to thoſe things which happened after his aſcenſion. But how is it poſſible he could have ſaid this, if he had juſt before been writing concerning the acts of Thaddæus at Edeſſa, which were after Chriſt's aſcenſion? Nor can it be objected, that Euſebius relates the hiſtory of Thaddæus there, becauſe it was connected with the hiſtory of the intercourſe between Chriſt and Abgarus, ſeeing it is evident that the hiſtory of Chriſt and Abgarus was introduced on account of the hiſtory of Thaddæus, and not the hiſtory of Thaddæus on account of the hiſtory of Chriſt. It is therefore evident all this chapter muſt be an interpolation; to confirm which yet further I obſerve,

3. That Euſebius does, in the next book, viz. c. 1. when he is relating what happened to, and was done by, the Apoſtles after our Saviour's aſcenſion, relate this hiſtory in ſhort, but without any, ſo much as one, of thoſe circumſtances, by which I have above proved the hiſtory to be ſpurious and ſuppoſititious. Now this would have been perfectly needleſs, if it be ſuppoſed that he had a few lines before wrote the ſame hiſtory,

hiſtory, and ſuch a repetition as I may ſafely challenge any one to ſhew in an hiſtorian of any value. It is true indeed, he is made to refer to the former place; but this was neceſſary to be interpolated upon the ſuppoſition of the former being ſo.

4. *Such interpolations have very frequently been made into the writings of the Fathers.* Mr. Daillé [a] has made a large collection of inſtances to this purpoſe; I ſhall only mention one or two in the books of Euſebius: for inſtance, ſuch I take that to be (Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 36.), where Papias is applauded as μαλιστα λογιωτατον και τῆς γραφῆς ειδοτα, i. e. *a perſon of eminent judgment and diſcretion, and knowledge in the Scriptures*; and yet a few pages after he ſays, he was σφοδρα σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν, *a perſon of an exceeding low and mean genius*; which being a direct contradiction to the foregoing (but his juſt character) proves the former to be an inſertion or note of ſome careleſs reader. This is confirmed, in that Ruffin did not read it in his copies, as appears by his Latin Verſion, which wants it; as alſo that it is not to be found in the beſt and moſt antient manuſcript copies of Euſebius, which Valeſius [b] collated, viz. that which he calls *The Medicæan*; that of Cardinal Mazarine and Fuketius. In like manner in ſome copies of Euſebius's Chronicon he is made to ſay, that the *faſt of Lent was inſtituted by Teleſphorus, and the obſervation of the Lord's Day by Pius, both Biſhops of Rome* [c].

5. It was more eaſy for ſuch an interpolation to be made, becauſe it was the end of a book.

Upon the whole, that which ſeems clear is, that the Epiſtles and hiſtory are ſpurious, and that Euſebius in ſome meaſure too eaſily believed the report concerning them, though the large account of them in his firſt book be a plain corruption of ſome writer after his time, and an addition to the hiſtory, as it is certain there were many ſuch things in ſucceeding ages: ſome of them I have above mentioned out of Procopius, Euagrius, and Cedrenus, and ſhall now conclude this whole matter with a fragment which I find publiſhed by Jacob Gry-

[a] Right Uſe of the Fathers, ch. 4.
[b] Annot. in Euſ. ad h. l.
[c] Loc. cit. p. 44.

næus, among his Orthodoxographa, Vol. I. p. 90, 91, and a few remarks on the ſubject of it.

Περὶ Αὐγάρου τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν Βασιλέως καὶ τῆς εἰκόνος Χρίστου.

Φέρεται δὲ καὶ τὶς ἱστορία, ὡς ὁ Κύριος, Αὐγάρῳ τῷ τῆς Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλεως βασιλεύοντος, ζωγράφον ἀποστείλαντος τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ὁμοιογραφῆσαι εἰκόνα, μὴ δυνηθέντος τοῦ ζωγράφου, διὰ τὴν ἀποστίλβουσαν τοῦ προσώπου λαμπρότητα, αὐτὸς ἱμάτιον τῷ οἰκείῳ προσώπῳ τῷ θείῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ ἐπιθεὶς, ἐναπεμάξατο τῷ ἱματίῳ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπεικόνισμα, καὶ οὕτως ἀπέστειλε τοῦτο πορθάντι τῷ Αὐγάρῳ. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ πολλὰ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἀγράφως παραδεδώκασι, γράφει Παῦλος ὁ τῶν ἐθνῶν Ἀπόστολος· Ἄρα οὖν ἀδελφοὶ, στήκετε καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις ἡμῶν, ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε, εἴτε διὰ λόγου, εἴτε διὰ ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν. Καὶ πρὸς Κορινθίους· Ἐπαινῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοὶ, ὅτι πάντα μου μέμνησθε· καὶ καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε.

Concerning Abgarus, king of the Edeſſenes, and concerning the image or picture of Chriſt.

There is alſo a certain hiſtory, that when Abgarus, king of the city of the Edeſſenes, ſent a limner to draw the picture of our Saviour, the limner was not able to do it, by reaſon of the ſhining brightneſs of his countenance, but *that our Saviour took a cloth, and laying it upon his godlike and enlivening* (life-giving) *face, he wiped off his face, and impreſſed on the cloth his own picture*, and then ſent it according to the deſire of Abgarus. Now that the Apoſtles did deliver ſeveral hiſtories which are not written, Paul the Apoſtle of the Gentiles has wrote, ſaying (2 Theſſ. ii. 5.) *Therefore, brethren, ſtand faſt, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our Epiſtle*; and in his Epiſtle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xi. 2.), *I praiſe you, brethren, that ye remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances* (traditions) *as I delivered them to you.*

Joannes

Joannes Jacobus Grynæus, who has publiſhed this fragment, ſuppoſes it probable, that it *was taken out of ſome accounts which were among the Chriſtians in Syria*, concerning Chriſt and Abgarus [a], and calls the author *Anonymus quidam:* but though he ſeems not to have known it, it is taken out of a writer of the eighth century, viz. Joannes Damaſcenus, lib. 4. de Fide Orthodoxa, c. 17. And the hiſtory was very commonly to be met with in the writers of the ſixth, ſeventh, and following centuries. Evagrius [b], out of Procopius, calls this image Ἀχειροποίητον, *not made by the hands of men, but God*; and relates a ſurpriſing miracle wrought by it; viz. "That "when Choſroes beſieged Edeſſa (of which Abgarus was "king), and the beſieged found all methods of relief ineffectual, *they brought this picture forth*, which being ſprin"kled with water, they ſprinkled alſo ſome of it upon a vaſt "bulwark, which the beſiegers had raiſed againſt the walls, "whereupon it was conſumed; and though Choſroes turned "a channel of water into it, the water itſelf burnt like oil or "brimſtone." Darius Comes, in an Epiſtle to St. Auſtin [c], relates, that when our Saviour ſent his letter to Abgarus, he at the ſame time gave him aſſurance, *that his city ſhould never be taken by any enemy.* To which Procopius adds [d], that the people of Edeſſa ſay, *theſe were the laſt words of Chriſt's letter to Abgarus, and that they were wont to fix the letter upon their gates, as a bulwark againſt beſiegers*; although, if we may credit Joannes Xiphilinus out of Dio Caſſius, *Edeſſa was taken by Lucius, who was ſent thither by Trajan* [e]; and Dr. Grabe [f] has proved out of the Alexandrian Chronicle, that it *was alſo taken by the Perſians in the time of the Roman Emperor Phocas*, who was proclaimed about the year of Chriſt DCX. But notwithſtanding this, the ſtory of *Chriſt's picture wiped off his face, impreſſed on the cloth, and ſent by him to Abgarus*, is related in the Second Council of Nice, called by the

[a] Præfat. in Orthodoxographa. Vol. I.
[b] Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 26.
[c] Epiſt. 263.
[d] Vid. eus verba apud Grab. Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 3 & 313.
[e] Vid. Fab. Cod. Apocr. t. 3. p. 516.
[f] Lib. cit. p. 326.

Greeks *the Seventh General Synod*[a], by Gregory II.[b] Adrian I. Zonaras, Conſtantinus Porphyrogenita, Nicephorus, and many others[c]. The later writers among the Papiſts have wrote much upon the ſubject, and I ſhall not think it a very criminal digreſſion to give the reader the following abſtract out of their celebrated Monſieur Durant[d]. *Writers*, ſays he, *of the beſt authority have informed us, that there were four ſeveral pictures of our Saviour made during his life on earth.*

" The firſt is, *that which Chriſt himſelf ſent to Abgarus*, " *king of Edeſſa*, concerning which there is more full evi- " dence, viz. Procopius cited by Euagrius (lib. 4. cap. 26.) " the ſeventh Synod (Act 5.) which cites Euagrius, and adds " theſe words of Leo: *I went to Edeſſa, and ſaw the venerable* " *image of Chriſt there, which was not made with hands, wor-* " *ſhipped and adored by the people:* It is mentioned by Pope " Adrian I. (ad Carol. Magn. c. 18.) and Damaſcene (l. 4. " de Orthodox. Fid. c. 17. & Orat. 1. de Imag. confirm.) " Conſtantinus Porphyrogenita has ſaid much of it in an ora- " tion before the emperors, clergy, and people (N. B. *There* " *is a whole treatiſe of his on the ſubject publiſhed by Combefiſius* " *in Greek and Latin, among his Origines Conſtantinopolitanæ*, " *p.* 75, *intitled*, Narratio de Imagine Chriſti ab ipſo Servatore ad Abgarum Edeſſæ regem miſsâ, et ab Edeſsâ Conſtantinopolin deportatâ anno DCCCCXLIV.[e]) ſpoken of " by Nicephorus, Zonaras, &c.

" *The ſecond picture of Chriſt was ſtamped or impreſſed upon* " *the napkin or handkerchief of Veronica*; for when Chriſt was " led to his crucifixion, Veronica, who followed Chriſt, put " a handkerchief to his face, on which Chriſt impreſſed his " picture. This is teſtified by Methodius, Biſhop of Tyre, " Conſtantinus Porphyrogenita, &c.

" *The third is that mentioned by Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 7.

[a] Vid. Caranz. Summ. Concil. p. 512, &c.

[b] Apud Caſaub. contr. Baron. Annal. Exercit. xiii. ann. 31. n. 58.

[c] Vid. Durant. de Ritib. Cathol. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 5.

[d] Ibid.

[e] See Dr. Cave's Hiſtor. Liter. Vol. I. p. 577.

" *c.* 18.

" *c.* 18. *which was a ſtatue of Chriſt erected by the woman* " *whom he cured of the iſſue of blood.* The ſubſtance of the " account, as it is in Euſebius, is as follows: He calls it a " hiſtory worthy to be related, and ſays, the woman, whom " our Saviour cured of the iſſue of blood mentioned in our " Goſpels, lived at Cæſarea Philippi, called by the Phœnici- " ans *Paneas*; that her houſe was in his time to be ſeen, and " ſeveral monuments of our Saviour's miracle wrought for " her; for near her houſe there was a braſen ſtatue of the " woman fixed on a pedeſtal of ſtone, in the poſture of a ſup- " plicant, with bended knees, and her hands ſtretched out. " Oppoſite to it was the ſtatue of a man made of the ſame " metal, in a ſtanding poſture, with a decent cloak on, and " ſtretching forth his hand to the woman. At the feet of this " ſtatue, and the very baſis of the column, grew a certain un- " known herb, which growing up to the hem *(of the gar-* " *ment)*, or braſs cloak, was a preſent remedy for all ſorts of " diſtempers. This ſtatue (they ſay) was like to Chriſt. It " continued, ſays Euſebius, till my time, and I went to that " city, and ſaw it myſelf. He adds, that it is not to be " thought ſtrange, that the Heathens ſhould do this, ſince he " himſelf ſaw the pictures of Peter and Paul, and Chriſt him- " ſelf in his time [a]." Thus far Euſebius. I return to Durant, who cites Sozomen and Caſſiodorus, as mentioning this ſtory; and ſays, they add, " that Julian the apoſtate took " down this ſtatue, and placed his own in the room of it [b].

[a] This ſtory is mentioned in the ſecond Council of Nice juſt now cited, Act. 4. and ſeveral of the antients. In the chronology of Malela, printed out of a manuſcript in the Bodleian library at Oxford, there is a petition of this woman to Herod, ſetting forth her great cure, and her deſire to erect this ſtatue to the honour of Chriſt; Herod's permiſſion or grant to her to do it; her erecting it, and its being afterwards tranſlated into a Church. But there ſeems very little regard due to this fabulous writer, whoſe character ſee in Dr. Cave's Hiſtor. Literar. Vol. I. p. 442.

[b] Sozomen ſays farther, that when the apoſtate had erected his own ſtatue in that place, a fire from heaven ſmote it, and took off the head and neck, and fixed it in the earth, as, ſays he, it continues to this day, looking black, as if it had been burnt with lightning; and though the Pagans tore in pieces the ſtatue of Chriſt, the Chriſtians collected the pieces, and placed them in the Church, where, ſays he, they are ſtill kept. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 21.

" Theophylact

" Theophylact in Matth. ix. and Epiphanius (Sardin. Con-
" cil. 7. ſeu Nicæn. 2.) Nicephorus (l. 6. c. 15.) have alſo
" mentioned it, and many others." To which I would add an excellent writer of the fourth century, viz. Aſterius, Biſhop of Amaſæa, who ſays, *the braſen ſtatue, which the woman erected, continued for a long time, for the conviction of thoſe, who durſt to charge the Evangeliſts with falſehood*; *and would*, ſays he, *have continued till our time, as an evidence at once of Chriſt's miraculous power, and the woman's gratitude, if Maximinus, who was the Roman emperor before Conſtantine, and an impious idolater, had not taken it away*[a].

The next picture of Chriſt, which Durant mentions, is *one which Nicodemus made a preſent of to Gamaliel, which continued for many ages among the Jews at Berytus, and was by them ſpit upon, ſmote with a reed, crucified and pierced with a ſpear, whence came forth blood and water*, of which there is much in the tract of Athanaſius, *concerning the paſſion of the image of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt* [b].

After this the author mentions *ſome pictures of Chriſt, which they have now*; particularly *one at Rome not made with hands*: but of this whole matter I ſhall think it needleſs to ſay any more, referring the reader to Chemnitius, Exam. Concil. Trident. Part IV. p. 45, &c.

a See this in the eloquent homily of this Biſhop upon Jairus and this woman, preſerved by Photius, Biblioth. Cod. CCLXXII. p. 1507.

b This tract is undoubtedly ſpurious, and largely proved to be ſo by our countryman Robert Coke, Cenſur. quorund. veter. Script. p. 93, &c. and after him by Rivet. Critic. Sacr. l. 3. c. 6. as alſo by Bellarmine himſelf, De Scriptor. Eccleſ. p. 100, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Another Lord's Prayer, different from that in the Goſpels, taken out of Mr. Selden's Commentary on Eutychius, produced in Arabick and Engliſh. This proved Spurious by ſeveral Arguments.

AFTER the Epiſtle under our Saviour's name to Abgarus, I judged it would not be improper to inſert here *a prayer aſcribed to our Saviour by the Mahometans, called by them, The Prayer of Jeſus the Son of Mary.* I am not able to make any large conjecture concerning its original, becauſe I know no more of it than that Mr. Selden, who, I believe, is the only publiſher of it[a], ſaith, *Deſcriptas penes me habeo ſingularum hebdomades dierum preces Mahumedanis formatas, quibus titulus eſt* Preces Dierum. *Atque his ſubjunguntur formulæ precationum binæ, altera Abrahæ Patriarchæ tributa, altera Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto, velut Dominica altera*; viz. "That "he had certain Arabick forms of prayer by him in manu- "ſcript, which were compoſed by the Mahometans, and in- "titled, *the Daily Prayers*; to which there were annexed two "forms of prayer, one aſcribed to the Patriarch Abraham, *the* "*other to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as though it were another* "*Lord's Prayer.*" For the ſake of the curious in theſe ſtudies, I have inſerted it here in Arabick, with as juſt a tranſlation as I was able to make of it.

Num. II.

A PRAYER OF CHRIST.

دعا عيسي ابن مريم ۞

عليهم السلام كان يقول اللهم اني اصبحت لا استطيع

[a] See his Commentary on Eutychius's Arabick Annals of Alexandria, p. 58.

دفع مـــا اكره ومـــا املك نفع مـــا ارجو واصبح الاجر
بيد غيري واصبحت مرتهنـــا بعملي فلا فقير افقر مني الي
عفوك يـــا كريم اللهم لا تشمت بي عدوي ولا تسوبي
صديقي ولا تجعل مصيبتي في ديني ولا تجعل الدنيـــا
اكبر همي ولا مبلغ علمي ولا تسلط علي من لا يرحمني
برحمتك يـــا ارحم الرحمين ۞

The Prayer of Jeſus the Son of Mary.

Upon them be Peace. He ſaid,

" O GOD, I am not able to extirpate (or overcome) that " which I abhor, nor have I attained to that good (or uſeful- " neſs) which I deſired, but others, and not I, have their re- " ward in their hands. But my glory abideth in my work. " There is no one in more indigent (or miſerable) circum- " ſtances than I am. O moſt high God, grant me pardon. " O God, ſuffer me not to be a reproach to mine enemy, nor " bring upon me the contempt of my friend: and let not my " piety be attended with (or occaſion me) troubles. And let " not this world be my main delight (or what I aim princi- " pally at). And ſuffer not ſuch a one to have his will (or " rule) over me, who will have no mercy upon me, for thy " mercy ſake, O thou moſt merciful (who pitieſt all thoſe " that need mercy)."

This is, as far as I could make it, a juſt tranſlation out of the Arabick; but becauſe I am ſenſible of my *ignorance* in this language, and have ventured in ſome places to differ from Mr. Selden's tranſlation, I judged it proper to give the reader his alſo in his own words, viz.

Precatio Jeſu filii Mariæ.

SUPER quibus pax ſit. Dixit, *Deus, non poſſum depellere id quod averſor, nec adquiſivi bonum illud quod ſpero. Et mercedem*

mercedem in manu habent alii præter me. Sed pignus eſt, ſatis manet in opere meo (id eſt, ut puto, Opera mea velut pignus manent, necdum accepi id, cujus nomine oppignerata ſunt) *neque eſt quiſquam pauper me pauperior. Indulgentiam tuam, o venerande. Deus, ne opprobrio mihi ſinas eſſe inimicum meum, nec vilipendat me amicus meus. Neque ponas afflictionem meam in religione mea. Neque fac, ut mundus ſit maximum ſtudium meum, aut faſtigium ſcientiæ meæ. Neque præfice mihi eum, qui non miſerebitur mei, pro miſericordia tua, o miſerantiſſime miſereſcentium.*

As I ſuppoſe no one at all acquainted with Chriſtianity can believe this prayer genuine, and compoſed by our bleſſed Saviour, ſo I ſhall not ſpend much time about it: it is ſufficient to prove it ſpurious,

I. *That no one of the primitive writers of Chriſtianity did receive, acknowledge, or ſo much as hear of this prayer.* If we ſearch them throughout, from the Apoſtles' time downwards, I may ſafely affirm we ſhall not find the leaſt intimation or any footſteps of any ſuch prayer, or indeed any prayer, known under the common name of *The Lord's Prayer*, beſides that which we have in St. Matthew and St. Luke's Goſpel. On the other hand,

II. It was a conſtantly received opinion among the antients, *that our Lord left nothing in writing behind him*, but what his Apoſtles and the Evangeliſts wrote. This we find in Origen [a], Jerome [b], Auſtin [c], &c. So that it clearly follows from Prop. IV, V, VI. that this prayer is ſpurious. Beſides,

III. *The whole contexture of the prayer is diſagreeable to, and inconſiſtent with, the character of our Saviour.* To inſtance only in one or two things: the firſt ſentence ſeems to me *a manifeſt confeſſion of ſin*; and if it be not borrowed from thoſe words of St. Paul, Rom. vii. 15, 19. *What I would, I*

[a] Contr. Celſ. l. v. p. 34.
[b] Comment. in Ezek. c. 44.
[c] De Conſenſ. Evang. lib. 1. c. 7.

do not; *but what I hate, that do I*, &c. (which I am inclined to believe) is plainly of the ſame deſign and import with it. And accordingly one of the petitions is *for pardon of ſin*, as I ſuppoſe the Arabick word عفوك is beſt tranſlated (vid. Caſtell. Lexic. Polyglott. ad Voc. who renders it *condonatio delicti*.) But how inconſiſtent is this with the character of Chriſt! Had he made prayers for the pardon of his ſins, how could he, as conſcious of his being perfectly clear from all ſin, have challenged his enemies to convince him of any one ſin, as he does, John viii. 46? How could he have made that atonement and ſatisfaction for ſin, which the firſt principles of Chriſtianity ſuppoſe he did? In a word, if theſe be the words of Chriſt, and part of any prayer of his, we muſt ſuppoſe all thoſe aſſertions of his Apoſtles concerning him, *that he was without ſin*, ſuch as are found 2 Cor. v. 21. Hebr. iv. 15. 1 Pet. ii. 22. 1 John iii. 5. to be all groſs impoſture and falſehood. I conclude therefore, by Prop. II. Cor. II. and Prop. VIII. that this prayer is ſpurious, and of the ſame ſort with thoſe Apocryphal pieces, viz. *The Goſpel of the Nazarenes*, and *The Preaching of Peter and Paul*; which, as they contained like intimations as this prayer, viz. that *Chriſt was a ſinner*, I have by the ſame argument proved to be Apocryphal. See above, Part II. Ch. XXV. Numb. 15. p. 277. compared with Ch. XXIX. p. 301. and Ch. XXXIII. Numb. 7. p. 352. compared with Ch. XXXIV. p. 359.

I might eaſily collect the ſame inference from the other petitions; but omitting this, I ſhall only obſerve, that the doxology or concluſion of the prayer is evidently of a ſort different from any that were uſed either by our Saviour, or thoſe of his time, and ſeems ſo like the concluſions of ſeveral chapters in the Alcoran, that as it appears by what is already ſaid, that the prayer is a forgery, ſo it is very probable it was a forgery of the Mahometans, who, as appears from ſeveral parts of this work, forged no ſmall number of hiſtories and ſayings of Jeſus Chriſt. See the *Appendix* at the end of the firſt volume, and the *Goſpel of our Saviour's Infancy* in this part.

The foregoing prayer being taken out of Mr. Selden's commentary on Eutychius, obliges me to give the reader the following

following account from the Dean of Norwich's Life of Mahomet, p. 271, 272. viz. "That theſe annals of Eutychius "were publiſhed at Oxford in Arabick and Latin by Dr. Po- "cock, A. D. 1656. at the charge of Mr. Selden, and this is "the meaning of theſe words in the title page, *Johanne Sel- "dero Chorago*; for he, who was the *Choragus* in the play, al- "ways was at the charges of exhibiting the ſcenes; and there- "fore, Mr. Selden having borne the expences of that charge- "able edition, the moſt worthy and learned author acknow- "ledged it by thoſe words in the title page; which ſeveral "having miſtaken to the robbing him of the honour of his "work, as if Mr. Selden had begun the tranſlation, and Dr. "Pocock had finiſhed it, I cannot but do juſtice to that wor- "thy perſon now with God, as to clear this matter." But notwithſtanding this, the commentary, out of which I have taken this prayer, is unqueſtionably Mr. Selden's; and in the title page of my edition, publiſhed 1642. (viz. ſixteen years before that which Dr. Prideaux ſpeaks of) I find it thus, *Ex Arabico nunc primum typis edidit ac Verſione et Commentariis auxit Joannes Seldenus.*

CHAP. VI.

St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Laodiceans. Owned as genuine by ſeveral learned Men. An Epiſtle under this Title extant in the Beginning of the ſecond Century. Marcion's Apoſtolicon. The Epiſtle now intitled, To the Epheſians, formerly intitled, To the Laodiceans, according to Tertullian. This credited by Grotius, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Whitby, Dr. Mill. Tertullian miſtaken in this Matter.

THIS Epiſtle under the name of St. Paul to the Laodiceans, although it be apparently compiled out of the genuine and Canonical Epiſtles of that Apoſtle, requires a place in my collection; for beſides that it paſſes under ſo ſplendid and

and pompous a title, it has been highly eſteemed by ſeveral learned men of the Church of Rome, and others: the famous Jeſuits, Stapleton[a] and Salmeron[b], among the reſt, have contended for its genuineneſs and authority. The Quakers have printed a tranſlation of it, and plead for it[c]. I thought it therefore neceſſary to inſert it here, and enquire into its original. There have been many editions of it, and Sixtus Senenſis[d] mentions two manuſcripts; the one in the Sorbonne library at Paris, which was a very old one, and the other at Padua in Venice, in the library of Joannes a Viridario, which he tranſcribed and publiſhed, and from which I have taken the following copy. N. B. *The texts of Scripture, which are placed in the third column, are placed to the intent that the reader may with more eaſe and at one view diſcover the impoſture and forgery of the Epiſtle.*

Numb. III.

S. PAULI Epiſtola ad Laodicenſes.	*The Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans.*	The places in St. Paul's genuine Epiſtles, eſpecially that to the Philippians, out of which this to the Laodiceans was compiled.
I.	I.	I.
Paulus Apoſtolus, non ab hominibus, neque per hominem, ſed per Jeſum Chriſtum, fratribus qui eſtis Laodiceæ.	Paul an Apoſtle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, to the brethren which are at Laodicea.	Gal. i. 1. *Paul an Apoſtle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, &c.*
2. *Gratia vobis, et pax a Deo Patre*	2. Grace be to you, and peace	2. Galat. i. 3. *Grace be to you,*

[a] Apud Divenant in Col. iv. 16.
[b] Apud Walther. Offic. Biblic. §. 1402.
[c] See Mr. Adamſon Col. iv. 16. among thoſe called Mr. Poel's Annotations.
[d] Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 2. ad voc. Paulus. p. 87, 88.

et

et Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto.

from God the Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. See the ſame alſo, Rom. i. 7. 1 Cor. i. 3. 2 Cor. i. 2. Eph. i. 2. Phil. i. 2. Col. i. 2. 1 Theſſ. i. 2. 2 Theſſ. i. 2.

3. *Gratias ago Chriſto per omnem orationem meam, quod permanentes eſtis et perſeverantes in operibus bonis, promiſſionem expectantes in die judicii.*

3. I thank Chriſt in every prayer of mine, that ye continue and perſevere in good works, looking for that which is promiſed in the day of judgment.

3. Phil. i. 3. *I thank my God upon every remembrance of you, for your fellowſhip in the Goſpel, from the firſt day until now, &c.*

4. *Neque diſturbent vos quorundam vaniloquia inſimulantium veritatem, ut vos avertant a veritate Evangelii, quod a me prædicatur.*

4. Let not the vain ſpeeches of any trouble you, who pervert the truth, that they may draw you aſide from the truth of the Goſpel which I have preached.

4. Galat. i. 7. *There be ſome that trouble you, and would pervert the Goſpel of Chriſt, &c.*

5. *Et nunc faciet Deus, ut qui ſunt ex me, perveniant ad perfectum veritatis Evangelii, ſint deſervientes, et benignitatem operum facientes, quæ ſunt ſalutis vitæ æternæ.*

5. And now may God grant, that my converts may attain to a perfect knowledge of the truth of the Goſpel, be beneficent, and doing good works which accompany ſalvation.

6. *Et nunc palam ſunt vincula mea, quæ patior in Chriſto, in quibus lætor et gaudeo.*

6. And now my bonds, which I ſuffer in Chriſt, are manifeſt, in which I rejoice and am glad.

6. Phil. i. 13. *My bonds in Chriſt are manifeſt.*

7. *Scio enim quod hoc mihi eſt ad ſalutem perpetuam, quod factum eſt orationibus veſtris, adminiſtrante Spiritu Sancto.*

7. For I know that this ſhall turn to my ſalvation for ever, which ſhall be through your prayer, and the ſupply of the Holy Spirit.

7. Phil. i. 19. *For I know that this ſhall turn to my ſalvation through your prayer, and the ſupply of the Spirit.*

8. *Sive per vitam, ſive per mortem, eſt mihi vivere vita in Chriſto, et mori gaudium.*

8. Whether I live or die; (for) to me to live ſhall be a life to Chriſt, to die will be joy.

8. Phil. i. 20, 21. *Whether it be by life or death, for to me to live is Chriſt, to die is gain.*

9. *Et ipſe Dominus noſter in nobis faciet miſericordiam ſuam, ut eandem dilectionem habeatis et ſitis unanimes.*

9. And our Lord will grant us his mercy, that ye may have the ſame love, and be like-minded.

9. Phil. ii. 2. *That ye be like-minded, having the ſame love.*

10. *Ergo, dilectiſſimi, ut audiſtis præſentiam Domini, ita ſentite, et facite in timore; et erit vobis vita in æternum;*

10. Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have heard of the coming, of the Lord, ſo think and act in fear, and it ſhall be to you life eternal;

10. Phil. ii. 12. *Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, &c. work out your ſalvation with fear;*

11. *Eſt enim Deus, qui operatur in vobis;*

11. For it is God, who worketh in you;

11. Phil. ii. 13. *For it is God who worketh in you.*

12. *Et facite ſine peccato quæcunque facitis.*

12. And do all things without ſin.

12. Phil. ii. 14. *Do all things without murmuring, &c.* ver. 15. *that ye may be blameleſs.*

13. *Et quod optimum eſt, dilectiſſimi, gaudete in Domino Jeſu Chriſto, et cavete omnes ſordes in omni lucro.*

13. And what is beſt, my beloved, rejoice in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and avoid all filthy lucre.

13. Phil. iii. 1. *Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord.*

14. *Omnes petitiones veſtræ ſint palam apud Deum;*

14. Let all your requeſts be made known to God,

14. Phil. iv. 6. *Let your requeſts*

eſtote

eſtote firmi in ſenſu Chriſti.

and be ſteady in the doctrine of Chriſt.

be made known unto God.

15. *Et quæ integra, et vera, et pudica, et caſta, et juſta, et amabilia ſunt, facite.*

15. And whatſoever things are ſound, and true, and of good report, and chaſte, and juſt, and lovely, theſe things do.

15. Philip. iv. 8. *Whatſoever things are honeſt, whatſoever things are juſt, whatſoever things are pure, whatſoever things are lovely, whatſoever things are of good report, &c.*

16. *Et quæ audiiſtis et accepiſtis, in cordo retinete, et erit vobis pax.*

16. Thoſe things which ye have heard, and received, think on theſe things, and peace ſhall be with you.

16. Phil. iv. 9. *Thoſe things which ye have both learned and received, and heard and ſeen, —do, and the God of peace ſhall be with you.*

17. *Salutant vos omnes ſancti.*

17. All the ſaints ſalute you.

17. Phil. iv. 22. *All the ſaints ſalute you.*

18. *Gratia Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti cum Spiritu veſtro.* Amen.

18. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with your ſpirit. *Amen.*

18. Gal. vi. 18. *The grace of our Lord Jeſus be with your ſpirit.* Amen.

19. *Hanc facite legi Coloſſenſibus, et eam, quæ eſt Coloſſenſium, vobis.*

19. Cauſe this Epiſtle to be read to the Coloſſians, and the Epiſtle of the Coloſſians to be read among you.

19. Col. iv. 16. *And when this Epiſtle is read amongſt you, cauſe that it be read alſo in the Church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewiſe read the Epiſtle from Laodicea.*

The perplexing difficulties, in which we are continually involved in our ſearches after truth, proceed from no cauſe more general than the great variety of opinions, and multiplicity of other men's ſentiments, which we are obliged to meet with. Hence it inevitably happens, that ſubjects, in themſelves eaſy and intelligible, become intricate and obſcure; and

that which a perſon by his own genius and endeavour would in a ſhort time diſcover, he cannot, without the utmoſt caution and application, if at all, come to the knowledge of. Men, who are called learned, either by *ſome* particular prejudices, ſome confuſedneſs of ideas, and principally a certain inceſſant inclination to lengthen out their volumes, do as it were caſt a veil over the truth, which themſelves are about to eſtabliſh, and leave the ſubject attended with more difficulties than they found it; whence I have often thought it no ſmall advantage to a queſtion (or to him that is to manage it) that it has eſcaped the buſy and confounding hands and heads of criticks, commentators, &c. Such an introduction forces itſelf from me, when I conſider, that, in order to manage this plain ſubject, I have been obliged to read the tedious pages of ſo many learned men, on a matter which, had they not made them, would have had few intricacies attending it. On the *Epiſtle of the Laodiceans*, I find differing in ſome reſpects almoſt every one from the other; Eraſmus [a], Sixtus Senenſis [b], Bellarmin [c], Calvin [d], Beza [e], Druſius [f], Whitaker [g], Walatherus [h], Epiſcopius [i], Pamelius [k], Lightfoot [l], Knatchbull [m], Adams [n], Father Simon [o], Du Pin [p], Grotius [q], Dr. Hammond [r], Spanheim [s], Turretin [t], the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury [u], Dr. Cave [x], Fabritius [y], Dr. Whitby [z], Dr. Mill [a], Le Clerc [b], &c. But, as far as I can, to avoid both

[a] Annot. in Col. iv. 16.
[b] Bibl. Sanct. l. 2. in Paulo, p. 88.
[c] Apud Whitaker. loc. jam citand.
[d] In Col. iv. 16.
[e] Annot. in loc. eund.
[f] Præterit. in loc. eund.
[g] Controverſ. de Scrip. Quæſt. 1. c. 16. et Quæſt. 6. c. 9.
[h] Officin. Biblic. §. 1401, &c.
[i] Reſponſ. ad Dilemmat. Pontif. X. par. 4. p. 163, &c.
[k] Annot. in Tertull. adverſ. Marcion. l. 5. c. 17. p. 588.
[l] Harmony of the New Teſt. p. 137, et 153.
[m] Notes on Col. iv. 16.
[n] Annot. on the place.
[o] Critic. Hiſtor. of New Teſt. Par. I. c. 15.
[p] Hiſt. of Can. vol. 2. c. 2. §. 8.
[q] In loc. cit. Epiſt. ad Coloſſ.
[r] In loc. cit.
[s] Hiſtor. Chriſt. Secul. I. p. 580.
[t] Inſtit. Theol. loc. 2. qu. 7.
[u] Preliminary Diſcourſe to his Tranſlation of the Apoſtolick Fathers, ch. 9. §. 12, &c.
[x] Hiſt. Liter. vol. 1. p. 7.
[y] Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſtam. t. 2. p. 853, &c.
[z] In loc.
[a] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſtam. §. 74, &c.
[b] Hiſtor. Eccleſ. p. 422, &c.

confuſion

conſuſion and prolixity, I ſhall offer the reader the ſubſtance of my obſervations, as clearly as I am able, in the following Propoſitions.

1. *In the beginning of the ſecond century there was a certain Epiſtle extant*, intitled, *The Epiſtle of Paul to the Laodiceans*. This is evident, becauſe ſuch an Epiſtle was received by Marcion, who lived in that time; for he was cotemporary with Polycarp [a], who converſed with the Apoſtles, and many others, who had ſeen Chriſt [b]; and conſequently he (Marcion) muſt live near St. Paul's time. This Marcion made uſe of an Epiſtle under the name of Paul to the Laodiceans; to confirm which I obſerve, that Heretick, who was a notorious corrupter of the ſacred Writings, had, beſides *his mutilated and interpolated Goſpel*, another book, which he and his followers intitled, The Ἀποστολικὸν *Apoſtolicon* [c], and in which he comprehended ten only of St. Paul's Epiſtles out of the fourteen which are now received, and then altered and accommodated them to his own ſentiments and notions. Theſe (according to Epiphanius) were the *Epiſtle to the Galatians, the two to the Corinthians, to the Romans, the two to the Theſſalonians, to the Coloſſians, to Philemon, to the Philippians*, Ἔχει δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Λαοδικέας λεγομένης μέρη, i. e. *he takes in alſo ſome part of that which is called*, The Epiſtle to the Laodiceans. Epiphanius, who had read both Marcion's *Evangelium* and *Apoſtolicon* (as himſelf ſays [d]), producing the inſtances of that Heretick's corruptions and interpolations in the Epiſtles which he pretended to receive, ſtyles that *to the Laodiceans* the eleventh [e], and in the introduction to his *Scholia*, or criticiſm upon the *Apoſtolicon* [f], he enumerates the Epiſtles received by Marcion, and having firſt placed that to the Romans, Epheſians, Coloſſians, next reckons that *to the Laodiceans*, and then the other Epiſtles; where I obſerve, by the way, a moſt notorious error in

[a] Iren. adv. Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 42. §. 9, & 10. p. 309, & 310.
[d] Αὐτὰς δὴ τὰς τῷ προειρημένῳ βίβλους, ἃς κέκτηται μετὰ χεῖρας λαβὼν, τό τε παρ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενον Εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ Ἀπόστολικὸν καλούμενον παρ' αὐτῷ ἐξανθισάμενος καὶ ἀναλεξάμενος, &c. §. 10. p. 310.
[e] P. 319.
[f] P. 321.

our preſent copies of Epiphanius; for whereas in all the places cited, nay, and even in this very place, that Father expreſsly ſays, that Marcion received only the ten forementioned Epiſtles of St. Paul into his *Apoſtolicon*; yet here in the very next words he is made to receive all the fourteen, viz, the two Epiſtles to Timothy, Titus, and the Hebrews are alſo enumerated in his *Apoſtolicon*. This is a contradiction ſo manifeſt, that Epiphanius cannot poſſibly be ſuppoſed guilty of it, and ſeems only to have happened through the blunder of ſome careleſs tranſcriber, who, when he had wrote the firſt ten Epiſtles and *that of the Laodiceans*, added the others, as he thought, to make the catalogue of the Apoſtle's Epiſtles complete. But to return, it is evident there was in the time of Marcion, or in the beginning of the ſecond century, an Epiſtle under the name of *Paul* to the Laodiceans.

I know indeed that there is in Tertullian *an account of this matter very different from this of Epiphanius*, viz. "That "Marcion and his followers called that *the Epiſtle to the La-* "*odiceans*, which was *the Epiſtle to the Epheſians*: that epi- "ſtle, ſays he [a], we are aſſured, *by the true teſtimony of the* "*Church, was ſent to the Epheſians, and not to the Laodiceans*; "*though Marcion has taken upon him falſely to prefix that title* "*to it, pretending therein to have made ſome notable diſco-* "*very*: and in the ſame book elſewhere [b]. *I ſhall ſay nothing* "*now of that other Epiſtle, which we have inſcribed* to the "Epheſians, *but the Hereticks entitle it* to the Laodiceans." This, I ſay, is a very different account of the matter from that of Epiphanius: this ſuppoſes the Epiſtle to the Epheſians and Laodiceans to have been one and the ſame Epiſtle, only under different titles: the other ſuppoſes them to have been two different and diſtinct ones: ſeveral learned men have ſubſcribed to the opinion of Tertullian. Grotius [c], Dr. Hammond [d], and Dr. Whitby [e], believe the preſent *Epiſtle to the Epheſians*

[a] Eccleſiæ quidem veritate epiſtolam illam ad Epheſios habemus emiſſam, non ad Laodicenos, ſed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpoſire geſtiit, quaſi et in iſto diligentiſſimus explorator. Lib. v. adverſ. Marcion. c. 17. in initio.

[b] Ibid. c. 11. p. 570.

[c] Prolegom. in Epiſt. ad Epheſ.

[d] Annot. on Col. iv. 16.

[e] Annot. on the ſame place.

was

was formerly intitled *to the Laodiceans*; and Dr. Mill would perſuade us [a], that Paul himſelf directed it to the Laodiceans, and that the preſent title *to the Epheſians* is corrupt and falſe. This I ſhall have more occaſion to examine hereafter: in the mean time ſhall only obſerve, that Epiphanius ſeems in this matter worthy of more credit than Tertullian, becauſe it is certain Epiphanius ſaw and read the *Apoſtolicon* of Marcion; in which he ſays there were theſe two different Epiſtles; whereas it does not appear that Tertullian ever did, and therefore as it was eaſy for the latter to be impoſed upon in this caſe, ſo it was impoſſible the former ſhould.

CHAP. VII.

St. Paul wrote no Epiſtle to the Laodiceans. The Occaſion of the Forgery taken from Col. iv. 16. *Various Opinions upon that Text. The Opinion of Sir Norton Knatchbull, Le Clerc, and the Popiſh Writers, viz. That the Words relate to ſome loſt Epiſtle, refuted. The Opinion of Grotius, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Whitby, and Dr. Mill, viz. that the Epiſtle to the Laodiceans and Epheſians was the ſame, refuted.*

II. *ST. Paul did not write any Epiſtle to the Laodiceans; but that which gave occaſion to the forgery of an Epiſtle under that title*, was theſe words of Paul, Col. iv. 16. *And when this Epiſtle is read among you, cauſe that it be read alſo in the Church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewiſe read the Epiſtle from Laodicea.* The ſeeming ambiguity of the laſt words, καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνῶτε, and that *ye likewiſe read the Epiſtle from Laodicea*, has occaſioned much controverſy, and requires therefore a diſcuſſion here. For ſome therein have underſtood St. Paul, as ſpeaking of an *Epiſtle, written by him to the Church of Laodicea*, which he adviſes the Coloſſians to procure from thence, and *read publickly*

[a] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 73, 74, &c.

in their Church, as well as to tranſmit the Epiſtle which he wrote to them, to be publickly read at Laodicea. That ſeveral of the antients thus explained τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, is plain from Chryſoſtom [a]; and Theodoret [b], who expreſsly writes againſt this expoſition: *Some*, ſays he, *imagine Paul to have wrote an Epiſtle to the Laodiceans, and accordingly produce a certain forged Epiſtle* (ſo intitled): *but the holy Apoſtle does not ſay* τὴν πρὸς Λαοδικείας, *the Epiſtle* to *the Laodiceans, but* τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, *the Epiſtle* from *the Laodiceans*; for they had wrote to him on ſome occaſion. The old Latin Vulgate tranſlation is thought by ſeveral to favour this interpretation, *et ea*, or (as it is in Pope Clement the Eighth, and the Louvain edition [c]) *eam quæ Laodicenſium eſt.* Thus the Popiſh writers have generally underſtood this Verſion, and concluded from hence, that St. Paul means here an Epiſtle which he ſent to the Laodiceans. It is certain, ſays Bellarmine [d], from the New Teſtament, that *Paul's Epiſtle to the Laodiceans is now loſt, for he mentions it* Col. iv. 16. But it is not ſo ſtrange that the Popiſh writers ſhould fall into this miſtake, who take the corrupt tranſlation of the Vulgate for their infallible guide; though indeed even that does not neceſſarily favour their interpretation, ſeeing we may render *eam quæ Laodicenſium eſt, the Epiſtle of the Laodiceans*, meaning an Epiſtle written by them, as well or better than *the Epiſtle to the Laodiceans.* What ſeems more ſtrange is, that ſome Proteſtants, who regard the original Greek above any tranſlation, ſhould ſuppoſe the Apoſtle in theſe words to have referred to any Epiſtle wrote by himſelf to the Church of Laodicea, which yet I obſerve they have, though they do not agree as to the ſame Epiſtle; for

1. *Some have thought the Apoſtle refers to ſome Epiſtle of his to the Laodiceans, which is now loſt.* Thus Sir Norton Knatchbull; *The words mean*, ſays he [e], *an Epiſtle which was written*

[a] Homil. 12. in Epiſt. ad Coloſſ. apud Sim. Critic. Hiſtor. N. T. Par. 1. c. 15. p. 137.

[b] In Loc. apud eund.

[c] Vid. Jameſii Bellum Papale ad loc. p. 112.

[d] Apud Whitaker Controverſ. de Script. I. Quæſt. VI. c. 9. ſcil. lib. iv. de Verb. Dei, c. 4. Vid. Walther. Offic. Biblic. §. 1402.

[e] Annot. in loc.

from

from the Apoſtle to the Laodiceans, which, why or how it is loſt, as that other to the Corinthians, and another to the Epheſians, as alſo other books of Scripture, is known to God alone: for the phraſe is frequent, as, τινὲς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Συναγωγῆς, *ſome of the Synagogue*; οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, *the faithful*; οἱ ἐκ τῆς Στοᾶς, *the Stoicks*; ἀνέμοι ἐκ νυκτῶν χαλεποὶ, *the night-winds are grievous.* So Mr. Le Clerc in his French Verſion and Notes [a] τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, "Celle qui doit venir de Laodicée; ce qui ſuppoſe que S. "Paul avoit écrit à ceux de Laodicée, & leur avoit donné "ordre de faire part de ſa Lettre à ceux de Coloſſe; i. e. *The words ſuppoſe that St. Paul had wrote to the Church of Laodicea, and had given them orders to communicate part of their Epiſtle to the Coloſſians.* And in another place [b], the ſame author, citing theſe words of the Apoſtle's, adds, "Videtur etiam "Paulum Epiſtolam ad Laodicenſes ſcripſiſſe, quæ intercide-"rit, &c." i. e. *St. Paul ſeems* (by theſe words) *to intimate, that he had wrote an Epiſtle to the Laodiceans, which is now loſt; and the loſs of this gave afterwards occaſion of forging an Epiſtle under his name.* But how improbable this is, I ſhall ſhew preſently.

2. *Others ſuppoſe the Apoſtle to have referred, in theſe words, to an Epiſtle written by him, but not one that is loſt, but one now extant*; viz. the Epiſtle to the Epheſians. This opinion was firſt ſtarted by Grotius [c], who, to ſupport it, changes the true reading τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, and would have us read only τὴν Λαοδικείας, i. e. not the Epiſtle *from Laodicea*, but the Epiſtle *of the Laodiceans.* The annotations of this learned critick are generally eſteemed above all others by our Engliſh Divines; and accordingly Dr. Hammond [d], who has tranſcribed or tranſlated a great part of Grotius's notes into his Annotations on the New Teſtament, Dr. Whitby [e], who has notoriouſly tranſcribed from both, and Dr. Mill [f], have followed him in this opinion [g].

[a] In loc.

[b] Hiſtor. Eccleſ. ad Annum LXII. §. 10. p. 422.

[c] In Titul. Epiſt. ad Epheſ. & in hunc locum.

[d] In Coloſſ. iv. 16.

[e] In eund. loc.

[f] Prolegom. in Nov. Teſtam. §. 74, &c.

[g] Father Simon alſo is of this opinion. Crit. Hiſt. Nov. Teſt. par. 1. c. 15. p. 137.

But

But no one has ſaid ſo much for it as the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his Preliminary Diſcourſe to his Tranſlation of the Apoſtolick Fathers, Chap. IX. §. 12, 13, 14, 15. But that this opinion alſo is improbable, will preſently appear from what follows; for,

1.) Had the Apoſtle intended here any Epiſtle wrote to Laodicea, *he could not, with any tolerable propriety of ſpeech, have expreſſed himſelf as he does*; he muſt, as the Greek Scholiaſts ſay, rather have wrote πρὸς Λαοδικέας, or Λαοδικείαν, than ἐκ Λαοδικείας, i. e. he would have ſaid, *the Epiſtle* to *Laodicea*, and not *the Epiſtle* from *the Laodiceans*.

2.) Had he meant any Epiſtle of his writing, *it cannot be thought but he would have called it his Epiſtle*. How improbable is it, that when he was ſpeaking *of an Epiſtle of his* own writing to Laodicea, he ſhould ſtile it *that from Laodicea*, and not rather ſay, *My Epiſtle which I wrote to Laodicea?* Theſe two arguments hold equally againſt both the above-mentioned opinions; but beſides

It argues againſt the firſt, viz. Sir Norton Knatchbull's, and Le Clerc's, that *Paul refers to ſome Epiſtle* of his to Laodicea, now loſt, *that no one of the primitive Chriſtians, beſides Marcion, till the fourth century, has ever made the leaſt mention of ſuch Epiſtle*. None of the ſuppoſed Apoſtolical writers, as Clemens, Hermas, &c. none of the Fathers of the firſt, ſecond, or third century, ſeem ſo much as to have heard of ſuch an Epiſtle; the Syriack interpreter alſo knew nothing of it. Further, who, that has ever heard of the great zeal of the firſt Chriſtians, can imagine they would, through any careleſſneſs, loſe a treaſure of ſo much value? Laying therefore all this together, with the general proof that no Canonical book is loſt, Part II. Ch. III. and the oppoſition that is in the conſtruction of the Apoſtle's words to this interpretation, I need ſay no more to confute an opinion ſo groundleſs and precarious.

The other of Grotius and his followers is indeed more conſiderable; but againſt this I argue,

(1.) That the criticiſms of Grotius, by which he ſupports it, viz. his reading τὴν Λαοδικείας for τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, i. e. *the Epiſtle*

Epiſtle of the Laodiceans, for *the Epiſtle from the Laodiceans*, is precarious, and plainly formed to ſerve a turn; it being contrary to all manuſcripts that were ever yet ſeen [a], and all the Verſions, except the corrupt barbarous Vulgate, and all the citations of this place in the writings of the Fathers.

(2.) That if this reading were the true one, and Paul called it the Epiſtle of the Laodiceans, *it does not follow that he meant an Epiſtle of his to them; but his words may with equal, and more propriety of ſpeech, be conſtrued of their writing it, than of their receiving it, and his writing it.* Nor is that of any force which he urges out of the civil law, and Dr. Hammond after him, *That an Epiſtle is his, to whoſe meſſenger it is delivered, eſpecially when it is received by him*; for the decrees of the law in after times can be no proper explications of, or make any alterations in, the idiom of a language. Beſides, what is a more common way of ſpeech, than to ſay, *That is the Epiſtle of ſuch an one*, when we mean, *the perſon who wrote it?* But I muſt not omit obſerving, that the main ſtrength of this opinion lies in this, urged by Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, and after them by Dr. Mill, viz. that Marcion gave the title of *The Epiſtle to the Laodiceans* to that which is now called *The Epiſtle to the Epheſians:* but neither is this of any weight; for

1.) Though Tertullian (as above) ſays this of Marcion, yet I obſerve, that *in the ſame place he reckons this an interpolation of Marcion's, and not true*, Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare geſtiit, viz. *Marcion took upon him to give this falſe title to the Epiſtle to the Epheſians; and if he by a falſe act did this, how could Paul do it?* The authority they depend upon is directly againſt them; which I wonder theſe learned men did not obſerve. It is in vain therefore for Grotius to ſay, "Cur in eâ re mentiretur, &c." *There was no reaſon for Marcion to lie or forge in this inſtance*; and no leſs vain for Dr. Mill to ſay, *Though Marcion was a Heretick, yet there was no hereſy in this.* It is enough that it is falſe, and Tertullian himſelf calls it a forgery.

[a] See Dr. Mill. Var. Lect. in loc.

2.) *It*

2.) *It is very probable, Tertullian was miſtaken in aſſerting this of Marcion*, viz. that he changed the titles; becauſe, as I have above ſhewn, *Epiphanius is more worthy of credit*; ſeeing he ſaw and wrote a criticiſm upon Marcion's *Apoſtolicon*, in which, he ſays, he reckoned the Epiſtle to the Epheſians, and that to the Laodiceans, as two diſtinct and different Epiſtles. There are indeed ſome other things urged in favour of this opinion, as that of Grotius and Dr. Whitby, ver. 9. that there is a great reſemblance between the Epiſtle to the Coloſſians, and that to the Epheſians, both in the doctrines and exhortations, and in the very expreſſions; ſo that it is not to be wondered the Apoſtle would have that Epiſtle alſo read to the Coloſſians, to let them ſee that he wrote the ſame doctrine, and gave the ſame inſtruction to other Churches, and therefore this Epiſtle here ſtiled Ἐκ Λαοδικείας, was the ſame with that now intitled, *To the Epheſians*; but if this is an argument of any force, it will prove the very contrary to their purpoſe; for if the two Epiſtles were ſo exactly alike, there ſeems to be the leſs reaſon for his orders to the Coloſſians to procure it, and read it among them. The other arguments of the ſame ſort I may perhaps elſewhere conſider, but ſhall omit now, judging what I have ſaid ſufficient to prove, that *St. Paul wrote no Epiſtle to the Laodiceans, which is now loſt*; ſo that the *Epiſtle to the Epheſians did not formerly go under that denomination*.

Having had here occaſion thus to diſcuſs theſe words of St. Paul, I ſhall only ſubjoin two or three more opinions concerning them, with that which ſeems to me moſt probable upon the whole.

1. Theophylact[a] ſuppoſes, *Paul meant the firſt Epiſtle which he wrote to Timothy*, αὕτη γὰρ ἐκ Λαοδικείας ἐγράφη, *becauſe it was dated from Laodicea*. But this is not probable;

(1.) Becauſe the *Epiſtle to Timothy was written after this to the Coloſſians*. Of which hereafter.

(2.) Becauſe theſe *ſubſcriptions, or dates of the Canonical Epiſtles are of very precarious and uncertain original*, not

[a] In Col. iv. 16.

being

being affixed to them till a conſiderable time after they were firſt written.

(2.) Dr. Lightfoot propoſes a like conjecture, viz. *that if any one be not ſatisfied with the explication of the words as ſpoke of an Epiſtle ſent by the Laodiceans to Paul, let him, ſays he, rather underſtand them of the firſt Epiſtle of John, as written by him from Laodicea, than think it was an Epiſtle written by Paul from Laodicea, which is loſt* [a]. To which I anſwer;

1.) That it is not certain, whence this Epiſtle was written.

2.) That it is probable, if Paul had meant John's Epiſtle, he would have mentioned John's name.

3.) Others ſuppoſe it *the ſame as the Epiſtle to Philemon,* "whom *Paul calls his fellow-labourer,* exerciſing his miniſtry "in the neighbour city of Laodicea, which was ſent by One- "ſimus, and for the ſake of Oneſimus, who was a Coloſſian, "was to be read at Coloſs [b]. But this is a conjecture ſo en- "tirely groundleſs, as to deſerve no anſwer."

That upon the whole, which ſeems moſt probable is, that *Paul means ſome Epiſtle written by the Laodiceans,* which perhaps he ſent together with his own Epiſtle to the Coloſſians, as what might be uſeful to be read among them; and in this opinion I find ſeveral of thoſe learned men, whom I have mentioned in the beginning of this diſcourſe. However, it is very evident from the various interpretations of theſe words of St. Paul, *what it was which firſt gave occaſion to the forgery of an Epiſtle under his name to the Laodiceans; and from what has been ſaid concerning them, that St. Paul wrote no ſuch Epiſtle.*

[a] Harmony of the New Teſt. p. 137 and 153.

[b] See Mr. Adam's Expoſition on the place, among thoſe which go under the general name of Mr. Pool's Engliſh Annotations.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The preſent Epiſtle to the Laodiceans is not the ſame with the antient one under that Title in Marcion's Apoſtolicon. It is ſpurious and Apocryphal. It is compoſed out of St. Paul's genuine Epiſtles, eſpecially that to the Philippians. Eraſmus's Opinion of it. A Conjecture concerning its Original.

III. *THE preſent Epiſtle, under the name of* Paul to the Laodiceans, *is not the ſame which was in Marcion's Apoſtolicon, and which was ſeen by Epiphanius.*

1. I gather this from thoſe words which Epiphanius produces out of that Epiſtle to the Laodiceans, which was in Marcion's *Apoſtolicon*, viz. *There is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all* [a]; but neither theſe words, nor any like them, are to be found in the preſent Epiſtle; the old one therefore, and the preſent one, were not the ſame. I muſt indeed own, that theſe words are in the Epiſtle to the Epheſians (iv. 5, &c.), and this Epiphanius himſelf obſerves [b]; but this cannot be any objection to the force of my argument, becauſe that Father, who ſaw and read Marcion's *Apoſtolicon*, not only mentions theſe as two diſtinct Epiſtles, but expreſsly in the three ſeveral places cited, blames Marcion for taking this paſſage out of the Epiſtle to the Laodiceans.

2. I conclude the preſent one, and the antient Epiſtle to the Laodiceans, to be two different Epiſtles, becauſe *that which we have now contains nothing in it, that is or can by any be thought erroneous, or heterodox; but the old one was, by reaſon of the falſe doctrines it contained, rejected by the primitive Church.* Thus Philaſtrius informs us [c];

[a] Hær. 42. tom. i. p. 319, 374, 375.

[b] Ib. p. 374.

[c] Hæreſ. 78.

Alii autem Lucæ Evangeliſtæ aiunt Epiſtolam etiam ad Laodicenſes ſcriptam. Et quia addiderunt in eâ quædam non bene ſentientes, inde non legitur in Eccleſiâ; etſi legitur a quibuſdam, non tamen in Eccleſiâ legitur populo, niſi tredecim Epiſtolæ ipſius, et ad Hebræos interdum.

Others ſay, the Epiſtle to the Laodiceans was wrote by the Evangeliſt Luke. But becauſe the Hereticks have inſerted ſome (falſe) things, it is for that reaſon not read in the Church. Though it be read by ſome, yet there are no more than thirteen Epiſtles of Paul read to the people in the Church, and ſometimes that to the Hebrews.

To the ſame purpoſe is the account of Jerome [a].

Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenſes, ſed ab omnibus explo-ditur.

There are ſome who read (an Epiſtle under the name of Paul) to the Laodiceans; but it is rejected by all.

IV. *The Epiſtle under the name of* Paul to the Laodiceans, *is ſpurious and Apocryphal.* As to the antient one it is evident, becauſe it is rejected by all the primitive Chriſtians who have mentioned it, as appears by Philaſtrius and Jerome. To which add, that Epiphanius, blaming Marcion for making uſe of it, calls it, τῆς μὴ ὕσης ἐν Ἀποστόλῳ [b], i. e. *an Epiſtle which was not wrote by the Apoſtle.* But my concern is with that which is now extant; and that this is ſpurious and Apocryphal, is evident; becauſe

1. I have above ſhewn, that it was *a groundleſs opinion that St. Paul wrote any Epiſtle to the Laodiceans.*

2. *This Epiſtle is not cited in any of the primitive records of Chriſtianity, nor known to any of the primitive Chriſtians; not placed in their catalogue of ſacred books; not read in their Churches,* &c. Apocryphal therefore by Prop. IV, V, VI.

3. That which moſt notoriouſly and demonſtratively proves it Apocryphal is, that it is *for the moſt part tranſcribed or*

[a] Catal. Vir. Illuſtr. in Paulo. [b] Hæreſ. 42. p. 375.

ſtolen

ſtolen out of another book, or books. (Prop. XIV.) This is obſerved by Eraſmus [a], Fabritius [b], &c. the former of whom ſays, it was *ſtole out of the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Coloſſians*, but the latter more truly, *that it was ſtolen out of the Epiſtle of that Apoſtle to the Philippians.* This will be moſt apparently manifeſt by a bare caſting the eye upon the Epiſtle itſelf, and thoſe references and places of Scripture, which I have for the eaſier proof placed in a parallel column by the ſide of it.

4. Sixtus Senenſis (Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2. p. 88.) attempts to prove it ſpurious by an argument ſomewhat like the former, viz. *becauſe*, as he ſays, *there is nothing in it but what is more largely in the Epiſtle to the Coloſſians, and therefore Paul would not command that* it ſhould be read among the Coloſſians. Which indeed were a very undeniable argument, if the fact were true, and the contents of the Epiſtle to the Laodiceans were the ſame with that to the Coloſſians; but that the fact is not ſo, will be alſo evident by the parallel column which I have placed by the ſide of the Epiſtle above.

5. It is Apocryphal, *becauſe it is not in the Syriack Verſion.* (Prop. XV.)

The acute Eraſmus (on Col. iv. 16.) attempts to prove this Epiſtle ſpurious by the difference of its ſtile from that of St. Paul; Nihil vereor aſſeverare eam, quam Stapulenſis edidit, Pauli non eſſe. Non eſt cujuſvis hominis Paulinum pectus effingere; tonat, fulgurat, meras flammas loquitur Paulus: at hæc, præterquam quod breviſſima eſt, quam jacet, quam friget! Legat qui volet Epiſtolam; extat enim in Jacobi Fabri Stapulenſis Commentariis, nullum argumentum efficacius perſuaſerit eam non eſſe Pauli, quam ipſa Epiſtola. " I am not " afraid to aſſert, that the Epiſtle to the Laodiceans, which " Stapulenſis publiſhed, is not St. Paul's. It is not every " ſcribbler that can imitate the genius and ſtile of Paul; Paul " thunders, lightens, ſpeaks forth mere flames and fire: but " this Epiſtle, beſides its ſhortneſs, how languid and cold is " it! Let any one read the Epiſtle (it is extant in Jacobus

[a] Annot. in Col. iv. 16.

[b] Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſtam. t. ii. p. 873, &c.

" Faber

" Faber Stapulenſis's Commentaries), and nothing will more " effectually convince him, that it is not P ul's, than the " Epiſtle itſelf." This judgment of the learned Eraſmus, ſo elegantly expreſſed, ſeems to me very far from being right; for though the Epiſtle be certainly ſpurious, yet *its ſtile will not prove it to be ſo*, becauſe (as I have obſerved) it is for the moſt part taken out of one of St. Paul's genuine Epiſtles, and conſequently muſt needs be in his ſtile. It is ſurpriſing therefore, that Eraſmus ſhould make uſe of this argument, ſeeing he himſelf had made the ſame obſervation, though he miſtook the Epiſtle to the Coloſſians for that to the Philippians; as did alſo Sixtus Senenſis in the ſame matter [a]. In the next words that writer propoſes a conjecture concerning the author of this forgery, viz. that *it was made by the ſame perſon who corrupted the works of Jerome and the other Fathers.* I wiſh he had given us the reaſons of his opinion, and told us who this perſon was. If I were to gueſs concerning the time of its production, I would ſuppoſe that which we have now to be *of a very late original, and the compoſure of ſome idle monk, not long before the Reformation*; although I am not ignorant that Timotheus of Conſtantinople, a writer of the ſeventh century, according to Dr. Cave [b], reckons the *Epiſtle to the Laodiceans* among the more antient forgeries of the Manichees [c].

[a] Bibl. Sanct. l. 2. p. 88.

[b] Hiſtor. Literar. vol. 1. p. 447.

[c] Lib. de variis Hæretic. Vid. Fabr. Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſt. t. 1. p. 138, 139.

CHAP. IX.

Six Epiſtles of St. Paul to Seneca, and Eight of Seneca to Paul.

THE high opinion that ſeveral very learned writers have entertained of theſe Epiſtles, their undoubted antiquity, and their not being (as far as I know) yet tranſlated into Engliſh, influences me to inſert them here. The Jeſuit Salmeron cites them to prove, that Seneca was one of Cæſar's houſhold, referred to by Paul, Philip. iv. 22. as ſaluting the brethren at Philippi; and would perſuade us, that theſe Epiſtles of Paul to Seneca are not unlike the Epiſtles which are now received into the Canon, and directed to particular perſons, viz. that of St. Paul to Philemon, St. John's Second Epiſtle, which is *to the elect Lady*, and his Third, which is to Caius. Sixtus Senenſis has publiſhed them in his Bibliotheque, p. 89, 90; from whom I have here tranſcribed them.

Numb. IV. St. PAUL's EPISTLES to SENECA, with SENECA's to PAUL.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA *Salutem.*

Epiſt. I.

CREDO tibi, Paule, nunciatum quod heri cum Lucilio noſtro de hypocriſi et aliis rebus habuimus. Erant enim quidam diſciplinarum tuarum comites mecum; nam in hortos Salluſtianos ſeceſſeramus;

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting.*

Epiſt. I.

I SUPPOSE, Paul, that you have been informed of that converſation, which paſſed yeſterday between me and my Lucilius, concerning hypocriſy and other ſubjects; for there were ſome of your Diſciples in company with us; for when we were retired into the Salluſtian gardens, through which

quo in loco occaſione noſtra alio tendentes hi, de quibus dixi, nobis adjuncti ſunt. Certè quod tui præſentiam optamus, et hoc ſcias volo: libello tuo lecto, id eſt de plurimis literis aliquas Epiſtolas, quas ad aliquam civitatem ſeu caput provinciæ direxiſti, mira exhortatione vitam moralem continentes, uſque refecti ſumus. Quos ſenſus non puto ex te dictos, ſed per te, certe aliquando ex te, et per te; tanta enim majeſtas earum eſt rerum, tantaque generoſitate clarent, ut vix ſufficturas putem ætates hominum, quibus inſtitui perficique poſſint. Bene te valere, frater, cupio. Vale.

which they were alſo paſſing, and would have gone another way, by our perſuaſion they joined company with us. I deſire you to believe, that we much wiſh for your converſation: we were much delighted with your book of many Epiſtles, which you have wrote to ſome cities and chief towns of provinces, and contain wonderful inſtructions for moral conduct: ſuch ſentiments, as I ſuppoſe you were not the author of, but only the inſtrument of conveying, though ſometimes both the author and the inſtrument; for ſuch is the ſublimeneſs of thoſe doctrines, and their grandeur, that I ſuppoſe the age of a man is ſcarce ſufficient to be inſtructed and perfected in the knowledge of them. I wiſh your welfare, my brother. Farewell.

PAULUS SENECÆ *Salutem.*

Epiſt. I.

LITERAS tuas hilaris heri accepi: ad quas reſcribere ſtatim potui, ſi præſentiam juvenis, quem ad te miſſurus eram, habuiſſem; ſcis enim quando, et per quem, et quo tempore, et cui quid dari committique debeat. Rogo ergo

PAUL to SENECA *Greeting*

Epiſt. I.

I RECEIVED your letter yeſterday with pleaſure; to which I could immediately have wrote an anſwer, had the young man been at home, whom I intended to have ſent to you: for you know when, and by whom, at what ſeaſons, and to whom I muſt deliver every thing which I ſend. I deſire therefore you would

ne te putes neglectum, dum perſonæ qualitatem inſpicio: ſed quod literis meis vos refectos ſcribis; felicem me arbitror tanti viri judicio. Neque enim diceris cenſor, ſophiſta, ac magiſter tanti principis, et etiam omnium, niſi quia vera dicis. Opto te diu bene valere.

not charge me with negligence, if I wait for a proper perſon. I reckon myſelf very happy in having the judgment of ſo valuable a perſon, that you are delighted with my Epiſtles: for you would not be eſteemed a cenſor, a philoſopher, or be the tutor of ſo great a prince, and a maſter of every thing, if you were not ſincere. I wiſh you a laſting proſperity.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA *Salutem.*

Epiſt. II.

QUÆDAM volumina ordinavi, et diviſionibus ſuis ſtatum eis dedi. Ea quoque legere Cæſari ſum deſtinatus: et ſi modo ſors proſpere annuerit, eris forſitan et tu præſens: ſin aliàs, reddam tibi diem, ut invicem hoc opus inſpiciamus. Decreveram non prius edere ei hanc ſcripturam, niſi prius tecum conferrem, ſi modo impune hoc fieri potuiſſet; ut ſcires et te non præteriri. Vale, Paule chariſſime.

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting.*

Epiſt. II.

I HAVE completed ſome volumes, and divided them into their proper parts. I am determined to read them to Cæſar, and if any favourable opportunity happens, you alſo ſhall be preſent, when they are read; but if that cannot be, I will appoint and give you notice of a day, when we will together read over the performance. I had determined, if I could with ſafety, firſt to have your opinion of it, before I publiſhed it to Cæſar, that you might be convinced of my affection to you. Farewell, deareſt Paul.

PAULUS SENECÆ *Salutem.*

Epiſt. II.

QUOTIESCUNQUE li-

PAUL to SENECA *Greeting.*

Epiſt. II.

AS often as I read your letters,

teras tuas audio, præſentiam tui cogito; nec aliud exiſtimo, quam omni tempore te nobiſcum eſſe: cum primum itaque venire cœperis, invicem nos et de proximo videbimus. Bene te valere opto.

letters, I imagine you preſent with me; nor indeed do I think any other, than that you are always with us. As ſoon therefore as you begin to come, we ſhall preſently ſee each other. I wiſh you all proſperity.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA *Salutem.*

Epiſt. III.

NIMIO tuo angimur ſeceſſu: quid eſt vel quæ res te remoratum faciunt? Si indignatio Domini, quod a ritu et ſecta veteri receſſeris, et alios rurſus converteris; erit poſtulandi locus, ut ratione factum, non levitate hoc exiſtimet. Vale.

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting.*

Epiſt. III.

WE are very much concerned at your too long abſence from us. What is it, or what affairs are they, which obſtruct your coming? If you fear the anger of Cæſar, becauſe you have abandoned your former religion, and made proſelytes alſo of others, you have this to plead, that your acting thus proceeded not from inconſtancy, but judgment. Farewell.

PAULUS SENECÆ & LUCILIO *Salutem.*

Epiſt. III.

DE his quibus, vel quæ mihi ſcripſiſtis, non licet harundine et atramento eloqui: quarum altera res notat et deſignat aliquid, altera evidenter oſtendit; præcipue cum ſciam inter vos eſſe, ſicut apud nos, et in nobis, qui me intelligunt.

PAUL to SENECA and LUCILIUS *Greeting.*

Epiſt. III.

CONCERNING thoſe things, about which ye wrote to me, it is not proper for me to mention any thing in writing with pen and ink: the one of which leaves marks, and the other evidently declares things. Eſpecially ſince I know that there are near you, as well as me, thoſe who will underſtand my meaning.

Honor habendus eſt omnibus, et tanto magis his, qui indignandi occaſionem captant: quibus ſi patientiam oſtendemus, omnimodo eos ex quacunque parte vincemus: ſi modo hi ſunt, qui pœnitentiam ſui gerant. Bene valete.

Deference is to be paid to all men, and ſo much the more, as they are more likely to take occaſions of quarrelling. And if we ſhew a ſubmiſſive temper, we ſhall overcome effectually in all points, if ſo be they are ſuch, who are capable of ſeeing and acknowledging themſelves to have been in the wrong. Farewell.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA *Salutem.*

Epiſt. IV.

PROFITEOR bene me acceptum in lectione literarum tuarum, quas Galatis, Corinthiis, et Achæis miſiſti. Spiritus enim Sanctus in te et ſupra te excelſos, ſublimiores, valdeque venerabiles ſenſus exprimit. Vellem itaque, cum res eximias proferas, ut majeſtati earum cultus ſermonis non deſit; et ne quid tibi ſic, frater, ſurripiam, aut conſcientiæ meæ debeam, confiteor Auguſtum ſenſibus tuis permotum; cui, lecto literarum tuarum exordio, hæc vox fuit; "Mirari eum poſſe, ut "qui non legitime imbutus

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting.*

Epiſt. IV.

I PROFESS myſelf extremely pleaſed with the reading your letters to the Galatians, Corinthians, and people of Achaia. For the Holy Ghoſt has in them by you delivered thoſe ſentiments which are very lofty, ſublime, deſerving of all reſpect, and beyond your own invention. I could wiſh therefore, that when you are writing things ſo extraordinary, there might not be wanting an elegancy of ſpeech agreeable to their majeſty. And I muſt own, my brother, that I may not at once diſhoneſtly conceal any thing from you, and be unfaithful to my own conſcience, that the Emperor is extremely pleaſed with the ſentiments of your Epiſtles; for when he heard the beginning of them read, he declared, *That he was ſurpriſed to find ſuch notions in a perſon, who had not had a regular*

" ſit, taliter ſentiat." Cui ego reſpondi; " Solere Deos ore " innocentium effari, addens " ei exemplum Vatieni ho- " minis ruſticuli: cui cum " duo viri apparuiſſent in a- " gro Reatino, qui Caſtor et " Pollux ſunt nominati, di- " vinitus inſtructus fuit." Vale.

gular education. To which I replied, *That the Gods ſometimes made uſe of mean* (innocent) *perſons to ſpeak by, and gave him an inſtance of this in a mean countryman, named Vatienus, who, when he was in the country of Reate, had two men appeared to him, called Caſtor and Pollux, and received a revelation from the gods.* Farewell.

PAULUS SENECÆ *Salutem.*

Epiſt. IV.

LICET non ignorem Cæſarem noſtrarum rerum admiratorem et amatorem eſſe, permittes tamen te non lædi, ſed admoneri: puto enim te graviter feciſſe, quod in notitiam perferre voluiſti, quod ritui et diſciplinæ ejus ſit contrarium; cum et ille gentium deos colat. Quid tibi viſum ſit, ut hoc eum ſcire velles, non video; ſed nimio amore meo facere te hoc exiſtimo: rogo te de futuro, ne id agas; cavendum eſt enim, ne dum me diligis, offenſam Domino facias: cujus quidem offenſa

PAUL to SENECA *Greeting.*

Epiſt. IV.

ALTHOUGH I know the Emperor is both an admirer and favourer of our (religion), yet give me leave to adviſe you againſt your ſuffering any injury (by ſhewing favour to us). I think indeed you ventured upon a very dangerous attempt, when you would declare (to the Emperor) that which is ſo very contrary to his religion, and way of worſhip; ſeeing he is a worſhipper of the Heathen gods. I know not what you particularly had in view, when you told him of this; but I ſuppoſe you did it out of a too great reſpect for me. But I deſire that for the future you would not do ſo; for you had need be careful, leſt by ſhewing your affection to me, you ſhould offend your maſter: his anger indeed will do us no

nec oberit, ſi perſeveraverit; neque, ſi non ſit, proderit. Si eſt regina, non indignabitur: ſi mulier eſt, offendetur. Bene vale.

harm, if he continue a heathen; nor will his not being angry be of any ſervice to us: and if the Empreſs act worthy of her character, ſhe will not be angry; but if ſhe act as a woman, ſhe will be affronted. Farewell.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA *Salutem.*

Epiſt. V.

SCIO te non tam mei cauſa commotum literis, quas ad te de editione Epiſtolarum tuarum Cæſari feci, quam natura rerum: quæ ita mentes hominum ab omnibus artibus et moribus revocat, ut non hodie admirer; quippe ut is, qui multis documentis hoc jam notiſſimum habeam: igitur nove agamus; tu, ſi quid facile in præteritum actum eſt, veniam irrogabis. Miſi tibi librum *de verborum copia.* Vale, Paule chariſſime.

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting.*

Epiſt. V.

I KNOW that my letter, wherein I acquainted you, that I had read to the Emperor your Epiſtles, does not ſo much affect you as the nature of the things (contained in them), which do ſo powerfully divert men's minds from their former manners and practices, that I have always been ſurpriſed, and have been fully convinced of it by many arguments heretofore: let us therefore begin afreſh; and if any thing heretofore has been imprudently acted, do you forgive. I have ſent you a book *de copia verborum.* Farewell, deareſt Paul.

PAULUS SENECÆ *Salutem.*

Epiſt. V.

QUOTIES tibi ſcribo, et nomen meum tibi præfero, gravem et ſectæ meæ incongruam rem facio: debeo enim, ut ſæpe profeſſus ſum,

PAUL to SENECA *Greeting.*

Epiſt. V.

AS often as I write to you, and place my name before yours, I do a thing both diſagreeable to myſelf, and contrary to our religion: for I ought, as I have often declared,

cum omnibus omnia eſſe, et idem obſervare in tuam perſonam, quod Lex Romana honori ſenatus conceſſerit, ſcilicet in Epiſtolæ ultimum locum eligere, ne cum aporia et dedecore cupiam efficere quod mei arbitrii fuerit. Vale, devotiſſime Magiſter. Data quinto kal. Julii, Nerone quarto et Meſſala conſulibus.

clared, *to become all things to all men*, and to have that regard to your quality, which the Roman Law has honoured all ſenators with; viz. to put my name laſt in the (inſcription of the) Epiſtle, that I may not at length with uneaſineſs and ſhame be obliged to do that which it was always my inclination to do. Farewell, moſt reſpected maſter. Dated the fifth of the calends of July, in the fourth Conſulſhip of Nero and Meſſala.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA *Salutem.*

Epiſt. VI.

AVE, mi Paule chariſſime. Si mihi, nominique meo vir tantus, et dilectus omnibus modis, non dico fueris junctus, ſed neceſſario mixtus: apte actum erit de Seneca tuo. Cum ſis igitur vertex et altiſſimorum omnium montium cacumen, haud te indignum in prima facie epiſtolarum nominandum cenſeas; ne tam tentare me, quam ludere videaris; quippe cum ſcias civem eſſe te Romanum. Nam qui meus, tuus apud te locus; qui tuus, velim ut

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting.*

Epiſt. VI.

ALL happineſs to you, my deareſt Paul. If a perſon ſo great, and every way agreeable as you are, become not only a common, but moſt intimate friend to me, how happy will be the caſe of Seneca! You therefore, who are ſo eminent, and ſo far exalted above all, even the greateſt, do not think yourſelf unfit to be firſt named in the inſcription of an Epiſtle; leſt I ſhould ſuſpect you intend not ſo much to try me, as to banter me; for you know yourſelf to be a Roman citizen. And I could wiſh to be in that circumſtance or ſtation which you are, and that you were in the ſame that I am.

Farewell,

meus. Vale, Paule chariſſime. Data x. kal. Aprilis, Apriano et Capitone conſulibus.

Farewell, deareſt Paul. Dated the xth of the calends of April, in the Conſulſhip of Aprianus and Capito.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA *Salutem.*

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting.*

Epiſt. VII.

AVE, mi Paule chariſſime. Putaſne me haud contriſtari et non luctuoſum eſſe, quod de innocentia veſtra ſubinde ſumatur ſupplicium? dehinc, quod tam obnoxios vos reatui omnis populus judicet, putans a vobis effici, quod in urbe contrarium ſit? ſed feramus æquo animo, et utamur foro, quod ſors conceſſit, donec invicta felicitas finem malis imponat. Tulit et priſcorum ætas Macedonem Philippi filium, et Dionyſium: noſtra quoque Caium Cæſarem: quibus quicquid libuit, licuit. Incendium urbs Romana unde ſæpe patiatur, manifeſte conſtat: ſed ſi effari humilitas humana potuiſſet, et impune his tenebris loqui liceret, jam omnes omnia viderent. Chriſtiani et Judæi, quaſi

Epiſt. VII.

ALL happineſs to you, my deareſt Paul. Do you not ſuppoſe I am extremely concerned and grieved, that your innocence ſhould bring you into ſufferings? And that all the people ſhould ſuppoſe you (Chriſtians) ſo criminal, and imagine all the misfortunes that happen to the city, to be cauſed by you? But let us bear the charge with a patient temper, appealing (for our innocence) to the court (above), which is the only one our hard fortune will allow us to addreſs to, till at length our misfortunes ſhall end in unalterable happineſs. Former ages have produced (tyrants) Alexander the ſon of Philip, and Dionyſius; ours alſo has produced Caius Cæſar; whoſe inclinations were their only laws. As to the frequent burnings of the city of Rome, the cauſe is manifeſt; and if a perſon in my mean circumſtances might be allowed to ſpeak, and one might declare theſe dark things without danger, every one ſhould ſee the whole of the matter. The Chriſtians

machinatores, incendii, ſupplicio affici ſolent. Graſſator iſte, quiſquis eſt, cui voluptas carnificina eſt, et mendacium velamentum, tempori ſuo deſtinatus eſt; et ſicut optimi cujuſque caput pro uno donatur capite, ita unum pro multis dabitur caput, et hic devotus pro omnibus igni cremabitur. Centum triginta duæ domus, inſulæ quatuor ſex diebus arſere: ſeptimus pauſam dedit. Bene te valere opto. Data quinto kalend. Aprilis, Frigio et Baſſo conſulibus.

Chriſtians and Jews are indeed commonly puniſhed for the crime of burning the city; but that impious miſcreant, who delights in murders and butcheries, and diſguiſes his villainies with lies, is appointed to, or reſerved till, his proper time; and as the life of every excellent perſon is now ſacrificed inſtead of that one perſon (who is the author of the miſchief), ſo this one ſhall be ſacrificed for many, and he ſhall be devoted to be burnt with fire inſtead of all. One hundred and thirty two houſes, and four whole ſquares (or iſlands) were burnt down in ſix days: the ſeventh put an end to the burning. I wiſh you all happineſs. Dated the fifth of the calends of April, in the conſulſhip of Frigius and Baſſus.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA *Salutem.*

Epiſt. VIII.

AVE, mi Paule chariſſime. Allegorice et ænigmatice multa a te uſquequaque opera conduntur, et ideo rerum tanta vis et muneris tibi tributa, non ornamento verborum, ſed cultu quodam decoranda eſt. Sæpius te dixiſſe retineo, multos, qui talia affectent, ſenſus corrumpere, et rerum virtutes evitare. Cæ-

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL *Greeting.*

Epiſt. VIII.

ALL happineſs to you, my deareſt Paul. You have wrote many volumes in an allegorical and myſtical ſtyle, and therefore ſuch mighty matters and buſineſs being committed to you, require not to be ſet off with any rhetorical flouriſhes of ſpeech, but only with ſome proper elegance. I remember you often ſay, that *many by affecting ſuch a ſtyle do injury to their ſubjects, and loſe the force of the matters*

they

terum hoc mihi concedas velim: Latinitati morem gere, honeſtis vocibus ſpeciem adhibe, ut generoſi muneris conceſſio digne a te poſſit expediri: bene vale. Data v. nonas Julii, Leone et Savino conſulibus.

they treat of. But in this I deſire you to regard me, viz. to have reſpect to true Latin, and to chooſe juſt words, that ſo you may the better manage the noble truſt, which is repoſed in you. Farewell. Dated v^th^ of the nones of July, Leo and Savinus conſuls.

PAULUS SENECÆ *Salutem.*

Epiſt. VI.

PERPENDENTI tibi ea ſunt revelata, quæ paucis Divinitas conceſſit. Certus igitur ego in agro jam fertili ſemen fortiſſimum ſero, non quidem materiam, quæ corrumpi videtur, ſed verbum ſtabile Dei derivamentum creſcentis, et manentis in æternum. Quod prudentia tua aſſecuta eſt, indeficiens fore debebit: Ethnicorum Iſraelitarumque obſervationes cenſeto vitandas. Quæ propemodum adeptus es, regi temporali, ejuſque domeſticis atque fidis amicis inſinuabis. Quibus etſi aſpera et incaptibilis erit perſuaſio tua, cum plerique eorum minime flectantur inſinuationibus tuis; ſermo tamen Dei illis inſtil-

PAUL to SENECA *Greeting.*

Epiſt. VI.

YOUR ſerious conſideration is requited with thoſe diſcoveries, which the Divine Being has granted but to few. I am thereby aſſured that I ſow the moſt ſtrong ſeed in a fertile ſoil, not any thing material, which is ſubject to corruption, but the durable word of God, which ſhall increaſe and bring forth fruit to eternity. That which by your wiſdom you have attained to, ſhall abide without decay for ever. Believe that you ought to avoid the ſuperſtitions of Jews and Gentiles. The things which you have in ſome meaſure arrived to, prudently inſinuate (make known) to the Emperor, his family, and to faithful friends; and though your ſentiments will ſeem diſagreeable, and not be comprehended by them, ſeeing moſt of them will not regard your diſcourſes, yet the

Word

latus, novum in his hominem pariet ad Deum hinc properantem. Vale, Seneca, charissime nobis. Data kalend. Augusti, Leone et Savino consulibus.

Word of God once infused into them, will at length make them become new men, aspiring towards God. Farewell, Seneca, who art most dear to us. Dated on the calends of August, in the consulship of Leo and Savinus.

CHAP. X.

The Letters of Paul and Seneca known in the fourth Century. No Christian Writers, except Jerome and Austin, saw them. The Acts of Linus Spurious. The present Epistles are the same with the antient ones. Jerome and Austin did not esteem them genuine.

I. *THERE were extant in the fourth century, or sooner, certain letters under the name of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul.* This is evident by the testimonies of Jerome, who places Seneca, by reason of those letters, *among the Ecclesiastical and holy writers of the Christian Church* [a].

Lucius Annæus Seneca Cordubensis, Sotionis Stoici discipulus, et patruus Lucani Poetæ, continentissimæ vitæ fuit; quem non ponerem in *Catalogo Sanctorum*, nisi me illæ Epistolæ provocarent, quæ leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam, et Senecæ

Lucius Annæus Seneca, born at Corduba (in Spain) a disciple of Sotio a Stoick [b], and uncle of Lucan the poet, was a person of very extraordinary temperance; whom I should not have ranked in (my) *Catalogue of Saints*, but that I was determined to

[a] Catalog. Vir. illustr. in Seneca.

[b] So I observe Seneca himself calls him, Epist. 108. p. 533. and not Photinus, as Senensis read in his copy of Jerome, Bibl. Sanct. l. 2. p. 88. in voc. Paulus.

it

ad Paulum. In quibus, cum eſſet Neronis magiſter, et illius temporis potentiſſimus, optare ſe dicit, *ejus eſſe loci apud ſuos, cujus ſit Paulus apud Chriſtianos.* Hic ante biennium quam Petrus et Paulus coronarentur Martyrio, a Nerone interfectus eſt.

it by thoſe *Epiſtles of Paul to Seneca*, and *Seneca to Paul, which are read by many.* In which, though he was at that time tutor to Nero, and made a very conſiderable figure (at Rome), he ſaith, *he wiſhed to be of the ſame repute (or ſervice) among thoſe of his country, as Paul was among the Chriſtians.* He was ſlain by Nero two years before Peter and Paul were honoured with martyrdom.

In St. Auſtin's 54th Epiſtle, to his friend Macedonius, we read, as followeth.

Merito ait Seneca, qui temporibus Apoſtolorum fuit, cujus etiam quædam ad Paulum Apoſtolum leguntur Epiſtolæ, Omnes odit qui malos odit.

It was true which Seneca (who lived in the time of the Apoſtles, and *who wrote certain Epiſtles to St. Paul, which are now read*) ſaid, He who will hate thoſe which are wicked, muſt hate all men.

II. *Beſides the two Fathers above cited, viz. Jerome and Auſtin, it does not appear that any of the antient Chriſtian writers did either ſee or hear of any of theſe Epiſtles.* Some indeed of the Popiſh writers, who have credited the genuineneſs of theſe Epiſtles, as Sixtus Senenſis[a], the Jeſuit Salmero[b], and others, produce a paſſage out of the *Acts of Pope Linus*, who was the perſon mentioned by St. Paul in his ſecond Epiſtle to Timothy (c. iv. ver. 21.) if we may credit the antients, and ſucceſſor to St. Peter in his biſhoprick at Rome. This

[a] Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2. p. 89.
[b] Comment. in Phil. iv. 22.

apud Coc. Cenſur. Script. veter. p. 10, 11.

Ire-

Irenæus [a], Euſebius [b], Epiphanius [c], Jerome [d], and others, have recorded. The paſſage cited by Senenſis and Salmero out of theſe Acts, or books, ſuppoſed to be written by Linus, concerning the ſuffering of Peter and Paul, as I find it in the former, is this; ſpeaking of the friendſhip of Paul and Seneca, he adds,

Concurſus de domo Cæſaris fiebat ad eum, ſed et inſtitutor Imperatoris adeo fuit illi amicitia copulatus, videns in eo divinam ſcientiam, ut ſe a colloquio ipſius temperare vix poſſet, quo minus, ſi ore ad os illum alloqui non valeret, *frequentibus datis et acceptis Epiſtolis*, ipſius dulcedine et amicabili colloquio atque conſilio frueretur.

Several of the family of Cæſar were wont to attend upon Paul. The Emperor's tutor (Seneca) had ſo entire a friendſhip for him, perceiving his divine knowledge, that he was ſcarce able to refrain (from breaking through all dangers [e]) to enjoy his converſation. But though he was not able perſonally to converſe with him, he *enjoyed by frequent letters which paſſed between them, the pleaſure of his free and friendly correſpondence and advice.*

I eaſily agree with Sixtus Senenſis and Salmero, that the preſent Epiſtles are referred to in this paſſage, but can by no means think that they receive the leaſt credit or authority thereby; becauſe it is moſt notoriouſly evident, that theſe *Acts of Linus*, or *Hiſtory of the ſufferings of Peter and Paul*, publiſhed under his name, are ſpurious, and a late forgery, and accordingly are as ſuch rejected by Claudius Eſpencæus [f], Baronius [g], Bellarmine [h], Peſſevinus [i], Joannes Maria Braſi-

[a] Adverſ. Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 3. vid. et Fen. Ardent. in loc.
[b] Hiſtor. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 2. & 4. & l. 5. c. 6. ex Irenæo.
[c] Hæreſ. 27. Carpocrat. §. 6.
[d] Catal. Vir. illuſtr. in Clemen.
[e] He refers to the rage of the Emperor againſt the Chriſtians.
[f] Comment. in Philip. cap. ult. apud Cocum Cenſur. p. 14.
[g] Annal. tom. 1. ad Ann. 69. n. 9. & ad Ann. 80. n. 4. Apud eund. p. 15.
[h] De Scriptor. Eccleſ. p. 48.
[i] Apparat. in Lino apud Coc. ibid. et Cave Hiſt. Liter. vol. 1. in Lino, p. 17.

chalan,

chalan[a], Du Pin[b], &c. among the Popiſh writers; by Coke[c], Rivet[d], Dr. Cave[e], Spanheim[f], &c. among the Proteſtants. Nor indeed is it ſtrange they ſhould be ſo univerſally rejected, if we conſider that they are utterly unknown to all the writers of the firſt eleven centuries after Chriſt, and not mentioned by any one until Sigibertus Gemblacenſis, a monk, who lived about the year of Chriſt MC. mentioned them in his book *de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt.*[g] Beſides, it were eaſy from ſeveral evidences out of the book itſelf to prove it ſpurious. It appears, as Eſpencæus[h] obſerves, to contain *the ſentiments of the Manichees*, and *Peter is there introduced, as urging the doctrines of celibacy, and not only forcing away men's concubines from them, but exhorting women, contrary to St. Paul's expreſs advice* (1 Cor. vii. 3.), *to an undue behaviour to their huſbands*; and both Baronius and Bellarmine[i] have proved it to be full of many falſities in hiſtory and doctrine. Among other things, ſays Bellarmine, the Author of it tells us, *that Agrippa was governor of Rome at the time of St. Peter's ſuffering, and that St. Peter was ſlain by Agrippa's own hands, without the knowledge or conſent of the Emperor Nero, who afterwards blamed the officer for putting him to death.* But it is certain, ſays the Cardinal, *that Agrippa was not governor of the city then*, and that *the putting of Peter to death was diſpleaſing to Nero, is contrary to all the antient Fathers.* The ſaid Author in another place relates, that St. Peter *urged and obliged the wife of Albanus to leave her huſband's bed* (upon a pretence of chaſtity) *contrary to her huſband's intreaties and remonſtrances.* But this, ſays Bellarmine, cannot be St. Peter's doctrine, being directly contrary to the doctrine of his fellow-apoſtle St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. Upon the whole then, if theſe Acts of Linus be thus ſpurious, and a late forgery, I may venture to aſſert, that though this writer has mentioned the Epiſtles of Paul and

[a] Biblioth. Patr. tom. 7. apud eoſdem.
[b] Hiſtory of the Canon of the New Teſt. vol. 2. chap. 6. §. 11.
[c] Cenſur. quorund. veterum Scriptor. p. 14, 15.
[d] Critic. Sacr. lib. 1. c. 5.
[e] Hiſtor. Literar. in Lino, vol. 1. p. 17.
[f] Hiſt. Eccl. Seecul. I. p. 581.
[g] Loc. jam cit.
[h] Apud Cocum ubi ſupra.
[i] Locis jam cit.

Seneca,

Seneca, which we have now under conſideration, yet they receive no credit or authority thereby, and have not been mentioned by any of the antient Chriſtian writers, except Jerome, and ſome of them by Auſtin in the places above produced.

III. *The preſent Epiſtles under the name of Seneca to Paul, and Paul to Seneca, ſeem to be the ſame with thoſe ſeen by Jerome.* This is (as far as I find) generally agreed by thoſe who have conſidered theſe Epiſtles, and compared them with what Jerome ſays. So Baronius, Sixtus Senenſis, Bellarmine, and Rivet in the places above-cited; and beſides theſe Dr. Grabe [a], and Mr. Fabritius [b]. The foundation of this opinion is, that *the paſſage which Jerome mentions to have been in the Letters of Seneca to Paul is to be found now in one of thoſe Epiſtles, which we have.*

The paſſage in Jerome is;	The paſſage, as it is in the preſent ſixth Epiſtle of Seneca to Paul, is;
In quibus optare ſe dicit ejus eſſe loci apud ſuos, cujus ſit Paulus apud Chriſtianos, i. e. *In one of his letters* (to Paul) Seneca ſaith, *He wiſhed to be of the ſame repute (or ſervice) among thoſe of his country, as Paul was among the Chriſtians.*	Qui meus, tuus apud te locus, qui tuus, velim ut meus, i. e. *I could wiſh that I were in that circumſtance (or ſtation) in which thou art, and that thou wert in the ſame ſtation that I am.*

Theſe paſſages are ſo very like, that I think it cannot with any reaſon be doubted, but that they prove my preſent obſervation. All that can poſſibly be objected, is, that *perhaps a late forger of theſe Epiſtles might, knowing this place in Jerome, take care to inſert this, to prevent any ſuſpicion of his forgery:*

[a] Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 82. p. 2. p. 281.
[b] Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſtam.

but this is an objection ſo very precarious and improbable, that I ſuppoſe it will be enough to ſay, in anſwer to it, that it cannot be of any force, unleſs there be ſome *prior* proof of the forgery of theſe Epiſtles after Jerome's time, which I believe has not yet been attempted.

IV. *The Epiſtles of Seneca to Paul, and Paul to Seneca, do not appear to have been received as genuine and authentick by Jerome and Auſtin.* As to Auſtin, I obſerve, that he does no where mention the letters of Paul to Seneca, *but only thoſe of Seneca to Paul.* This will be ſo evident by caſting the eye upon the place cited, that I wonder it has not been taken notice of before; but that learned men following one another, without making due enquiry themſelves, have preſumed upon that as fact, which is apparently not ſo; ſee Rivet, Du Pin, Dr. Cave, Dr. Grabe, and others in the places above cited, who have careleſsly aſſerted, *that Auſtin looked upon the Epiſtles of Paul to Seneca to be genuine:* whereas on the contrary, I affirm, that he has never once mentioned them. And here by the way I cannot but take notice of a notorious blunder in *Mr. Toland's famous Catalogue* [a]; who having placed there the Epiſtles of Paul to Seneca, and thoſe of Seneca to Paul, cites not only the places of Auſtin and Jerome abovementioned, but another place in Auſtin's book *De Civit. Dei*, l. 6. c. 10. as though that Father had not only in one place but the other cited theſe Epiſtles; whereas all that he ſaith there is, "Libertas—Annæo Senecæ quem nonnullis indiciis "invenimus Apoſtolorum noſtrorum claruiſſe temporibus." i. e. *I have found by ſome arguments that Seneca lived in the time of our Apoſtles.* This is all that Father ſays; but where is the mention of any Epiſtles? Where does he cite them as genuine? But I eaſily ſee how he was led into this miſtake. He ſaw ſome writers had cited this place of Auſtin, and that Ludovicus Vives in his notes propoſes it as a conjecture, that poſſibly Auſtin might know Seneca lived in the Apoſtles' time, by theſe letters; and hence he concludes that Auſtin

[a] Amyntor. p. 31.

actually

actually mentioned them. But ſuch unfair practice (as I have obſerved in the former part) was very common with this trifling writer, the better to adorn and grace his Catalogue. But to return to my obſervation, it does not appear that St. Auſtin did cite or look upon theſe Epiſtles of Paul to Seneca as genuine, becauſe he has never mentioned them: I add, nor is it probable that he ever ſaw them, or heard of them; for if he had, it is almoſt impoſſible to ſuppoſe but that he would have mentioned thoſe of Paul to Seneca at the ſame time, and in the ſame place, where he mentions thoſe of Seneca to Paul. But let us ſuppoſe, that when he mentions the one, he implied alſo the other, it does by no means appear that he cited them, as Rivet ſays, or acknowledged them as genuine, as both he and the authors above-mentioned conclude, concerning him and Jerome. All thoſe Fathers ſay, is, that *they were read*; Jerome adds, *by many*. But does this imply, that they were read and received by them? Do not the words ſeem clearly to imply and intimate the contrary? Their words are plainly to this effect, *There are certain Epiſtles of Seneca to Paul, which are ſpread up and down, and read by ſome perſons among us, but I ſee no reaſon to acknowledge them.* Had either of theſe Fathers known or believed theſe to be the genuine Epiſtles of St. Paul, can it be imagined they would have ſaid no more of them? Would they not have declared their belief in this matter, and recommended them to the peruſal of the churches? Would they not have cited them, or tranſcribed either ſome part or the whole of them into their works? This ſeems to me good preſumptive evidence againſt the unanimous opinion of the learned, that neither of theſe Fathers acknowledged theſe Epiſtles as genuine. And I cannot but obſerve here, that though Mr. Du Pin ſays they ſeem to have owned them as genuine, yet a few lines after he ſeems to contradict himſelf, and ſays, *It is to be obſerved, that they do not declare poſitively that theſe Epiſtles were genuine, but only that they were commonly ſo reputed, and read under their names*; and he, in a note at the bottom of the page, endeavours by a very good argument to prove, that St. Auſtin did not believe theſe to be the letters of Seneca, viz. becauſe, ſays he, that

Father (lib. 6. c. 11. [a] *De Civit. Dei*) ſays, *that Seneca has neither praiſed nor diſpraiſed the Chriſtians*; but the former of theſe is evidently done in theſe Epiſtles.

It may indeed be objected againſt my obſervation, that Jerome ſeems to have believed the genuineneſs of theſe Epiſtles, *becauſe it was upon the account of them that Jerome placed Seneca in his Catalogue of Chriſtian or Eccleſiaſtical writers.* (See the place above.) This influenced Rivet[b], Pamelius[c], and others to this opinion. But to this I anſwer, (1.) *That Jerome did this very probably in conformity to the opinion of thoſe who did read and look upon theſe Epiſtles as genuine*; who, if he had omitted it, would for this reaſon have looked upon his work as imperfect. (2.) *That very ſlender reaſons would prevail upon Jerome to give any perſon a place among his Eccleſiaſtical writers.* On this ſcore we find Joſephus and Philo Judæus have their places aſſigned them among the Chriſtian writers in this book; the former becauſe of his teſtimony concerning Jeſus Chriſt[d]; the other becauſe of his account[e] of the Therapeutæ, or Eſſenes in Egypt, whom Euſebius[f], and after him Jerome[g], ſuppoſe to have been Chriſtians[h].

But to ſay no more, that which fully proves Jerome not to have believed the genuineneſs of theſe Epiſtles is, that in this ſame book, where he gives an account of St. Paul's life, and all his writings, he does not ſo much as mention the name or any thing concerning theſe Epiſtles to Seneca, which is ſuch an omiſſion as he cannot be ſuppoſed guilty of, if he had believed them to be genuine, and written by that Apoſtle.

[a] *The book is not cited by Du Pin, but I have put lib. 6. becauſe I there* (chap. 11.) *find what he refers to*; Seneca—Chriſtianos in neutram partem commemorare auſus eſt, ne vel laudaret contra ſuæ patriæ veterem conſuetudinem, vel reprehenderet contra propriam forſitan voluntatem.

[b] Loc. ſupra cit.

[c] Annot. ad Tertull. de Anima, c. 20. p. 373.

[d] Antiquit. Judaic. l. 18. c. 4.

[e] De Vit. Contemplat. p. 889, &c.

[f] Hiſtor. Eccleſiaſtic. l. 2. c. 16, 17, 18.

[g] Catal. Vir. illuſtr. in Marco & Philone.

[h] See concerning this above, Part II. ch. xvi.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The Epiſtles contain in them ſeveral Evidences of their Spuriouſneſs. Their Stile different from the Stile of Paul and Seneca. Several Contradictions in them. Several Things trifling. Several Things falſe.

V. *THERE are ſeveral internal evidences and characters in the Epiſtles of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul, which demonſtrate their ſpurionſneſs.* For,

1. *Nothing can be more unlike than the ſtile of theſe Epiſtles is to the known ſtile of St. Paul and Seneca, in their confeſſedly genuine Epiſtles.* This is eaſy to be obſerved, and cannot but be at firſt viſible to thoſe who are at all acquainted with thoſe two writers. Andreas Schottus, in his Life of Seneca prefixed to the ſecond part of his works [a], well obſerves, *that the Epiſtles under his name to Paul, are no more like the excellent ſtile of Seneca, than the anſwers to them are like the divine and inſpired ſtile of St. Paul. The ſtile of thoſe* (ſays a learned author [b]) *which are attributed to Seneca, is barbarous, and full of idioms that do not belong to the Latin tongue.* The Epiſtles attributed to St. Paul have not the leaſt tincture of the gravity of that Apoſtle, but are rather compliments than inſtructions. It would be ſuperfluous to produce inſtances. I chooſe rather to obſerve, that the learned Sixtus Senenſis, who believed the genuineneſs of theſe Epiſtles, was ſo ſenſible of the fact and the force of the objection againſt them, that he endeavours to evade it by a ſtrange and groundleſs ſuppoſition, viz. *that Seneca in theſe letters did deſignedly diſguiſe*

[a] Epiſtolas ad Paulum dico, quæ non magis eximium noſtri auctoris ingenium ſapiunt, quam reſponſiones ad illas Deo plenum καὶ θεόφορον Pauli ſtilum, ideoque a doctis non magis pro Senecæ germanis agnoſcuntur, quam reſponſiones ab Eccleſia pro Paulinis. *I am not certain whether or no this Life of Seneca was wrote by Schottus, but I preſume it was, becauſe he publiſhed the edition.*

[b] Du Pin's Hiſtory of the Canon of the New Teſtament, vol. 2. ch. vii. §. 4.

and alter his ſtile; leſt perhaps, if the letters ſhould fall into a wrong perſon's hand, though they had the name of Seneca prefixed to them, they ſhould not be ſuſpected to be his. It being then, ſays he, *dangerous and contrary to the decree of the Emperor (for a Roman) to keep up a correſpondence with a Jew, or a Chriſtian*[a]. But every one muſt perceive how precarious this conjecture is; and beſides, if it were allowed juſt, it will no way ſerve the purpoſe it is brought for, becauſe the ſtile of Paul is equally different; and ſome reaſon muſt be aſſigned, why he alſo changed and diſguiſed his ſtile. They are ſpurious therefore by Prop. XI.

2. *The ſubſcriptions of the letters are very unlike thoſe uſed by the ſuppoſed authors in their genuine Epiſtles.* Such is that of Seneca's ſubſcribing in the firſt Epiſtle, *Bene te valere, Frater, cupio,* "I bid thee farewell, *O brother,*" and addreſſing him with the ſame title, Epiſt. iv. a compellation not in uſe among the Heathens, but peculiar to the Chriſtians: ſuch is Seneca's ſubſcription, ſuch are St. Paul's ſubſcriptions, *vale,* and *opto te bene valere*; and eſpecially that Epiſt. v. *Vale, devotiſſime magiſter*; which is not only a very barbarous, and very late, but very unlike (as the others are) to the uſual way of St. Paul's concluding his letters.

3. *Several parts of theſe letters ſuppoſe Paul to have been at the time of writing at Rome; whereas others imply the contrary.* That he was then at Rome, is implied in the firſt words of the firſt letter, in which Seneca tells Paul, that *he ſuppoſed he had been told the diſcourſe that paſſed* the day before *between him and Lucilius by ſome Chriſtians who were preſent*; as alſo in the firſt words of Paul's firſt Epiſtle, and that part of Seneca's ſecond, where he tells him, *He would endeavour to introduce him to Cæſar; and that he would confer with him, and read over together ſome parts of his writings*; and in that

[a] Videtur autem Seneca ſtylum ſuum aliquantulum in his Epiſtolis obumbraſſe de induſtria et diſſimulaſſe, ut ſi forte in alienas manus Epiſtolæ veniſſent, etſi inſcriptæ nomine Senecæ, potuiſſent nihilominus in periculo non videri Senecæ. Periculum enim erat et contra imperatoris tunc edictum, Chriſtiani aut Judæi familiaritate uti. Bibl. Sanct. l. 2. p. 88, 89.

part

part of Paul's ſecond, *where he hopes for Seneca's company*, and in ſeveral other places. But on the other hand ſeveral parts of the letters ſuppoſe Paul not at Rome, as where Seneca (Epiſt. iii.) *complains of his ſtaying ſo long away, and both Paul and Seneca are made to date their letters, when ſuch and ſuch perſons were conſuls*; ſee Paul's fifth and ſixth, and Seneca's ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth. Now, had they been both in the ſame city, nothing can be more unreaſonable than to ſuppoſe that they would have dated thus: what need could there be to inform each other who were conſuls? Paul therefore is ſuppoſed to be, and not to be at Rome at the ſame time, which is a manifeſt contradiction. They are therefore ſpurious by Prop. VII.

4. Beſides this contradiction, *the very dating of their letters by conſulſhips ſeems to be no ſmall evidence of their ſpuriouſneſs*, becauſe it was a thing utterly unknown that any perſons ever did ſo; nor have I ever obſerved one ſuch inſtance in the Epiſtles of Seneca, Cicero, or any other writer.

5. *There are ſeveral miſtakes in them as to the names and times of the conſuls, which are mentioned.* This obſervation I find made by others, and ſhall think it ſufficient therefore to refer the reader to them [a], and the common chronologers.

6. *The trifling contents of theſe Epiſtles* ſeem to prove their ſpuriouſneſs. *They contain nothing in them*, ſays Du Pin [b], *worthy either of Seneca, or of Paul; ſcarce one thought of morality in the letters of Seneca, nor any thing of Chriſtianity in thoſe of Paul.* Beſides, what can be more trifling than Paul's fifth letter, which is all taken up in a ſervile apology for his putting his own name before Seneca's, in the inſcription of his letters, and declaring this to be contrary to Chriſtianity; and Seneca's anſwer, which conſiſts only in allowing Paul to do ſo? They are ſpurious therefore by Prop. IX.

7. *Theſe letters contain ſeveral things which are falſe or contrary to known truths.* Such is that in Seneca's fourth Epiſtle, *that the emperor Nero was delighted and ſurpriſed at the thoughts*

[a] Viz. Du Pin and Fabritius, locis cit.

[b] Loc. jam cit.

and ſentiments in Paul's Epiſtles to the Churches; and that in Paul's fourth, where he ſays, *that Nero was both an admirer and favourer of Chriſtianity*. This, I ſay, is notoriouſly falſe, and contrary to the unanimous relations of Heathen and Chriſtian writers, concerning Nero, and his regard to the Chriſtians. Who knows not, who almoſt has not read the dreadful cruelties, and the barbarous inhumanities, he exerciſed againſt them? Who has not heard the accounts of Tacitus [a] and Suetonius [b] among the Romans; and Tertullian [c], Euſebius [d], Lactantius [e], Auſtin [f], and many others, among the Chriſtian writers, concerning his horrid perſecutions of the Roman Chriſtians? Who therefore can credit theſe Epiſtles, in which both Paul and Seneca repreſent that Emperor as a favourer of the Chriſtians? I conclude them therefore to be ſpurious by Prop. VIII. Beſides,

8. *The preceding account of Nero's favour to the Chriſtians*, in Paul and Seneca's fourth Epiſtles, *ſeems but very indifferently to agree with what Paul afterwards adds in that Epiſtle*, viz. that he intreats Seneca to venture no more to ſay any thing of him or the Chriſtian religion to Nero, leſt he ſhould offend him. If the Emperor did, as Seneca ſays, *admire Paul's Epiſtles*; and if, as Paul ſays, *he was both an admirer and favourer of the Chriſtians*, what need this caution? What hazard could it be for Seneca to communicate more of his knowledge in Chriſtianity to him? Add to this;

9. *That it is very improbable that St. Paul would obſtruct Seneca in his intentions of recommending Chriſtianity to the Emperor.* Is not this directly contrary to his known and con-

[a] Annal. lib. xv. c. 44. *He ſays, as others, that Nero having burnt the city, laid the crime unjuſtly to the Chriſtians' charge, and thereupon maſſacred them in the moſt barbarous manner.* Percuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defeciſſet dies, in uſum nocturni luminis uterentur. Hortos ſuos ei ſpectaculo Nero obtulerat, et Circenſe ludicrum edeba habitu aurigæ, permiſtus plebi, vel curriculo inſiſtens, &c.

[b] Afflicti ſuppliciis Chriſtiani, genus hominum ſuperſtitionis novæ ac maleficæ, in Neron. c. 16.

[c] Apologet. c. 5. et 22.

[d] Hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 2. c. 25.

[e] Lib. 4. c. 21. et alibi.

[f] De Civitat. Dei, lib. 18. c. 52. Vid. Lud. Viv. in loc. t. opp. 5.

ſtant

ſtant zeal and endeavours for its propagation? Would he not rather have rejoiced in ſo probable an opportunity of ſpreading the knowledge of Chriſt, and by the means of one ſo near to, and ſo much in favour with, the Emperor, have procured the liberty for himſelf and the other Chriſtian converts of exerciſing their religion freely? To imagine the contrary is to ſuppoſe the Apoſtle at once defective in his regards to himſelf and the whole body of Chriſtians, and acting in direct contradiction to the whole of his conduct, and zealous endeavours to advance the intereſt of Chriſtianity.

But beſides, it has happened here, as commonly in ſuch caſes; want of memory betrays the forgery: although the author, ſo unlike Paul, in this place is for not diſcovering the Chriſtian religion to the Emperor, yet in another Epiſtle, viz. the ſixth of Paul, he is made to adviſe Seneca to *take convenient opportunities of inſinuating the Chriſtian religion, and things in favour of it, to Nero and his family*; than which nothing *can be a more manifeſt contradiction.* They are therefore Apocryphal by Prop. VII.

CHAP. XII.

A Conjecture concerning the Occaſion of the Forgery of theſe Epiſtles under the Names of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul, taken from Phil. i. 13. *and* iv. 22. *Authors who have rejected them.*

IT would not be difficult to collect many other evidences of the ſpuriouſneſs of theſe Epiſtles from internal evidences, or ſuch as themſelves afford: but to omit theſe, I ſhall offer to the reader what *I conjecture, and think moſt probable*, concerning the original of them, or the occaſion and time of the forgery, in *the following particulars.*

1. *St. Paul, when he was at Rome, had ſeveral converts to Chriſtianity in the Emperor's houſe or family.* This I gather from

from two paſſages in his Epiſtle to the Philippians; the firſt is that (ch. i. ver. 13.) *My bonds in Chriſt are manifeſt in all the palace*, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ, i. e. *in all the court of Cæſar* (as our tranſlators rightly paraphraſe it in the margin [a]); the word πραιτώριον properly denoting the *palace or place of the Emperor's reſidence*: the other is (chap. iv. ver. 22.) *All the ſaints ſalute you, chiefly they*, that are of Cæſar's houſhold, i. e. *the converts to Chriſtianity, who were of Cæſar's court or family.*

2. *Seneca was of the court or family of this Emperor*, viz. Nero. He was his tutor, and had the direction of his youth, together with Afranius Burrus. (Vid. Sueton. in Neron. cap. 7. et 35.)

3. *Several of the antient writers of Chriſtianity did eſteem Seneca as almoſt, if not altogether a Chriſtian.* Andreas Schottus, or whoever was the author of Seneca's Life, after having given very large encomiums to his works, adds; *Quorum admiratione ducti ſancti Patres, Tertullianus, Lactantius, Hieronymus, Auguſtinus, cum propter rerum quæ in his tractantur pondus, ſententiarumque quibus explicantur gravitatem, tum etiam propter convenientiam conjunctionemque doctrinæ cum ſua, pars Chriſtianum eſſe, alii a religione Chriſtiana non abhorrere cenſuerunt:* "which the holy Fathers Tertullian, Lactantius, "Jerome, and Auſtin, ſo much admired, partly by reaſon of "the importance of his ſubjects, and the ſerioufneſs of his "ſtile, and partly by reaſon of the agreement of his principles "with theirs, that ſome of them eſteemed him actually as a "Chriſtian, and others thought him not much leſs." I know not what places in theſe Fathers' works this author refers to; but in Tertullian I obſerve [b], *that he applauds Seneca for his treatiſe of Superſtition, which he wrote againſt the folly of idolatry*; and elſewhere [c] ſtiles him, *Seneca, who is often ours*, viz. as Pamelius [d] ſays, becauſe *he often agrees in his notions with the Chriſtians.* Lactantius in very many places cites him, as having ſolidly confuted the ridiculous ſuperſtitions of

[a] Vid. Grot. et Hammond in loc.

[b] Apologet. c. 12.

[c] De Anima, c. 20.

[d] Annot. in loc. denuo cit.

Paganiſm.

Paganiſm [a]. Auſtin for the ſame reaſons highly commends him, and in one place adds, *that Seneca did not blame or ſay any thing againſt the Chriſtians, becauſe perhaps he could not do it without violence to his own conſcience* [b]; on which Ludovicus Vives notes, that *when Nero had burnt Rome, and barbarouſly puniſhed the Chriſtians as guilty of that crime, Seneca deſired leave of the Emperor to retire into the country for a while; which he did,* ſays he, *in my opinion, becauſe he could not bear to ſee the daily and cruel maſſacre of the innocent Chriſtians.*

4. *On theſe accounts I conjecture the occaſion of forging theſe Epiſtles was firſt taken,* viz. When ſome one obſerved that there were ſome of Nero's court made Chriſtians, and that Seneca was of this court, and generally reputed a Chriſtian, it is not unlikely he ſhould thence be influenced to forge a conference between Paul and Seneca, and publiſh theſe ſpurious letters under their names. This cannot ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who are acquainted with the nature of the antient forgeries, and will remember that there are few perſons mentioned in the New Teſtament, as companions of the Apoſtles, who have not had ſome ſpurious piece or other fathered upon them.

To confirm this conjecture, beſides what is already ſaid, I ſhall only obſerve;

1.) That in the ſpurious Acts under the name of *Linus*, where theſe Epiſtles are mentioned, *the text Phil.* iv. 22. *is alſo referred to*; and it is there urged to prove the genuineneſs of the Epiſtles, that Paul ſays, *he had converts in Cæſar's family.* See the place above, Obſ. II.

2.) *That ſeveral later writers have imagined, that Paul particularly had reference to Seneca, when he ſpeaks of the ſaints of Cæſar's houſhold:* ſo Salmero the jeſuit [c], and ſeveral other interpreters mentioned by Calvin [d]; alſo Beza [e] and Heinſius [f]. Now though indeed the Acts of Linus be ſpurious, and there be no foundation for this latter opinion, yet

[a] Lib. 2, 3, et 4.
[b] De Civit. Dei, lib. 6. c. 10.
[c] In Philipp. iv. 22. apud Coc. Cenſur. p. 10.
[d] Annot. in eund. loc.
[e] In eund. loc.
[f] Exercit. ſacr. in loc.

inaſmuch

inaſmuch as both antient and modern writers thus explained this text of the Apoſtle, my conjecture appears for that reaſon more probable, that ſome one did, from the occaſion of that ſame interpretation, take the handle of forging theſe Epiſtles of Paul and Seneca. As to the time of their being forged, I ſuppoſe it to have been in the middle of the fourth century, becauſe they are not mentioned by Euſebius, or any more antient writer than Jerome; and as to the author of them, I think I may by no improbable conjecture affirm him *to have been a Latin, who was not only ignorant of the Greek language, but did not ſo much as know that Paul wrote his genuine Epiſtles to the Churches in the Greek language.* What can be more evident *than this is* from Seneca's eighth Epiſtle to Paul? In which, after he had been ſpeaking of the ſublime ſubjects, which are treated of in the Apoſtle's Epiſtles, he adviſes him *Latinitati morem gerere*, i. e. *to have reſpect to true Latin*; or as we ſay commonly, *to write good and proper Latin.* Now this he could never have ſaid, if he had known the Apoſtle wrote all his Epiſtles in Greek: this ſhews he had only read them in *ſome Latin tranſlation*, and ſuppoſed them *written originally in that language*, and conſequently that he was a Latin. This cannot ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who conſider, how many, even now, are ignorant among the common people in what language the Scriptures were written; and that the monks and prieſts in former ages thought the old Vulgate Latin was the very language in which the ſacred writers firſt wrote. The learned and witty Eraſmus, in his Encomiums of Folly, his Annotations on the New Teſtament, and elſewhere, has furniſhed us with abundant proof of this. I remember one place in his Annotations (viz. on Act. xxii. 9.) ſo much to this purpoſe, that I cannot forbear tranſcribing it: "I am confident," ſays he, "there are now many thouſands of "divines, who do not ſo much as know in what language the "Apoſtles wrote. If by chance they hear that Mark, Luke, "Paul, Peter, and John wrote in Greek, they are perfectly "aſtoniſhed at it, as ſome incredible thing, which they never "heard of. Some of them imagine, becauſe they were Jews, "that they wrote in Hebrew: others, that they publiſhed

"their

" their books in the common language, in which they are " now wrote, viz. Latin."

I ſhall only add farther a liſt of ſuch writers, who have agreed to reject theſe Epiſtles as ſpurious and ſuppoſititious, who now offer themſelves to my thoughts, viz. Baronius [a], Bellarmine [b], Poſſevin [c], A. Schottus [d], Ludovicus Vives [e], and Du Pin [f], among the Popiſh writers: among the Proteſtants, Coke [g], Rivet [h], Michael Walther [i], Dr. Cave [k], Spanheim [l], Mr. Eachard [m], and Mr. Fabritius [n].

CHAP. XIII.

The Goſpel of the Birth of Mary, publiſhed out of Jerome's Works.

THIS Goſpel, however ſilly and ridiculous, I judged proper to inſert here for the following reaſons.

1. Becauſe there was certainly a Goſpel extant under this name in the primitive ages of Chriſtianity.

2. Becauſe it was received by ſeveral of the antient Chriſtian hereticks.

3. Becauſe it paſſed formerly under the name of St. Matthew.

4. Becauſe many of its relations were credited by the antient Catholick Chriſtians in different countries.

[a] Annal. tom. 1. ad Ann. 66. n. 11.
[b] De Script. Eccleſ. p. 38, 39.
[c] Apparat. Sacr. in Voc. Seneca.
[d] Vita Senecæ, ſi modo iſtius auctor fuit Schottus.
[e] Annot. in Aug. De Civit. Dei, lib. 6. c. 10.
[f] Hiſt. of the Canon of the New Teſt. t. 2. c. 7. §. 4.
[g] Cenſura Vett. quorund. Script. p. 10, 11.
[h] Critic. Sacr. l. 1. c. 5.
[i] Officin. Biblic. §. 1448, &c.
[k] Hiſt. Liter. vol. 1. in Paulo, p. 7.
[l] Hiſt. Chriſt. Sec. I. p. 580, 582.
[m] Eccl. Hiſt. b. 2. ch. 7.
[n] Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſtam. p. 880, &c.

5. Becauſe

5. Becauſe it contains the ſame things as the *Prot-evangelion* of St. James; concerning the publication of which, and the truth of theſe facts here alledged, ſee below, Chap. XV, XVI, &c.

The only place of the antient writings, in which it is extant, is among Jerome's works; Epiſt. ad Chromatium et Heliodorum. The occaſion of its being found there was the deſire of Chromatius and Heliodorus, two Biſhops, to Jerome, that he would tranſlate it out of Hebrew, and give them his judgment upon it. Their Letter to him, with his Anſwer to them, and another Letter of his concerning this Goſpel, I have publiſhed after this Goſpel in the next Chapter.

Numb. V.

EVANGELIUM de NATIVITATE MARIÆ.

1. BEATA et glorioſa ſemper Virgo Maria, de ſtirpe regia, et familia David oriunda, in civitate Nazareth nata, Hieroſolymis in Templo Domini nutrita fuit. Pater ejus Joachim, mater vero Anna dicebatur. Domus paterna ex Galilæa et civitate Nazareth. Maternum autem genus ex Bethlehem erat. Vita eorum ſimplex et recta apud Dominum, apud homines irreprehenſibilis erat et pia. Nam omnem ſubſtantiam ſuam trifariam diviſerunt, unam partem Templo et Templi ſervitoribus impendebant; aliam peregrinis

The GOSPEL of the BIRTH of MARY.

1. THE bleſſed and ever glorious Virgin Mary, ſprung from the royal race and family of David, was born in the city of Nazareth, and educated at Jeruſalem in the Temple of the Lord. Her father's name was Joachim, and her mother's Anna. The family of her father was of Galilee and the city of Nazareth. The family of her mother was of Bethlehem. Their lives were plain and right in the ſight of the Lord, pious and faultleſs before men. For they divided all their ſubſtance into three parts: one of which they devoted to the Temple and officers of the Temple; another they diſtributed among ſtrangers, and perſons

et pauperibus erogabant: tertiam ſuæ familiæ uſibus et ſibi reſervabant. Ita iſti Deo chari, hominibus pii, per annos circiter viginti, caſtum domi conjugium ſine liberorum procreatione exercebant. Voverunt tamen, ſi forte Deus daret eis ſobolem, eam ſe Domini ſervitio mancipaturos, cujus rei gratia et Templum Domini ſingulis per annum feſtis frequentare ſolebant.

II. Factum eſt autem, ut Encæniorum feſtivitas appropinquaret; unde cum nonnullis contribulibus ſuis Hieroſolymam et Joachim aſcendit. Ea vero tempeſtate Iſachar ibi Pontifex erat: cumque inter cæteros concives ſuos etiam Joachim cum oblatione ſua videret, deſpexit eum et munera ejus ſprevit, interrogans, Cur inter fœcundos infœcundus ipſe ſtare præſumeret? Dicens, munera nequaquam Deo digna poſſe videri, quem ipſe prole indignum judicaſſet; Scriptura dicente, maledictum omnem eſſe qui non genuiſſet maſculum in Iſraele. Dicebat ergo

ſons in poor circumſtances; and the third they reſerved for themſelves, and the uſes of their own family. In this manner they lived for about twenty years chaſtely, in the favour of God, and the eſteem of men, without any children. But they vowed, if God ſhould favour them with any iſſue, they would devote it to the ſervice of the Lord; on which account they went at every feaſt in the year to the Temple of the Lord[a].

II. And it came to paſs, that when the feaſt of the Dedication drew near, Joachim, with ſome others of his tribe, went up to Jeruſalem, and at that time Iſachar was High-prieſt; who, when he ſaw Joachim along with the reſt of his neighbours (bringing) his offering, deſpiſed both him and his offerings, and aſked him, *Why he, who had no children, would preſume to appear among thoſe who had?* Adding, *that his offerings could never be acceptable to God, who was judged by him unworthy to have children*; the Scripture having ſaid, *Curſed is every one who ſhall not beget a male in Iſrael.* He

[a] 1 Sam. i. 6, 7, &c.

further

prius eum ab hac maledictione ſobolis generatione ſolvendum, et ſic demum in conſpectu Domini cum oblationibus eſſe venturum. Cujus opprobrii objectu, pudore magno ſuffuſus Joachim, ad paſtores, qui cum pecudibus erant in paſcuis ſuis, ſeceſſit. Neque enim domum repetere voluit, ne forte a contribulibus ſuis, qui ſimul aderant, et hoc a Sacerdote audierant, eodem opprobrii elogio notaretur.

III. Verum cum ibi aliquandiu eſſet, quadam die cum eſſet ſolus, Angelus Domini ei cum immenſo lumine aſtitit; qui cum ad ejus viſionem turbaretur, Angelus, qui ei apparuerat, timorem ejus compeſcuit, dicens; Noli timere, Joachim, neque in viſione mea turberis; ego enim ſum Angelus Domini, miſſus ab ipſo ad te, ut annunciem tibi preces tuas eſſe exauditas, et eleemoſynas tuas aſcendiſſe in conſpectum ejus. Videns quippe vidit pudorem tuum, et audivit ſterilitatis opprobrium nec recte tibi objectum. Peccati namque, non

further ſaid, *that he ought firſt to be free from that curſe by begetting ſome iſſue, and then come with his offerings into the preſence of God.* But Joachim being much confounded with the ſhame of ſuch reproach, retired to the ſhepherds who were with the cattle in their paſtures; for he was not inclined to return home, leſt his neighbours, who were preſent and heard all this from the High-prieſt, ſhould publickly reproach him in the ſame manner.

III. But when he had been there for ſome time, on a certain day when he was alone, the Angel of the Lord ſtood by him with a prodigious light, to whom being troubled at the appearance, the Angel who had appeared to him, endeavouring to compoſe him, ſaid; *Be not afraid, Joachim, nor troubled at the ſight of me, for I am an Angel of the Lord ſent by him to you, that I might inform you, that your prayers are heard, and your alms aſcended in the ſight of God*[a]. *For he hath ſurely ſeen your ſhame, and heard you unjuſtly reproached for not having children; for God is*

[a] Act. x. 4.

the

naturæ, ultor eſt Deus, et ideo cum alicujus uterum claudit, ad hoc facit, ut mirabilius denuo aperiat, et non libidinis eſſe quod naſcitur, ſed divini muneris cognoſcatur. Prima enim gentis veſtræ Sara mater, nonne uſque ad octogeſimum annum infœcunda fuit? et tamen in ultima ſenectutis ætate genuit Iſaac, cui repromiſſa erat benedictio omnium gentium. Rachel quoque tantum Domino grata, tantumque a ſancto Jacob adamata, diu ſterilis fuit; et tamen Joſeph genuit, non ſolum Dominum Ægypti, ſed plurimarum gentium fame periturarum liberatorem. Quis in ducibus vel fortior Sampſone, vel ſanctior Samuele? Et tamen hi ambo ſteriles matres habuere. Si ergo ratio verbis meis tibi non perſuadet credere, dilatos diu conceptus et ſteriles partus mirabiliores eſſe ſolere; proinde Anna uxor tua pariet tibi filiam, et vocabis nomen ejus Mariam: hæc erit, ut voviſtis,

the avenger of ſin, and not of nature; and ſo when he ſhuts the womb of any perſon, he does it for this reaſon, that he may in a more wonderful manner again open it, and that which is born appear to be not the product of luſt, but the gift of God. *For the firſt mother of your nation Sarah, was ſhe not barren even till her eightieth year? And yet even in the end of her old age brought forth Iſaac, in whom the promiſe was made of a bleſſing to all nations*[a]. *Rachel alſo, ſo much in favour with God, and beloved ſo much by holy Jacob, continued barren for a long time, yet afterwards was the mother of Joſeph, who was not only governour of Egypt, but delivered many nations from periſhing with hunger*[b]. *Who among the judges was more valiant than Sampſon, or more holy than Samuel? And yet both their mothers were barren*[c]. *But if reaſon will not convince you of the truth of my words, that there are frequent conceptions in advanced years, and that thoſe who were barren have brought forth to their great ſurpriſe; therefore Anna your wife ſhall bring you a daughter, and you ſhall call her name Mary; ſhe ſhall, according*

[a] Gen. xvi. 2, &c. and xviii. 10, &c.

[b] Gen. xxx. 1—22. and xli. 1, &c.

[c] Judg. xiii. 2. and 1 Sam. i. 6, &c.

ab infantia ſua Domino conſecrata, et Spiritu Sancto replebitur adhuc ex utero matris. Omne immundum neque manducabit neque bibet, neque inter populares forinſecus turbas, ſed in Templo Domini converſatio ejus erit; ne quid de ea ſiniſtrum vel ſuſpicari ſaltem poſſit, vel dici. Itaque ætate procedente, ſicut ipſa mirabiliter ex ſterili naſcetur; ita incomparabiliter Virgo generabit Altiſſimi filium, qui Jeſus vocabitur; ſecundum nominis etymologiam, Salvator omnium gentium erit. Et hoc tibi eorum quæ annuncio ſignum erit; cum perveneris ad auream in Hieroſolymis portam, habebis ibi obviam Annam uxorem tuam, quæ de tuæ regreſſionis tardatione modo ſolicita, tunc in aſpectu tuo gaudebit. His dictis Angelus diſceſſit ab eo.

to your vow, be devoted to the Lord from her infancy, and be filled with the Holy Ghoſt from her mother's womb [a]; *ſhe ſhall neither eat nor drink any thing which is unclean, nor ſhall her converſation be without among the common people, but in the Temple of the Lord; that ſo ſhe may not fall under any ſlander or ſuſpicion of what is bad. So in the proceſs of her years, as ſhe ſhall be in a miraculous manner born of one that was barren, ſo ſhe ſhall, while yet a Virgin, in a way unparalleled, bring forth the Son of the moſt High God, who ſhall be called Jeſus, and, according to the ſignification of his name, be the Saviour of all nations* [b]. *And this ſhall be a ſign to you of the things which I declare*, viz. *when you come to* the golden gate of Jeruſalem, *you ſhall there meet your wife Anna, who being very much troubled that you returned no ſooner, ſhall then rejoice to ſee you.* When the Angel had ſaid this, he departed from him.

IV. Deinde apparuit Annæ uxori ejus, dicens: Ne timeas, Anna, neque phantaſma eſſe putes quod vides. Ego enim ſum Angelus ille, qui preces et eleemoſynas veſtras obtuli in conſpectu Dei, et nunc miſſus

IV. Afterwards the Angel appeared to Anna his wife, ſaying; *Fear not, neither think that which you ſee is a Spirit* [c]; *for I am that Angel who have offered up your prayers and alms before God, and am now ſent to*

[a] Luk. i. 15. [b] Matth. i. 21. [c] Matth. xiv. 26.

you,

Jam ad vos, ut annunciem vobis naſcituram filiam, quæ Maria vocata, ſuper omnes mulieres erit benedicta. Hæc a nativitate ſua ſtatim Domini gratia plena, tribus ablactationis ſuæ annis in domo paterna permanebit; poſtea ſervitio Domini mancipata a Templo uſque ad intelligibiles annos diſcedet; ibi denique jejuniis et orationibus nocte ac die Deo ſerviens ab omni immundo ſe abſtinebit; virum nunquam cognoſcet, ſed ſola ſine exemplo, ſine macula, ſine corruptione, ſine virili commixtione, Virgo filium, ancilla Dominum; et gratia et nomine et opere Salvatorem mundi generabit. Itaque ſurge, aſcende Hieruſalem, et cum perveneris ad portam, quæ *aurea*, pro eo quod deaurata eſt, vocatur, ibi pro ſigno virum tuum, pro cujus incolumitatis ſtatu ſolicita es, obvium habebis. Cum hæc igitur ita evenerint, ſcito quod quæ annuncio ſine dubio complenda erunt.

you, that I may inform you, that a daughter will be born unto you, who ſhall be called Mary, and ſhall be bleſſed above all women[a]. *She ſhall be immediately upon her birth full of the grace of the Lord, and ſhall continue during the three years of her weaning in her father's houſe, afterwards being devoted to the ſervice of the Lord, ſhall not depart from the Temple, till ſhe arrives to years of diſcretion.* In a word, *ſhe ſhall there ſerve the Lord night and day in faſtings and prayers*[b], *ſhall abſtain from every unclean thing, and never know any man; but being an unparalleled inſtance without any pollution or defilement, and a Virgin not knowing any man, ſhall bring forth a ſon, and a maid ſhall bring forth the Lord, who both by his grace and name and works, ſhall be the Saviour of the world. Ariſe therefore, and go up to Jeruſalem, and when you ſhall come to that which is called* The Golden Gate (becauſe it is gilt with gold), *as a ſign* (of what I have told you) *you ſhall meet your huſband, for whoſe ſafety you have been ſo much concerned. When therefore you find theſe things thus accompliſhed, believe that all the reſt which I have told you, ſhall alſo undoubtedly be accompliſhed.*

[a] Luk. i. 28. [b] Luk. ii. 37.

V. Igitur juxta Angeli præceptum, uterque de loco, in quo erant promoventes, aſcenderunt Hieruſalem; et cum ad locum perveniſſent angelico vaticinio deſignatum, ibi ſibi invicem obviaverunt. Tunc de mutua ſua viſione læti, et promiſſæ prolis certitudine ſecuri, debitas Domino humilium exaltatori gratias egerunt. Itaque adorato Domino domum regreſſi, divinum promiſſum certi et hilares expectabant. Concepit ergo Anna et peperit filiam, et juxta mandatum angelicum parentes vocabant ejus nomen Mariam.

V. According therefore to the command of the Angel, both of them left the places where they were, and when they came to the place ſpecified in the Angel's prediction, they met each other. Then rejoicing at each other's viſion, and being fully ſatisfied in the promiſe of a child, they gave due thanks to the Lord, who exalts the humble. After having praiſed the Lord, they returned home, and lived in a cheerful and aſſured expectation of the promiſe of God. —So Anna conceived, and brought forth a daughter, and, according to the Angel's command, the parents did call her name Mary.

VI. Cumque trium annorum circulus volveretur, et ablactationis tempus completum eſſet; ad Templum Domini Virginem cum oblationibus adduxerunt. Erant autem circa Templum, juxta quindecim Graduum Pſalmos, quindecim aſcenſionis gradus. Nam quia Templum erat in monte conſtitutum, altare holocauſti, quod forinſecus erat, adiri niſi gradibus non valebat. In horum itaque uno beatam Virginem Mariam

VI. And when three years were expired, and the time of her weaning complete, they brought the Virgin to the Temple of the Lord with offerings. And there were about the Temple, according to the *fifteen Pſalms of Degrees*[b], fifteen ſtairs to aſcend. For the Temple being built in a mountain, the altar of burnt-offering, which was without, could not be come near but by ſtairs; the parents of the bleſſed Virgin and

[b] Thoſe Pſalms are from the 120th to the 134th, including both.

infant

parvulam parentes conſtituerunt. Cumque ipſi veſtimenta, quæ in itinere habuerant, exuerent, et cultioribus ex more veſtibus ſe et mundioribus induerent; Virgo Domini cunctos ſigillatim gradus ſine ducentis et levantis manu ita aſcendit, ut perfectæ ætati in hac duntaxat cauſa nihil deeſſe putares. Jam quippe Dominus in Virginis ſuæ infantia magnum quid operabatur; et quanta futura eſſet, hujus miraculi indicio præmonſtrabat. Igitur ſacrificio ſecundum conſuetudinem legis celebrato, et voto ſuo perfecto, Virginem intra ſepta Templi cum aliis virginibus ibidem educandis dimiſerunt; ipſi verò domum regreſſi ſunt.

infant Mary put her upon one of theſe ſtairs; but while they were putting off their clothes, in which they had travelled, and according to cuſtom putting on ſome that were more neat and clean, in the mean time the Virgin of the Lord in ſuch a manner went up all the ſtairs one after another, without the help of any to lead her or lift her; that any one would have judged from hence, that ſhe was of perfect age. Thus the Lord did in the infancy of his virgin work this extraordinary work, and evidence by this miracle how great ſhe was like to be hereafter. But the parents having offered up their ſacrifice, according to the cuſtom of the law, and perfected their vow, left the Virgin with other virgins in the apartments of the Temple, who were to be brought up there, and they returned home.

VII. Virgo autem Domini cum ætatis proceſſu et virtutibus proficiebat; et juxta Pſalmiſtam, pater et mater dereliquerunt eam, Dominus vero aſſumpſit eam. Quotidie namque ab Angelis frequentabatur, quotidie divina viſione fruebatur, quæ eam a malis omnibus cuſtodiebat, et bonis omnibus redundare fa-

VII. But the Virgin of the Lord, as ſhe advanced in years, increaſed alſo in perfections, and according to that of the Pſalmiſt, *Her father and mother forſook her, but the Lord took care of her.* For ſhe every day had the converſation of Angels, and every day received viſions from God, which preſerved her from all ſorts of evil, and cauſed her to

ciebat. Itaque ad quartum decimum annum uſque pervenit, ut non ſolum nihil de ea mali reprehenſione dignum conſingere poſſent; ſed et boni omnes qui eam noverant, vitam et converſationem ejus admiratione dignam judicarent. Tunc Pontifex publice denunciabat, ut virgines quæ in Templo publice conſtituebantur, et hoc ætatis tempus explêſſent, domum reverterentur, et nuptiis ſecundum morem gentis et ætatis maturitatem operam darent. Cui mandato cum cæteræ pronæ paruiſſent, ſola Virgo Domini Maria hoc ſe facere non poſſe reſpondit, dicens; ſe quidem et parentes ſuos Domini ſervitio mancipâſſe, et inſuper ſe ipſam Domino virginitatem voviſſe, quam nunquam viro aliquo commixtionis more cognito violare vellet. Pontifex vero in anguſtia conſtitutus animi, cum neque contra Scripturam, quæ dicit, Vovete et reddite, votum infringendum putaret, neque morem genti inſuetum introducere au-

abound with all good things; ſo that when at length ſhe arrived to her fourteenth year, as the wicked could not lay any thing to her charge worthy of reproof, ſo all good perſons, who were acquainted with her, admired her life and converſation. At that time the High-prieſt made a publick order, *That all the virgins who had publick ſettlements in the Temple, and were come to this age, ſhould return home, and, as they were now of a proper maturity, ſhould, according to the cuſtom of their country, endeavour to be married.* To which command, though all the other virgins readily yielded obedience, Mary the Virgin of the Lord alone anſwered, *that ſhe could not comply with it*, aſſigning theſe reaſons, that *both ſhe and her parents had devoted her to the ſervice of the Lord*; and beſides, that *ſhe had vowed virginity to the Lord, which vow ſhe was reſolved never to break through by lying with a man.* The High-prieſt being hereby brought into a difficulty, ſeeing he durſt neither on the one hand diſſolve the vow, and diſobey the Scripture, which ſays, *Vow and pay* [a], nor on the other hand introduce a cuſtom, to which the people were

[a] Eccleſ. v. 4, 5, 6. et Pſal. lxxvi. 11.

ſtrangers,

deret, præcepit ut ad feſtivitatem quæ imminebat, omnes ex Hieroſolymis et vicinis locis primores adeſſent, quorum conſilio ſcire poſſet, quid de tam dubia re faciendum eſſet. Quod cum fieret, omnibus in commune placuit, Dominum ſuper hac re eſſe conſulendum. Et cunctis quidem in orationem incumbentibus, Pontifex ad conſulendum Deum ex more acceſſit. Nec mora, cunctis audientibus de oraculo et de propitiatorii loco vox facta eſt, ſecundum Eſaiæ vaticinium requirendum eſſe, cui Virgo illa commendari et deſponſari deberet. Liquet enim Eſaiam dicere, Egredietur virga de radice Jeſſe, et flos de radice ejus aſcendet, et requieſcet ſuper eum Spiritus Domini, Spiritus Sapientiæ et Intellectus, Spiritus Conſilii et Fortitudinis, Spiritus Scientiæ et Pietatis, et replebit eum Spiritus timoris Domini. Secundum hanc ergo prophetiam, cunctos de domo et familia David, nuptui habiles, ſtrangers, commanded, that at the approaching feaſt all the principal perſons both of Jeruſalem and the neighbouring places ſhould meet together, that he might have their advice, how he had beſt proceed in ſo difficult a caſe. When they were accordingly met, they unanimouſly agreed to ſeek the Lord, and aſk counſel from him on this matter [a]. And when they were all engaged in prayer, the High-prieſt, according to the uſual way, went to conſult God, and immediately there was a voice from the ark, and the mercy-ſeat, which all preſent heard, that *it muſt be enquired or ſought out by a prophecy of Iſaiah, to whom that Virgin ſhould be given and be betrothed*; for Iſaiah ſaith, *There ſhall come forth a rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe, and a flower ſhall ſpring out of its root, and the Spirit of the Lord ſhall reſt upon him, the Spirit of Wiſdom and Underſtanding, the Spirit of Counſel and Might, the Spirit of Knowledge and Piety, and the Spirit of the fear of the Lord ſhall fill him.* Then, according to this prophecy, he appointed, that all the men of the houſe and family of David, who were marriageable, and

[a] Num. xxvii. 21. compared with Exod. xxviii. 30. Lev. viii. 8. Deut. xxxiii. 8. Ezra ii. 63. Nehem. vii. 65.

non conjugatos, virgas ſuas allaturos ad altare prædixit; et cujuſcunque poſt allationem virgula florem germinâſſet, et in ejus cacumine Spiritus Domini in ſpecie Columbæ conſediſſet, ipſum eſſe cui Virgo commendari et deſponſari deberet.

VIII. Erat autem inter cæteros Joſeph, homo de domo et familia David, grandævus; cunctis vero virgas juxta ordinem deferentibus, ſolus ipſe ſuam ſubtraxit. Unde cum nihil divinæ voci conſonum apparuiſſet, Pontifex iterato Deum conſulendum putavit; qui reſpondit, ſolum illum ex his, qui deſignati erant, virgam ſuam non attuliſſe, qui Virginem deſponſare deberet. Proditus itaque eſt Joſeph. Cum enim virgam ſuam attuliſſet, et in cacumine ejus columba de cœlo veniens conſediſſet, liquido omnibus patuit ei Virginem deſponſandam fore. Igitur nuptiarum jure de more celebrato, ipſe quidem in Bethlehem recedit civitatem, domum ſuam diſpoſiturus, et nuptiis neceſſaria procuraturus. Virgo autem

not married, ſhould bring their ſeveral rods to the altar, and out of whatſoever perſon's rod after it was brought, a flower ſhould bud forth, and on the top of it the Spirit of the Lord ſhould ſit in the appearance of a dove, he ſhould be the man to whom the Virgin ſhould be given and be betrothed.

VIII. Among the reſt there was a man named Joſeph, of the houſe and family of David, and a perſon very far advanced in years, who drew back his rod, when every one beſides preſented his. So that when nothing appeared agreeable to the heavenly voice, the High-prieſt judged it proper to conſult God again, who anſwered, *That he to whom the Virgin was to be betrothed was the only perſon of thoſe who were brought together, who had not brought his rod.* Joſeph therefore was betrayed. For when he did bring his rod, and a dove coming from heaven pitched upon the top of it, every one plainly ſaw, that the Virgin was to be betrothed to him: accordingly the uſual ceremonies of betrothing being over, he returns to his own city of Bethlehem, to ſet his houſe in order, and make the needful proviſions for the marriage. But the Virgin of the Lord, Mary, with

ria cum aliis ſeptem virginibus coævis et collactaneis, quas a ſacerdote acceperat, ad domum parentum ſuorum in Galilæa reverſa eſt.

IX. Iſtis vero diebus, primo ſcilicet adventus ſui in Galilæam tempore, miſſus eſt ad eam Angelus Gabriel a Deo, qui ei conceptum Dominicum narraret, et conceptionis vel modum vel ordinem exponeret. Denique ingreſſus ad eam cubiculum quidem, ubi manebat, ingenti lumine perfudit; ipſam vero gratantiſſime ſalutans, dixit, Ave Maria, Virgo Domini gratiſſima, Virgo gratia plena, Dominus tecum; benedicta tu præ omnibus mulieribus, benedicta præ omnibus hactenus natis hominibus. Virgo autem, quæ jam Angelicos bene noverat vultus, et lumen cœleſte inſuetum non habebat, neque Angelica viſione territa, neque luminis magnitudine ſtupefacta, ſed in ſolo ejus ſermone turbata eſt; et cogitare cœpit, qualis iſta ſalutatio tam inſolita eſſe poſſet,

with ſeven other virgins of the ſame age, and who had been weaned at the ſame time, which ſhe had received of the Prieſt, returned to her parents' houſe in Galilee.

IX. Now at this time, viz. of her firſt coming into Galilee, the Angel Gabriel was ſent to her from God, to declare to her the conception of our Saviour, and the manner and way of her conceiving him. Accordingly going into her, he filled the chamber where ſhe was with a prodigious light, and in a moſt courteous manner ſaluting her, he ſaid, *Hail, Mary, Virgin of the Lord moſt acceptable! Oh Virgin full of grace! The Lord is with you, you are bleſſed above all women, bleſſed above all men, that have been hitherto born* [a]. But the Virgin, who had before been well acquainted with the countenances of Angels, and to whom ſuch light from heaven was no uncommon thing, was neither terrified with the viſion of the Angel, nor aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of the light, but only troubled about the Angel's words, and began to conſider what that ſo extraordinary a ſalutation ſhould mean, what it did portend,

[a] Luk. i. 28.

or

quidve portenderet, vel quem finem eſſet habitura. Huic cogitationi Angelus divinitus inſpiratus occurrens; Ne timeas, inquit, Maria, quaſi aliquid contrarium tuæ caſtitati hac ſalutatione prætexam: inveniſti enim gratiam apud Dominum, quia caſtitatem elegiſti. Ideoque Virgo ſine peccato concipies, et paries filium. Hic erit magnus, quia dominabitur a mari uſque ad mare, et a flumine uſque ad terminos orbis terræ. Et Filius Altiſſimi vocabitur, quia qui in terris naſcitur humilis, in cœlo regnat ſublimis. Et dabit illi Dominus Deus ſedem David patris ejus, et regnabit in domo Jacob ad æternum, et regni ejus non erit finis. Ipſe quippe Rex Regum, et Dominus Dominantium eſt, et thronus ejus in ſeculum ſeculi. His Angeli verbis Virgo non incredula, ſed modum ſcire volens reſpondit: Quomodo iſtud fieri poteſt? Nam cum ipſa virum juxta votum meum nunquam cognoſco, quomodo ſine virilis ſeminis incremento parere poſſum? Ad hoc Ange-

or what ſort of end it would have [a]. To this thought the Angel divinely inſpired replies; *Fear not, Mary, as though I intended any thing inconſiſtent with your chaſtity in this ſalutation: for you have found favour with the Lord, becauſe you made virginity your choice. Therefore while you are a Virgin, you ſhall conceive without ſin, and bring forth a ſon. He ſhall be great, becauſe he ſhall reign from ſea to ſea, and from the river even to the ends of the earth* [b]. *And he ſhall be called the Son of* the Higheſt; *for he who is born in a mean ſtate on earth, reigns in an exalted one in heaven. And the Lord ſhall give him the throne of his father David, and he ſhall reign over the houſe of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there ſhall be no end. For he is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and his throne is for ever and ever.* To this diſcourſe of the Angel the Virgin replied, not as though ſhe were unbelieving, but willing to know the manner of it: She ſaid, *How can that be? For ſeeing, according to my vow, I never have known any man, how can I bear a child without the addition of a man's ſeed?* To this the Angel replied and ſaid, *Think not,*

[a] Luk. i. 29. [b] Luk. i. 31, &c.

Mary,

lus, Ne exiſtimes, inquit, Maria, quod humano more concipias. Nam ſine virili commixtione Virgo concipies, Virgo paries, Virgo nutries. Spiritus enim Sanctus ſuperveniet in te, et virtus Altiſſimi obumbrabit tibi, contra omnes ardores libidinis. Ideoque quod naſcetur ex te, ſolum erit ſanctum, quia ſolum ſine peccato conceptum, et natum vocabitur Filius Dei. Tunc Maria expanſis manibus, et oculis ad cœlum levatis, dixit, Ecce ancilla Domini (neque enim Dominæ nomine digna ſum) fiat mihi ſecundum verbum tuum.

Mary, that you ſhall conceive in the ordinary way. For without lying with a man, while a Virgin, you ſhall conceive, while a Virgin, you ſhall bring forth, and while a Virgin, ſhall give ſuck. For the Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon you, and the power of the moſt High ſhall overſhadow you, without any of the heats of luſt. So that which ſhall be born of you ſhall be only holy, becauſe it only is conceived without ſin, and being born, ſhall be called The Son of God. Then Mary ſtretching forth her hands, and lifting her eyes to heaven, ſaid, *Behold the handmaid of the Lord! Let it be unto me according to thy word*[a].

X. Joſeph igitur a Judæa in Galilæam veniens, deſponſatam ſibi Virginem ducere intendebat; jam namque tres fluxerant menſes, et quartus inſtabat, ex eo tempore quo ſibi deſponſata fuerat. Interea paulatim utero puerperæ intumeſcente, puerperam ſe manifeſtare cœpit, neque hoc latere potuit Joſeph. Nam ſponſi more liberius ad Virginem introiens, et familiarius cum ea loquens, gravidam eſſe deprehendit. Æſtuare itaque animo

X. Joſeph therefore went from Judæa to Galilee, with intention to marry the Virgin who was betrothed to him; for it was now near three months, ſince ſhe was betrothed to him. At length it plainly appeared ſhe was with child, and it could not be hid from Joſeph: for going to the Virgin in a free manner, as one eſpouſed, and talking familiarly with her, he perceived her to be with child, and thereupon began to be

[a] Luk. i. 38.

uneaſy

et fluctuare cœpit, quia ignorabat, quid ſibi potiſſimum eſſet faciendum. Neque enim eam traducere voluit, quia juſtus erat, neque fornicationis ſuſpicione infamare, quia pius. Itaque cogitavit clam diſſolvere conjugium, et occulte dimittere eam. Hæc autem eo cogitante, ecce Angelus Domini ei apparuit in ſomnis, dicens; Joſeph, fili David, noli timere, hoc eſt, ne velis fornicationis ſuſpicionem in Virgine habere, vel aliquid ſiniſtrum cogitare, neque timeas eam in uxorem ducere. Quod enim in ea natum eſt, et nunc animum tuum angit, non hominis, ſed Spiritûs Sancti eſt opus. Pariet enim omnium Virgo ſola Dei Filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Jeſum, id eſt Salvatorem; ipſe enim ſalvum faciet populum ſuum a peccatis eorum. Igitur Joſeph, ſecundum Angeli præceptum, Virginem uxorem duxit, nec tamen cognovit eam, ſed caſte procurans cuſtodivit. Jamque nonus a conceptione inſtabat menſis, cum Joſeph uxore cum aliis quæ neceſſaria erant aſſumpta,

uneaſy and doubtful, not knowing what courſe it would be beſt to take; for being a juſt man, he was not willing to expoſe her, nor defame her by the ſuſpicion of being a whore, ſince he was a pious man. He purpoſed therefore privately to put an end to their agreement, and as privately to ſend her away. But while he was meditating theſe things*, behold the Angel of the Lord appeared to him in his ſleep, and ſaid, *Joſeph, ſon of David, fear not*, i. e. *be not willing to entertain any ſuſpicion of the Virgin's being guilty of fornication, or to think any thing amiſs of her, neither be afraid to take her to wife, for that which is begotten in her, and now diſtreſſes your mind, is not the work of man, but the Holy Ghoſt. For ſhe of all women is that only Virgin who ſhall bring forth the Son of God, and you ſhall call his name Jeſus*, i. e. *Saviour, for he will ſave his people from their ſins.* Joſeph thereupon, according to the command of the Angel, married the Virgin, and did not know her, but kept her in chaſtity. And now the ninth month from her conception drew near, when Joſeph took his wife and what other things were neceſſary to

* Matt. i. 19, &c.

Bethlehem,

Bethlehem civitatem, unde ipſe erat, tetendit. Factum eſt autem, cum eſſent ibi, impleti ſunt dies ut pareret, et peperit filium ſuum primogenitum, ſicut ſancti Evangeliſtæ docuerunt, Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, qui cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per omnia ſecula ſeculorum.

Bethlehem, the city from whence he came. And it came to paſs, while they were there, the days were fulfilled for her bringing forth, and ſhe brought forth her firſt-born ſon, as the holy Evangeliſts have taught, even our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who with Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, lives and reigns to everlaſting ages.

CHAP. XIV.

The Epiſtle of Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome, relating to the Goſpel of the Birth of Mary. Jerome's Anſwer to their Letter, containing his Sentiments concerning it. Another Epiſtle of Jerome's to the ſame Purpoſe.

THE following Epiſtles I find among Jerome's works, immediately prefixed to the Goſpel of the Birth of Mary; and becauſe they relate entirely to it, I thought it proper to inſert them here. They are to be found in Jerome's works, [a] Par. II. Tract. II. Epiſt. XXIII. Epiſt. XXIV. Epiſt. XXV. Fol. xxxviii. and xxxix. I find the laſt of theſe Epiſtles in another place of Jerome's works, viz. Par. II. Tract. VI. Epiſt. LXXXII. Fol. cxl.

Epiſtola Chromatii et Heliodori Epiſcoporum ad Hieronymum.

DILECTISSIMO fratri Hieronymo Preſbytero Chromatius et Heliodorus Epiſ-

The Epiſtle of Chromatius and Heliodorus Biſhops to Jerome.

CHROMATIUS and Heliodorus to our beloved brother Jerome, a Preſbyter,

[a] [In Edit. Benedict. tom. 5. p. 444, 445.]

greeting

copi, ſalutem in Domino. Ortum Mariæ Reginæ Virginis, ſimul et Nativitatem atque Infantiam Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti in Apocryphis invenimus libris; in quibus multa contraria noſtræ fidei conſiderantes ſcripta, recuſanda credimus univerſa; ne per occaſionem Chriſti lætitiam Antichriſto traderemus. Iſta igitur nobis conſiderantibus, extiterunt viri Dei, Armenius et Virinus, qui dicerent ſanctitatem tuam beatiſſimi Matthæi Evangeliſtæ manu ſcriptum volumen Hebraicum inveniſſe, in quo et Virginis Matris et Salvatoris Infantia eſſet ſcripta; et idcirco tuam charitatem per ipſum Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum expetimus, quatenus ut illud ex Hebræo Latinis auribus tradas; non tantum ad percipiendum quæ ſunt Chriſti inſignia, quantum ad Hæreticorum aſtutiam excludendam, qui ut doctrinam malam inſtituerent, bonam Chriſti Nativitatem ſuo mendacio miſcuerunt; ut poſt dulcedinem vitæ mortis amaritudinem occultarent. Erit ergo puriſſimæ pietatis,

greeting in the Lord. We have found in ſome Apocryphal books, *an account of the birth of the Virgin Queen Mary*, as alſo *the birth and infancy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; in which, becauſe we obſerve many things contrary to our faith, we believe they ought all to be rejected; leſt, by the occaſion of Chriſt, advantage ſhould be brought to Antichriſt. When we were thinking theſe things, there came two men of God, Armenius and Virinus, who ſaid your holineſs had found a volume in Hebrew written with St. Matthew the Evangeliſt's own hand, in which was deſcribed the *infant ſtate of the Virgin Mother, and our Saviour*. We, therefore, intreat you by your love to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that you would tranſlate it out of Hebrew into Latin, not only that we may perceive what the famous things concerning Chriſt are, but alſo eſpecially to refute the craft of the Hereticks, who, that they may the better ſpread their evil doctrines, have mixed them with the genuine hiſtory of our Saviour's Nativity, by a notorious falſehood, that ſo after the ſweetneſs of life, they might conceal the bitterneſs of death. It will therefore be

an

vel ut rogantes Fratres exaudias, vel Epiſcopos exigentes charitatis debitum, quod idoneum credideris, recipere facias. Vale in Domino, et ora pro nobis.

an evidence of your great piety, either that you oblige your brethren in this requeſt, or do it as an act of kindneſs, which you ſhall believe due to (your) Biſhops. *Farewell in the Lord, and pray for us.*

Beati Hieronymi ad prædictos Epiſcopos de eadem re reſponſiva.

St. Jerome's Anſwer to the aforeſaid Biſhops, concerning the ſame ſubject.

Dominis ſanctis et beatiſſimis Chromatio et Heliodoro Epiſcopis, Hieronymus exiguus Chriſti ſervus in Domino ſalutem.

To the holy Lords and moſt bleſſed Biſhops, Chromatius and Heliodorus, Jerome a mean ſervant of Chriſt, ſendeth greeting in the Lord.

ARDUUM opus injungitur, cum hoc fuerit mihi a veſtra beatitudine imperatum, quod nec ipſe Sanctus Matthæus Apoſtolus et Evangeliſta voluit in aperto conſcribi. Si enim hoc ſecretum non eſſet, Evangelio utique ipſius quod edidit, addidiſſet: ſed fecit hunc libellum Hebraicis literis obſignatum, quem uſque adeo edidit, ut ex manu ipſius liber ſcriptus Hebraicis literis a viris religioſiſſimis habeatur, qui etiam a ſuis prioribus per ſucceſſus tempo-

IT was a difficult taſk which was ſet me, when I received your holineſs's command *(to tranſlate that)* which the Holy Apoſtle and Evangeliſt himſelf St Matthew would not have to be made publick. For if it was not to have been a ſecret, he would certainly have annexed it to his own Goſpel, which he publiſhed; but he compoſed this little book in Hebrew letters, which he ſo publiſhed, that moſt pious perſons, who have received it from the preceding ages, do judge it was written by him in Hebrew characters, but have never

rum ſuſceperunt, hunc autem ipſum librum nunquam alicui transferendum tradiderunt, textum ejus aliter atque aliter narraverunt. Sed factum eſt, ut a Manichæi diſcipulo nomine Seleuco, qui etiam *Apoſtolorum geſta* falſo ſermone conſcripſit, hic liber editus, non ædificationi ſed deſtructioni materiam exhibuerit; et quod talis probaretur in Synodo, cui merito aures Eccleſiæ non paterent. Ceſſent nunc oblatrantium morſus; non iſtum libellum Canonicis ſuperaddimus Scripturis, ſed ad detegendam hæreſeos fallaciam, Apoſtoli atque Evangeliſtæ ſcripta transferimus; in quo opere non tam piis jubentibus Epiſcopis obtemperamus, quam impiis Hæreticis obviamus. Amor igitur eſt Chriſti cui ſatisfacimus, credentes quod nos ſuis orationibus adjuvent, qui ad *Servatoris noſtri infantiam* ſanctam per noſtram potuerint obedientiam pervenire.

never taken care to have it tranſlated by any one, but delivered very different accounts of its deſign and contents. But the truth is, that *this book was publiſhed by a certain diſciple of the Manichees, named Seleucus*, (who alſo compoſed a *ſpurious hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles*), and it rather tends to the ruin than the intereſt of religion, and was judged to be ſuch in a certain Synod, as the Church ſhould juſtly diſregard. Let not therefore any one reproach or cenſure (my tranſlation). For I am not about to make any addition of a book to the Canonical Scriptures, but, by tranſlating the (pretended) writings of an Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, to lay open the tricks of the Hereticks. So that in this work I do not ſo much obey the holy Biſhops' command, as oppoſe the impious Hereticks. It is therefore the love of Chriſt by which I am influenced, hoping I ſhall receive the benefit of their prayers, who by means of my labour arrive to the knowledge of *the holy infancy of our Saviour.*

Beſides the two preceding Epiſtles relating to this Goſpel, there follows in Jerome's works *another aſcribed to him*, which is a *ſort of preface or introduction to his tranſlation of it*, and is as follows:

Petitis

Petitis a me, ut vobis reſcribam, quid mihi de quodam libello videatur, qui de Natìvitate S. Mariæ a nonnullis habetur; et ideo ſcire vos volo multa in eo falſa inveniri. Quidam namque Seleucus, qui *Paſſiones Apoſtolorum* conſcripſit, hunc libellum compoſuit. Et ſicut de virtutibus eorum et miraculis per eos factis vera dixit, de doctrina vero eorum plura mentitus eſt; ita et hic multa non vera de corde ſuo confinxit. Proinde ut in Hebræo habetur, verbum ex verbo transferre curabo; ſiquidem ſanctum Evangeliſtam Matthæum eundem libellum liquet compoſuiſſe, et in capite Evangelii ſui Hebraicis literis obſignatum appoſuiſſe; quod an verum ſit, Auctori Præfationis et fidei ſcriptoris committo: ipſe enim ut hæc dubia eſſe pronuncio, ita liquido falſa non affirmo. Illud autem libere dico, quod fidelium neminem negaturum puto, ſive hæc vera ſint, ſive ab aliquo conficta, ſacroſancta Sanctæ Mariæ magna miracula præceſſiſſe, maxima conſecuta fu-

You deſire that I would write to you my ſentiments concerning that little book which ſome have *concerning the Nativity of St. Mary*; in which I aſſure you there are many falſe accounts. For a certain perſon named Seleucus, who wrote the hiſtory of the *Apoſtles' Sufferings*, was alſo the author *of this ſmall tract*. And as (in that) he has related many true things concerning the mighty works and miracles done by them, but at the ſame time gave very falſe accounts of their doctrine; ſo in this he has forged many falſe accounts out of his own imagination. However I will endeavour to tranſlate it word for word, as it is in the Hebrew, becauſe it is pretended that this ſame book was compoſed by the holy Evangeliſt Matthew, and placed, written in Hebrew characters, at the beginning of his Goſpel; but as to the truth of this, I leave it to the author of the preface, and the credit of the writer; for as I declare theſe things to be uncertain, ſo I will not poſitively affirm them to be falſe. But this I am not afraid to aſſert, which I ſuppoſe no Chriſtian will deny, viz. that, whether theſe things be true or falſe, there were great miracles both preceding and

iſſe; et idcirco ſalva fide ab his qui Deum iſta facere poſſe credunt, ſine periculo animæ ſuæ credi et legi poſſe. Denique, in quantum recordari poſſum, ſenſum non verba ſcriptoris ſequens, et nunc eadem ſemita non iiſdem veſtigiis incedens, nunc quibuſdam diverticulis ad eandem viam recurrens, ſic narrationis ſtylum tentabo, et non alia dicam, quam quæ aut ſcripta ſunt ibi, aut conſequenter ſcribi potuerunt.

following (the birth) of St. Mary, and therefore they may very ſafely, without any hazard of the ſoul, be both believed and read by thoſe who are perſuaded of the power of God to work ſuch miracles. In a word, as far as my memory will ſerve, I will attempt ſuch a ſort of tranſlation, as to ſay nothing which is not either written there, or may be ſuppoſed by conſequence to have been written; obſerving rather the meaning than the words of the author; ſometimes walking in the ſame path with him, though not in the ſame ſteps; and though ſometimes turning a little aſide, returning to the ſame way again.

Whether any other of the antient writers of Chriſtianity have mentioned this Goſpel, or whether theſe Epiſtles under the name of Jerome, relating to it, are genuine, I ſhall not yet inquire, becauſe there ſtill is extant a ſpurious book, entitled, *The Protevangelium*, or *Firſt Goſpel of the Apoſtle James*, containing the greateſt part of the preceding one, with ſeveral other conſiderable additions; which (as it is neceſſary) I will firſt inſert, and then endeavour to give the reader the cleareſt account I can of both.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Protevangelion of St. James, in Greek and Engliſh, publiſhed out of the Orthodoxographa of Jacobus Grynæus, p. 71, *&c.*

THE ſame reaſons which induced me to inſert the preceding *Goſpel of the Birth of Mary*, make it neceſſary that I ſhould inſert this, viz. becauſe there can be no reaſonable doubt but that they were of the ſame original; and as that paſſed under the name of St. Matthew, ſo this was aſcribed to St. James, and many of its relations received and credited by the antient Chriſtians. Beſides, it has been not only publiſhed among thoſe books which go under the pompous character of *Orthodoxographa*, but its firſt editor Poſtellus pleads mightily for its authority, would have it received among the *Hagiographa*, and tells us, it is publickly read and judged authentick and Canonical by the Oriental Churches. (See below, Chap. XXI.)

Numb. VI.

ΠΡΩΤΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ,

The PROTEVANGELION:

Ἡ περὶ γεννήσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, λόγος ἱστορικὸς ἁγίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ μείονος, συγγενοῦς τε καὶ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, Ἀποστόλου πρώτου καὶ Ἐπισκόπου πρώτου Χριστιανῶν τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

Or, An Hiſtorical Account of the Birth of Chriſt, and the perpetual Virgin Mary his Mother, by James the Leſſer, Couſin and Brother of the Lord Jeſus, chief Apoſtle and firſt Biſhop of the Chriſtians in Jeruſalem.

1. ΕΝ ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δώδεκα φύλων τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἦν Ἰωακεὶμ πλούσιος σφόδρα, καὶ προσεφέρετο τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ διπλᾶ Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ, λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· Ἔσται τὸ τῆς περισσείας παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀφέσεώς μοι Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ εἰς ἱλασμὸν ἐμοί. Ἤγγικε δὲ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ἡ μεγάλη, καὶ προσέφερον οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰωακεὶμ τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔστη κατέναντι αὐτοῦ Ῥουβεὶμ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, λέγων· Οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι προσενε-

1. IN the hiſtory of the twelve tribes of Iſrael *(we read)* there was a certain perſon called Joachim, who being very rich made double[a] offerings to the Lord God, having made this reſolution; "*My ſubſtance ſhall be for the* "*benefit of the whole people,* "*and that I may find mercy* "*from the Lord God for the* "*forgiveneſs of my ſins.*" But at a certain great feaſt of the Lord, when the children of Iſrael offered their gifts, and Joachim alſo offered his: Reuben the High-prieſt oppoſed him, ſaying, *It is not lawful for thee to offer thy*

[a] i. e. *gave as much more as he was obliged to give.*

gifts,

ἐγκειν τὰ δῶρά σα, καθότι σπέρμα ἐκ ἐποίησας ἐν Ἰσραήλ. Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἰωακεὶμ σφόδρα, καὶ ἀπίει εἰς τὸ δωδεκάφυλον τῦ λαῦ, λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· Εἰ ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκ ἐποίησα σπέρμα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ. Ἠρεύνησε δὲ καὶ εὗρε πάντας δικαίους, ὅτι σπέρμα ἀνέςησαν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ· καὶ ἐμνήσθη τῦ πατριάρχου Ἀβραὰμ, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Θεὸς υἱὸν τὸν Ἰσαάκ. Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἰωακεὶμ σφόδρα, καὶ ἐκ ἐφάνη τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτῦ· ἀλλ' ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἔρημον, καὶ ἔπηξε τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῦ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐνήςευσεν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα, λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· Οὐ καταβήσομαι, ἕτ' ἐπὶ βρῶμα, ἕτ' ἐπὶ ποτὸν, ἕως ἂν ἐπισκέψηταί με Κύριος ὁ Θεός μα, καὶ ἔςαι μοι ἡ εὐχή μα βρῶμα καὶ πῶμα.

gifts, ſeeing thou haſt not begot any iſſue in Iſrael. At this Joachim being concerned very much, went away to conſult the regiſteries of the twelve tribes, to ſee whether he was the only perſon who had begot no iſſue. But upon enquiry he found, that all the righteous had raiſed up ſeed in Iſrael: then he called to mind the patriarch Abraham, how that God in the end of his life had given him his ſon Iſaac; upon which he was exceedingly diſtreſſed, and would not be ſeen by his wife, but retired into the wilderneſs, and fixed his tent there, and faſted forty days and forty nights, ſaying to himſelf, *I will not go down either to eat or drink, till the Lord my God ſhall look down upon me, but prayer ſhall be my meat and drink* [a].

11. Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτῦ Ἄννα δύο θρήνους ἐθρήνει, καὶ δύο κοπετὸς ἐκόπτετο, λέγουσα· Κόψομαι τὴν χηρείαν μα, καὶ

11. In the mean time his wife Anna was diſtreſſed and perplexed on a double account, and ſaid, *I will mourn*

[a] *In imitation of the forty days and nights faſt of Moſes, recorded* Exod. xxiv. 18. xxxiv. 28. Deut. ix. 9. *of Elijah,* 1 Kings xix. 8. *and Chriſt's,* Matt. iv. 2.

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κόψομαι τὴν ἀτεκνίαν μου. Ἤγγικε δὲ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ἡ μεγάλη, καὶ εἶπεν Ἰουδὶθ ἡ παιδίσκη αὐτῆς· Ἑωσπότε ταπεινοῖς τὴν ψυχήν σου; ἤγγικεν ἡμέρα Κυρίου, καὶ οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι πενθεῖν. Ἀλλὰ λάβε τὸ κεφαλοδέσμιον τοῦτο, ὃ ἔδωκέ μοι ἡ κυρία τοῦ ἔργου· ὅτι οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι φήσασθαι αὐτὸ, καθότι παιδίσκη εἰμὶ σὴ, καὶ χαρακτῆρα ἔχεις βασιλικόν. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννα· Ἀπόστα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐποίησα, καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐταπείνωσέ με σφόδρα· μή πως πανοῦργός τις ἔδωκέ σοι τοῦτο, καὶ ἦλθες κοινωνῆσαί με τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ σου.— Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰουδὶθ ἡ παιδίσκη αὐτῇ· Τί ἀράσομαί σοι; μή τι μεῖζον ἀράσομαί σοι, καθότι οὐκ ἤκουσας τῆς φωνῆς μου; ἀπέκλεισε γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὴν μήτραν σου, τοῦ μὴ δοῦναί σοι καρπὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ. Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἄννα σφόδρα, καὶ περιείλατο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῆς τὰ νυμφικὰ, καὶ περὶ ὥραν ἐννάτην κατέβη ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ αὐτῆς τοῦ περιπατῆσαι. Καὶ εἶδε δαφνιδέαν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐλιτάνευε τὸν Δεσ-

both for my widowhood and my barrenneſs. Then drew near a great feaſt of the Lord, and Judith her maid ſaid, *How long will you thus afflict your ſoul? The feaſt of the Lord is now come, when it is unlawful for any one to mourn. Take therefore this hood which was given me by one who makes ſuch things, for it is not fit that I who am a ſervant ſhould wear it, but it well ſuits a perſon of your greater character.* But Anna replied, *Depart from me, I am not uſed to ſuch things; beſides, the Lord hath greatly humbled me. I fear ſome ill-deſigning perſon hath given thee this, and thou art come to pollute me with thy ſin.*—Then Judith her maid anſwered, *What evil ſhall I wiſh you, ſince you will not hearken to me? I cannot wiſh you a greater curſe* (than you are under) *in that God has ſhut up your womb, that you ſhould not be a mother in Iſrael.* At this Anna was exceedingly troubled, and having on her wedding garment, went about three o'clock in the afternoon to walk in her garden. And ſhe ſaw a laurel-tree, and ſat under it, and prayed unto the Lord, ſaying,

"O God

πότην, λέγουσα· Ὦ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου, εὐλόγησόν με, καὶ ἐπάκουσόν μου, καθὼς εὐλόγησας τὴν μήτραν τῆς Σάρρας, καὶ ἔδωκας αὐτῇ υἱὸν τὸν Ἰσαάκ.

" *O God of my fathers, bleſs*
" *me and regard my prayer,*
" *as thou didſt bleſs the womb*
" *of Sarah, and gaveſt her a*
" *ſon Iſaac*[a]."

III. Καὶ ἠτένισεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ εἶδε καλίαν στρουθίων ἐν τῇ δάφνῃ, καὶ ἐποίησε θρῆνον ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα· Οἴμοι, τίς με ἐγέννησε; ποῖα δὲ μήτρα ἐξέφυσέ με; ὅτι ἐγὼ κατάρα ἐγενήθην ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ· καὶ ὠνείδισαν καὶ ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου. Οἴμοι, τίνι ὡμοιώθην; οὐχ ὡμοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς, ὅτι αὐτὰ τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς γόνιμά ἐστι ἐνώπιόν σου, Κύριε. Οἴμοι, τίνι ὡμοιώθην ἐγώ; οὐχ ὡμοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις, ὅτι αὐτὰ ἄλογα ζῶα γόνιμά εἰσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, Κύριε. Οἴμοι, τίνι ὡμοιώθην ἐγώ; οὐχ ὡμοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς ὕδασι τούτοις, ὅτι αὐτὰ τὰ ὕδατα γόνιμά εἰσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, Κύριε. Οἴμοι, τίνι ὡμοιώθην ἐγώ; οὐχ ὡμοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς κύμασι τῆς

III. And as ſhe was looking towards heaven, ſhe perceived a ſparrow's neſt in the laurel, and mourning within herſelf, ſhe ſaid, *Wo is me, who begat me? and what womb did bare me? that I ſhould be thus accurſed before the children of Iſrael, and that they ſhould reproach and deride me in the temple of my God: Wo is me, to what can I be compared? I am not comparable to the very beaſts of the earth, for even the beaſts of the earth are fruitful before thee, O Lord! Wo is me, to what can I be compared? I am not comparable to the brute animals, for even the brute animals are fruitful before thee, O Lord! Wo is me, to what am I comparable? I cannot be compared to theſe waters, for even the waters are fruitful before thee, O Lord! Wo is me, to what can I be compared? I am not com-*

[a] Gen. xxi. 2.

θαλάσσης, ὅτι καὶ τὰ κύματα γαληνιῶντα καὶ σκιρτῶντα, καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰχθύες εὐλογοῦσί σε, Κύριε. Οἴ μοι, τίνι ὡμοιώθην ἐγώ; ἐχ ὡμοιώθην ἐγὼ τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτι καὶ ἡ γῆ προσφέρει τὰς καρπὸς αὐτῆς, καὶ εὐλογεῖ σε, Κύριε.

parable to the waves of the sea; for the[illegible] are calm, [illegible] the fishes w[illegible] praise thee, [illegible] me, to what can I be compared? I am not comparable to the very earth, for the earth produces its fruits, and praises thee, O Lord!

IV. Καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐπέστη, λέγων αὐτῇ· Ἄννα, Ἄννα, ἐπήκουσε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δεήσεώς σου· συλλήψῃ καὶ γεννήσεις, καὶ λαληθήσεται τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννα· Ζῇ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, ὅ τι ἐὰν γεννήσω εἴτε ἄρρεν εἴτε θῆλυ, προσάξω αὐτὸ δῶρον Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου, καὶ ἔσαι λειτουργοῦν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἄγγελοι ἦλθον, ἀπαγγέλλοντες αὐτῇ· Ἰδοὺ Ἰωακεὶμ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν ποιμένων αὐτοῦ· ἄγγελος γὰρ Κυρίου κατέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἐπήκουσε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δεήσεώς σου· σπεῦσον, κατάβηθι ἐντεῦθεν· ἰδοὺ γὰρ Ἄννα ἡ γυνή σου ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται. Καὶ κατέβη Ἰωακεὶμ, καὶ ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ποιμένας αὐτοῦ, λέγων· Φέρετέ

IV. Then an angel of the Lord ſtood by her, and ſaid, *Anna, Anna, the Lord hath heard thy prayer; thou ſhalt conceive and bring forth, and thy progeny ſhall be ſpoke of in all the world.* And Anna anſwered, *As the Lord my God liveth, whatever I bring forth, whether it be male or female, I will devote it to the Lord my God, and it ſhall miniſter to him in holy things, during its whole life.* And behold there appeared two angels, ſaying unto her, *Behold Joachim* (thy huſband) *is coming with his ſhepherds, for an angel of the Lord hath alſo come down to him, and ſaid,* The Lord God hath heard thy prayer, make haſte and go hence, for behold Anna thy wife ſhall conceive. And Joachim went down, and called his ſhepherds, ſaying, *Bring me*

hither

μοι ὧδε δέκα ἀμνάδας ἀπαλὰς καὶ ἀμώμους, καὶ ἔσονται δέκα ἀμνάδες Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου· καὶ φέρετέ μοι δεκαδύο μόσχους ἀπαλούς, καὶ ἔσονται δεκαδύο μόσχοι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ· καὶ ἑκατὸν χιμάρους, καὶ ἔσονται ἑκατὸν χίμαροι παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. Καὶ κατέβη Ἰωακεὶμ μετὰ τῶν ποιμένων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔστη Ἄννα παρὰ τὴν πύλην, καὶ ἰδὲ τὸν Ἰωακεὶμ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν ποιμένων, καὶ δραμοῦσα ἐκρεμάσθη ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ, λέγουσα· Νῦν οἶδα, ὅτι Κύριος εὐλόγησέ με σφόδρα· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ χήρα οὐκέτι χήρα· καὶ ἄτεκνος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψομαι.

hither ten ſhe-lambs without ſpot or blemiſh, and they ſhall be for the Lord my God, and bring me twelve calves without blemiſh, and the twelve calves ſhall be for the prieſts and the elders. (Bring me) *alſo a hundred goats, and the hundred goats ſhall be for the whole people.* And Joachim went down with the ſhepherds, and Anna ſtood by the gate, and ſaw Joachim coming with the ſhepherds, and ſhe ran, and hanging about his neck, ſaid, *Now I know that the Lord hath greatly bleſſed me; for behold, I who was a widow am no longer a widow, and I who was barren ſhall conceive.*

v. Καὶ ἀνεπαύσατο Ἰωακεὶμ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ. Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον προσέφερε τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ, λέγων· Εἰ Κύριος ἱλάσθη μοι, τὸ πεταλὸν τοῦ ἱερέως φανερὸν ποιήσει· καὶ προσῆλθε τῷ πετάλῳ τοῦ ἱερέως, ὡς ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ εἶδε, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἁμαρτία οὐκ εὑρέθη ἐν αὐτῷ. Καὶ εἶπεν

v. And Joachim abode the firſt day in his houſe, but on the morrow he brought his offerings, and ſaid, *If the Lord be propitious to me, let the plate which is on the prieſt's forehead*[a] *make it manifeſt.* And he conſulted the plate which the prieſt wore, and ſaw it, and behold ſin was not found in him. And

[a] *Such an inſtrument God had appointed the High-prieſt to wear for ſuch diſcoveries.* See Exod. xxviii. 36, &c. and Spencer de Urim et Thummim.

Joachim

Ἰωακείμ· Νῦν οἶδα ὅτι ὁ Κύριος ἱλάσθη μοι, καὶ ἀφεῖλε πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματά μου. Καὶ κατέβη ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ Κυρίου δεδικαιωμένος, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐπληρώθησαν τῇ Ἄννῃ μῆνες ἐννέα, καὶ ἐγέννησεν Ἄννα, καὶ εἶπε τῇ μαίᾳ· Τί ἐγέννησα; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ, Θῆλυ· καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννα· Ἐμεγάλυνε ὁ Κύριος τὴν ψυχήν μου τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ· καὶ ἀνέκλινεν αὐτήν. Πληρωθεισῶν δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἀπεσμήξατο Ἄννα, καὶ ἔδωκε μαστὸν τῇ παιδί, καὶ ἐκαλέσατο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Μαρία.

Joachim said, [illegible] *I know that the Lord* [illegible] *me, and hath* [illegible] *my ſins.* And he [illegible] from the temple of the Lord juſtified, and he went to his own houſe. And when nine months were fulfilled to Anna, ſhe brought forth, and ſaid to the midwife, *What have I brought forth?* And ſhe told her, *A girl.* Then Anna ſaid, *The Lord hath this day magnified my ſoul*; and ſhe laid her in bed. And when the days of her purification were accompliſhed, ſhe gave ſuck to the child, and called her name Mary.

VI. Ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκραταιοῦτο ἡ παῖς· γενομένης δὲ αὐτῆς ἐννεαμηνιαίου χρόνου, ἔστησεν αὐτὴν χαμαὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς, τοῦ πειράσαι εἰ ἴσταται. Καὶ ἐννέα βήματα περιπατήσασα ἦλθεν εἰς κόλπον τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἥρπασεν αὐτὴν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς, λέγουσα· Ζῇ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, εἰ μὴ περιπατήσεις ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἕως ἂν ἀπάξω σε ἐν τῷ ναῷ Κυρίου. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ἁγίασμα ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι αὐτῆς, καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον οὐκ εἴα δι-

VI. And the child increaſed in ſtrength every day, ſo that when ſhe was nine months old, her mother put her upon the ground to try if ſhe could ſtand; and when ſhe had walked nine ſteps, ſhe came again to her mother's lap. Then her mother catched her up, and ſaid, *As the Lord my God liveth, thou ſhalt not walk again on this earth, till I bring thee into the temple of the Lord.* Accordingly ſhe made her chamber a holy place, and ſuffered nothing common or unclean to come near

ελθεῖν δι' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν Ἑβραίων τὰς ἁμιάντους, καὶ [a] διεπλήνων αὐτήν. Ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτος ἐνιαυτὸς τῇ παιδὶ, καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰωακεὶμ δοχὴν μεγάλην, καὶ ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἱερεῖς, καὶ τοὺς γραμματεῖς, καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ προσήνεγκεν Ἰωακεὶμ τὴν παῖδα τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι, καὶ εὐλόγησαν αὐτὴν, λέγοντες· Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν εὐλόγησον τὴν παῖδα ταύτην, καὶ δὸς αὐτῇ ὄνομα ὀνομαστὸν αἰώνιον πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς· καὶ εἶπε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, Γένοιτο, γένοιτο, ἀμήν· καὶ πάλιν προσήνεγκε αὐτὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ εὐλόγησαν αὐτὴν, λέγοντες· Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν ὑψωμάτων ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὴν παῖδα ταυτὴν, καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτὴν ἐσχάτην εὐλογίαν, ἥ τις διαδοχὴν οὐκ ἔχει. Καὶ ἀνήρπασεν αὐτὴν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ μασθόν. Καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἄννα ᾆσμα Κυρίῳ, λέγουσα·

near her, but invited certain undefiled daughters of Iſrael, and they drew her aſide. But when the child was a year old, Joachim made a great feaſt, and invited the prieſts, ſcribes, elders, and all the people of Iſrael; and Joachim then made an offering of the girl to the chief-prieſts, and they bleſſed her, ſaying, *The God of our fathers bleſs this girl, and give her a name famous and laſting through all generations.* And all the people replied, *So be it, Amen:* then (Joachim) a ſecond time offered her to the prieſts, and they bleſſed her, ſaying, *O moſt high God, regard this girl, and bleſs her with an uninterrupted (or everlaſting) bleſſing.* Upon this her mother took her up, and gave her the breaſt, and ſung the following ſong to the Lord [b]: *I will ſing a ſong unto the Lord my God, for he hath viſited me, and taken away from me the reproach of mine enemies, and hath given me the fruit of his righteouſneſs, that*

Ἄσω ᾠδὴν Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου, ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατό με, καὶ ἀφεῖλεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ὄνειδος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου· καὶ ἔδωκέ μοι καρπὸν δι-

[a] Fabritius propoſes διέπλυνον, *curabant, perlavabant.*]

[b] Compare 1 Sam. ii. 1, &c. with Luke i. 46.

it

καιοσύνης αὐτȣ̃· ὅτι ἀναγγελεῖ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ρȣβεὶμ, ὅτι θηλάζει Ἄννα. Καὶ ἀνέπαυσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ ἁγιάσματι αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξῆλθε, καὶ διηκόνει αὐτοῖς. Τελεσθέντος δὲ τȣ̃ δείπνȣ, κατῆλθον εὐφραινόμενοι, καὶ δοξάζοντες τὸν Θεὸν Ισραήλ.

it may now be tol[illegible] the sons of Reuben, tha[illegible] suck. Then sh[illegible] to rest in the room which [illegible] had consecrated, and she went out and ministered unto them. And when the feast was ended, they went away rejoicing, and praising the God of Israel.

VII. Τῇ δὲ παιδὶ προσετίθεντο οἱ μῆνες αὐτῆς. Εγένετο δὲ διετὴς ἡ παῖς, καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωακεὶμ τῇ Ἄννα· Ἀπάξωμεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τȣ̃ Κυρίȣ, ὥςε ἀποδῶμεν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἣν ἐπηγγηλάμεθα Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ, μή πως ἀποςράφῃ ἀφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀπρόσδεκτον γένοιτο τὸ δῶρον ἡμῶν. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννα· Ἀναμείνωμεν τὸ τρίτον ἔτος, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιζητήσει πατέρα. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωακεὶμ, ἀναμείνωμεν. Ἐγένετο δὲ τριετὴς ἡ παῖς, καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωακείμ· Καλέσωμεν τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν Ἑβραίων τὰς ἀμιάντȣς, καὶ λαβέτωσαν ἀνὰ λαμπάδα, καὶ ἔςωσαν καιόμεναι, ἵνα μὴ ςραφῇ ἡ παῖς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθῇ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῆς ἐκ ναȣ̃ Κυρίȣ. Καὶ ἐποίησαν ȣ̃τως, ἕως ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν ναὸν Κυρίȣ. Καὶ ἐδέξατο αὐτὴν ὁ

VII. But the girl grew, and when she was two years old, Joachim said to Anna, *Let us lead her to the Temple of the Lord, that we may perform our vow, which we have vowed unto the Lord God, lest he should be angry with us, and our offering be unacceptable.* But Anna said, *Let us wait the third year, lest she should be at a loss to know her father.* And Joachim said, *Let us then wait.* And when the child was three years old, Joachim said, *Let us invite the daughters of the Hebrews, who are undefiled, and let them take each a lamp, and let them be lighted, that the child may not turn back again, and her mind be set against the Temple of the Lord.* And they did thus till they ascended into the Temple of the Lord. And the (High) Priest

ἱερεὺς, καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτὴν, καὶ εἶπε· Μαρία, ἐμεγάλυνε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ὄνομά σε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς· ἐπί σοι γὰρ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν φανερώσει Κύριος τὸ λύτρον αὐτοῦ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ. Καὶ ἐκάθισεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ βαθμῷ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ χάριν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ κατεχόρευσε τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἠγάπησεν αὐτὴν πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραήλ.

Prieſt received her, and bleſſed her, and ſaid, *Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy name to all generations, and to the very end of time by thee will the Lord ſhew his redemption to the children of Iſrael.* And he placed her upon the third ſtep of the altar, and the Lord gave unto her grace, and ſhe danced with her feet, and all the houſe of Iſrael loved her.

VIII. Καὶ κατέβησαν γονεῖς αὐτῆς θαυμάζοντες, καὶ αἰνοῦντες τὸν Θεὸν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεστράφη ἡ παῖς πρὸς αὐτούς. Ἦν δὲ Μαρία ἐν τῷ ναῷ Κυρίου ὡς περιστερὰ νεμομένη, καὶ ἐλάμβανε τροφὴν ἐκ χειρὸς Ἀγγέλου. Γενομένης δὲ αὐτῆς δώδεκα ἐτῶν, συμβούλιον ἐγένετο τῶν ἱερέων λεγόντων· Ἰδοὺ Μαρία γέγονε δωδεκαετής· τί οὖν αὐτῇ ποιήσωμεν, μή πως μιανθῇ τὸ ἁγίασμα τοῦ Κυρίου Θεοῦ ἡμῶν; Καὶ εἶπον οἱ ἱερεῖς πρὸς Ζαχαρίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα· Σὺ στῆθι ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον Κυρίου, καὶ εἴσελθε εἰς τὸ ἁγίασμα, καὶ πρόσευξαι περὶ αὐτῆς· καὶ ὃ ἐὰν φανερώσῃ σοι Κύριος, τοῦτο ποίησον. Καὶ

VIII. And her parents went away filled with wonder, and praiſing God, becauſe the girl did not return back to them. But Mary continued in the Temple, as a dove educated there, and received her food from the hand of an Angel. And when ſhe was twelve years of age, the Prieſts met in a council, and ſaid, *Behold, Mary is twelve years of age; what ſhall we do with her, for fear leſt the holy place of the Lord our God ſhould be defiled?* Then replied the Prieſts to Zacharias the High-prieſt, *Do you ſtand at the altar of the Lord, and enter into the holy place, and make petitions concerning her, and whatſoever the Lord ſhall manifeſt unto you, that do.* Then the High-

prieſt

εἰσῆλθεν ὁ ἱερεὺς λαβὼν τὸν δωδεκακώδωνα εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ηὔξατο περὶ αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἰδὲ Ἄγγελος Κυρίε ἐπέστη, λέγων αὐτῷ· Ζαχαρία, Ζαχαρία, ἔξελθε καὶ ἐκκλησίασον πάντας τὲς χηρεύοντας τῆ λαῆ, καὶ ἐνεγκάτωσαν ἀνὰ ῥάβδον, καὶ ᾧ ἂν ἐπιδείξῃ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς σημεῖον, τέτε ἔσαι γυνή. Καὶ ἐξήλθον οἱ κήρυκες κὰθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰεδαίας, καὶ ἤχησεν ἡ σάλπιγξ Κυρίε, καὶ ἰδὲ συνέδραμον πάντες εἰς ἀπάντησιν.

prieſt entered in[illegible] Holies, and tal[illegible] him the breaſ[illegible] ment [a], mad[illegible] cerning her; and behold the Angel of the Lord came to him, and ſaid, *Zacharias, Zacharias, Go forth and call together all the widowers among the people, and let every one of them bring his rod, and he by whom the Lord ſhall ſhew a ſign ſhall be the huſband of Mary.* And the criers went out through all Judea, and the trumpet of the Lord ſounded, and all the people ran and met together.

IX. Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ῥίψας τὸ σκέπαρνον, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῶν, καὶ συναχθέντες ἀπῆλθον πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα, λαβόντες τὰς ῥάβδες. Δεξάμενος δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ῥάβδες αὐτῶν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν προσεύξασθαι. Τελέσας δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν, ἔλαβε τὰς ῥάβδες, καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ σημεῖον ἐκ ἦν ἐπ' αὐταῖς· τὴν δὲ ἐσχάτην ῥάβδον ἔλαβεν Ἰωσήφ· καὶ ἰδὲ περιστερὰ ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς ῥάβδε, καὶ ἐπετάσθη ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς Ἰωσήφ·

IX. Joſeph alſo throwing away his hatchet went out to meet them, and when they were met, they went to the High-prieſt, taking every man his rod. After the High-prieſt had received their rods, he went into the Temple to pray; and when he had finiſhed his prayer, he took the rods and went forth and diſtributed them, and there was no ſign (or miracle) attended them. The laſt rod was taken by Joſeph, and behold, *a dove proceeded out of the rod, and flew upon the head of Joſeph.*

[a] See Exod. xxviii. 22, &c.

And

καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· Ἰωσὴφ, σὺ κεκλήρωσαι τὴν παρθένον τοῦ Κυρίου παραλαβεῖν εἰς τήρησιν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Ἰωσὴφ, λέγων· υἱοὺς ἔχω καὶ πρεσβύτης εἰμὶ, αὐτὴ δὲ νεανίς· μή πως ἔσομαι καταγέλως τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· Ἰωσὴφ, φοβήθητι Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σε, καὶ μνήσθητι, ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς Δαθὰν, Κωρὲ, καὶ Ἀβειρώμ· πῶς ἐδιχάσθη ἡ γῆ καὶ κατέπιεν αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν αὐτῶν· καὶ νῦν φοβήθητι τὸν Θεὸν, Ἰωσὴφ, μή τι ἔσαι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σε. Καὶ φοβηθεὶς Ἰωσὴφ παρέλαβεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσὴφ τῇ Μαρίᾳ· Ἰδοὺ παρέλαβόν σε ἐκ ναοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ νῦν καταλείπω σε ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου· ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ οἰκοδομῆσαι τὰς οἰκοδομάς μου· Κύριος δέ σε διαφυλάξει.

And the High-prieſt ſaid, *Joſeph, Thou art the perſon choſen to take the Virgin of the Lord to keep her for him*; but Joſeph refuſed, ſaying, *I am an old man, and have children, but ſhe is young, and I fear leſt I ſhould appear ridiculous in Iſrael.* Then the High-prieſt replied, *Joſeph, Fear the Lord thy God, and remember how God dealt with Dathan, Corah, and Abiram, how the earth opened and ſwallowed them up, becauſe of their contradiction. Now therefore, Joſeph, fear God, leſt the like things ſhould happen in your family.* Joſeph then being afraid, took her unto his houſe, and Joſeph ſaid unto Mary, *Behold, I have taken thee from the Temple of the Lord, and now I will leave thee in my houſe; I muſt go to mind my trade of building.* The Lord be with thee.

x. Ἐγένετο δὲ συμβούλιον τῶν ἱερέων, λεγόντων· ποιήσωμεν καταπέτασμα τῷ ναῷ Κυρίου. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· Καλέσατέ μοι ἑπτὰ παρθένους ἀμιάντους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς Δαβίδ. Καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἱ ὑπηρέται, καὶ εἰσήγαγον αὐτὰς εἰς

x. And it came to paſs in a council of the Prieſts it was ſaid, *Let us make a new veil for the Temple of the Lord.* And the High-prieſt ſaid, *Call together to me ſeven undefiled Virgins of the tribe of David.* And the ſervants went and brought them into the

Temple

τὸν ναὸν Κυρίου, καὶ εἶπεν αὐταῖς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· Λάχετέ μοι ὧδε, τίς νήσεται χρυσὸν, καὶ τὸν ὑάκινθον, καὶ τὸν κόκκινον, καὶ τὴν βύσσον, καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν πορφύραν· καὶ ἐμνήσθη Ζαχαρίας περὶ τῆς Μαρίας, ὅτι ἐκ φυλῆς Δαβὶδ ἐστι. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἔλαχεν αὐτῇ ἡ ἀληθινὴ πορφύρα, καὶ ἀπίει εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς. Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ Ζαχαρίας ἐσίγησε, καὶ ἐγένετο ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Σαμουὴλ, μέχρις οὗ ἐλάλησε Ζαχαρίας. Μαρία δὲ λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀληθινὴν πορφύραν ἔνηθε.

Temple of the Lord, and the High-prie… *Caſt lots b… you ſhall ſ… who the blue, who the ſcarlet, who the fine linen, and who the true purple.* Then the High-prieſt knew Mary, that ſhe was of the tribe of David; and he called her, and the true purple fell to her lot (to ſpin), and ſhe went away to her own houſe. But from that time Zacharias (the High-prieſt) became dumb, and Samuel was placed in his room till Zacharias ſpoke again. But Mary took the true purple, and did ſpin it.

XI. Καὶ λαβοῦσα τὴν κάλπην, ἐξῆλθε δὲ γεμίσαι ὕδωρ, καὶ ἤκουσε φωνὴν, λέγουσαν αὐτῇ· Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ, εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξί. Καὶ περιεβλέπετο δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερὰ, πόθεν αὐτῇ ἡ φωνή. Καὶ σύντρομος γενομένη, εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀνέπαυσε τὴν κάλπην, καὶ λαβοῦσα τὴν πορφύραν, ἐκαθέσθη ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτῆς, καὶ εἵλκεν αὐτήν. Καὶ ἰδοὺ, Ἄγγελος Κυ-

XI. And ſhe took a pot, and went out to draw water, and heard a voice ſaying unto her, *Hail thou who art full of grace*[a], *the Lord is with thee; thou art bleſſed among women.* And ſhe looked round to the right and to the left (to ſee) whence that voice came, and then trembling went into her houſe, and laying down the water-pot ſhe took the purple, and ſat down in her ſeat to work it. And behold the Angel of the Lord ſtood by

[a] Luk. i. 28, &c.

her,

ρία ἐπέστη, λέγων αὐτῇ· Μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαρία, εὗρες γὰρ χάριν παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ. Ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα διεκρίθη ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα, ποταπός μοι ὁ ἀσπασμὸς οὗτος. Καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπε πρὸς αὐτήν· Ὁ Κύριος μετά σου, καὶ συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρί. Καὶ εἰ ἐγώ, φησὶ, συλλήψομαι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ γεννήσω, ὡς πᾶσα γυνὴ γεννᾷ; Εἶπε δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος· ἐχ ἅτως, Μαρία, ἀλλὰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπί σε, καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι· διὸ καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ἐκ σοῦ ἅγιον, κληθήσεται υἱὸς Θεοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ συγγενής σου Ἐλισαβὲτ συνειληφυῖά ἐστιν υἱὸν ἐν γήρει αὐτῆς· καὶ οὗτος μὴν ἕκτος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, τῇ λελημένῃ στείρᾳ· ὅτι ἐκ ἀδυνατήσει πᾶν ῥῆμα παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ. Καὶ εἶπε Μαρία· Ἰδοὺ ἡ δούλη Κυρίου, γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου.

her, and ſaid, *Fear not, Mary, for thou haſt found favour in the ſight of God*; which when ſhe heard, ſhe reaſoned with herſelf *what that ſort of ſalutation meant.* And the Angel ſaid unto her, *The Lord is with thee, and thou ſhalt conceive:* to which ſhe replied, *What! ſhall I conceive by the living God, and bring forth as all other women do?* But the Angel returned anſwer, *Not ſo, O Mary, but the Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the power of the Moſt High ſhall overſhadow thee; wherefore that which ſhall be born of thee ſhall be holy, and ſhall be called the Son of the Living God, and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus; for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins. And behold thy couſin Elizabeth, ſhe alſo hath conceived a ſon in her old age. And this now is the ſixth month with her, who was called barren; for nothing is impoſſible with God.* And Mary ſaid, *Behold the handmaid of the Lord, let it be unto me according to thy word.*

ΧΙΙ. Καὶ ποιήσασα τὴν πορφύραν ἀπήγαγε ταύτην τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ· καὶ ἠλόγησε

XII. And when ſhe had wrought her purple, ſhe carried it to the High-prieſt, and

αὐτὴν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, λέγων· Μαρία, ἐμεγάλυνε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ὄνομά σε, καὶ ἔσῃ εὐλογημένη ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς τῆς γῆς. Χαρὰν δὲ λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἀπίει πρὸς Ἐλισάβετ, τὴν συγγενίδα αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔκρουσε τὴν θύραν· καὶ ἀκούσασα ἡ Ἐλισάβετ, δραμοῦσα ἤνοιξεν αὐτῇ, καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτὴν, καὶ εἶπε· Καὶ πόθεν μοι τοῦτο, ἵνα ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου μου ἦλθεν πρός με; Ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ ἀσπασμός σου εἰς τὰ ὦτά μου, τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐσκίρτησε, καὶ εὐλόγησέ σε. Καὶ Μαρία ἐπελάθετο τῶν μυστηρίων, ὧν ἐλάλησεν αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ὁ Ἀρχάγγελος· καὶ ἀτένισεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ εἶπε· Κύριε, τίς εἰμὶ ἐγὼ, ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαὶ τῆς γῆς ἐμὲ μακαρίζουσιν; Ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ γαστὴρ αὐτῆς ὠγκοῦτο, καὶ φοβηθεῖσα, ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔκρυβεν ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. Ἦν δὲ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων, ὅτι ταῦτα ἐγένετο τὰ μυστήρια.

the High-[illegible] her, saying, *M[illegible] hath mag[illegible] thou ſhalt be [illegible] ages of the world.* Then Mary, filled with joy, went away to her couſin Elizabeth, and knocked at the door. When Elizabeth heard, ſhe ran and opened to her, and bleſſed her, and ſaid, *Whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord ſhould come unto me? For lo! as ſoon as the voice of thy ſalutation reached my ears, that which is in me leaped and bleſſed thee.* But Mary, being ignorant of all thoſe myſterious things which the Archangel Gabriel had ſpoken to her, lift up her eyes to heaven, and ſaid, *Lord! What am I, that all the generations of the earth ſhould call me bleſſed*[a]? But perceiving herſelf daily to grow big, and being afraid, ſhe went home, and hid herſelf from the children of Iſrael; and was fourteen years old when all theſe things happened.

XIII. Ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῇ ἕκτος μὴν· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν Ἰω-

XIII. And when her ſixth month was come, Joſeph re-

[a] Luk. ii. 39, &c.

turned

σὴφ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν αὐτῦ, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῦ εὗρε τὴν παρθένον ἐγκυμόνην, καὶ ἐτύπησε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῦ, λέγων· Ποίῳ προσώπῳ ἀτενίσω πρὸς Κύριον τὸν Θεόν μου; Τί δὲ λέξω περὶ παιδὸς ταύτης, ὅτι παρθένον αὐτὴν παρέλαβον ἐκ ναῦ Κυρίου τῦ Θεῦ μου, καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξα αὐτήν; Τίς ὁ θηρεύσας με; τίς τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου, καὶ ἐκμαλώτευσε τὴν παρθένον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἐμίανεν αὐτήν; Μήτι ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀνεκεφαλαιώθη ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἀδάμ; ἐν γὰρ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς δοξολογίας αὐτοῦ, ἦλθεν ὁ ὄφις, καὶ εὗρε τὴν Εὔαν μόνην, καὶ ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτήν· οὕτω κἀμοὶ συνέβη. Καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους, καὶ καλέσας αὐτὴν, εἶπε· Μεμελημένη τῷ Θεῷ τί τοῦτο πεποίηκας; τί ἐταπείνωσας τὴν ψυχήν σε, ἡ ἀνατραφεῖσα εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ τροφὴν λαβοῦσα ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ Ἀγγέλου; Ἡ δὲ ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς, λέγουσα· Καθαρά εἰμι, καὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσὴφ· Πόθεν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐγγάστριόν σου; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Μα-

turned from his building houſes abroad (which was his trade), and entering into the houſe, found the Virgin grown big; then ſmiting upon his face, he ſaid, *With what face can I look up to the Lord my God? or, what ſhall I ſay concerning this young woman? for I received her a Virgin out of the Temple of the Lord my God, and have not preſerved her ſuch? Who has thus deceived me? Who has committed this evil in my houſe, and ſeducing the Virgin from me, hath defiled her? Is not the hiſtory of Adam exactly accompliſhed in me? For in the very inſtant of his glorifying God* (or his glory), *the ſerpent came and found Eve alone, and ſeduced her. Juſt after the ſame manner it has happened to me.* Then Joſeph, ariſing from the ground, called her, and ſaid, *O thou who haſt been ſo much favoured by God, why haſt thou done this? Why haſt thou thus debaſed thy ſoul, who waſt educated in the Holy of Holies, and received thy food from the hand of Angels?* But ſhe, with a flood of tears, replied, *I am innocent, and have known no man.* Then ſaid Joſeph, *How comes it to paſs you are with child?* Mary anſwered, *As the*

ρία· Ζῇ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, ὅτι οὐ γινώσκω πόθεν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν ἐμοί.

Lord my God liveth, I know not by what means.

XIV. Καὶ ἐφοβήθη Ἰωσὴφ σφόδρα, καὶ ἠρέμησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς, διαλογιζόμενος τὸ τί ἂν αὐτῇ ποιήσῃ. Καὶ εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ Ἰωσήφ· Ἐὰν κρύψω τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῆς, εὑρεθήσομαι ἔνοχος τῷ νόμῳ Κυρίου· καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴν φανερώσω τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, φοβοῦμαι μή πως ἀγγελικόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ εὑρεθήσομαι παραδιδοὺς αἷμα ἀθῷον εἰς κρίμα θανάτου. Τί οὖν αὐτῇ ποιήσω; λάθρα ἀπολύσω αὐτήν. Καὶ κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν νὺξ, καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἄγγελος Κυρίου φαίνεται αὐτῷ κατ' ὄναρ, λέγων· Μὴ φοβηθῇς τὴν παῖδα ταύτην παραλαβεῖν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄν, ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου. Τέξεται δὲ υἱὸν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ ἐδόξασε τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ τὸν δόντα αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν ταύτην, καὶ διεφύλαξε τὴν παῖδα.

XIV. Then Joſeph was exceedingly afraid, and went away from her, conſidering what he ſhould do with her; and he thus reaſoned with himſelf[a]: *If I conceal her crime, I ſhall be found guilty by the law of the Lord; and if I diſcover her to the children of Iſrael, I fear, leſt ſhe being with child by an Angel, I ſhall be found to betray the life of an innocent perſon: what therefore ſhall I do? I will privily diſmiſs her.* Then the right was come upon him, when behold an Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and ſaid, *Be not afraid to take that young woman, for that which is within her is of the Holy Ghoſt, and ſhe ſhall bring forth a ſon, and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus, for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins.* Then Joſeph aroſe from his ſleep, and glorified the God of Iſrael, who had ſhewn him ſuch favour, and preſerved the Virgin.

[a] See Matt. i. 18,

XV. Then

XV. Καὶ ἦλθεν Ἄννας ὁ γραμματεὺς, καὶ εἶπε τῷ Ἰωσήφ· Διὰ τί οὐκ ἐφάνης τῇ εἰσόδῳ καὶ συνοδίᾳ ἡμῶν; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἰωσήφ· Ὅτι ἐκαμον ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ἀνεπαυσάμην πρώτην ἡμέραν. Ἐπράφη δὲ Ἄννας, καὶ εἶδε τὴν παρθένον ὀγκωμένην, καὶ ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἰωσὴφ, ὃν συμμεμαρτύρηκας, ἠνόμισε σφόδρα· τὴν γὰρ παρθένον, ἣν παρέλαβε ἐκ ναοῦ Κυρίου, ἐμίανεν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἔκλεψε τὰς γάμους αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἐφανέρωσε τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεύς· Ἰωσὴφ τοῦτο πεποίηκε; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἄννας, Ἀπόστειλον ὑπηρέτας, καὶ εὑρήσεις τὴν παρθένον ὀγκωμένην. Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ ὑπηρέται, καὶ εὗρον καθὼς εἶπεν. Καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν Ἰωσὴφ εἰς τὸ κριτήριον, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἱερεύς· Μαρία, τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; τί ἐταπείνωσας τὴν ψυχήν σου, καὶ ἐπελάθου Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου, ἡ ἀνατραφεῖσα εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ λαβοῦσα τροφὴν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀγγέλου, καὶ ἀκούσασα τῶν ὕμνων αὐτῶν; τί δὲ τοῦτο ἐποί-

XV. Then came Annas the Scribe, and ſaid to Joſeph, *Wherefore have we not ſeen you ſince your return?* And Joſeph replied, *Becauſe I was weary after my journey, and reſted the firſt day.* But Annas turning about perceived the Virgin big with child, and went away to the Prieſt, and told him, *Joſeph, in whom you placed ſo much confidence, is guilty of a notorious crime, in that he hath defiled the Virgin whom he received out of the Temple of the Lord, and hath privately married her, not diſcovering it to the children of Iſrael.* Then ſaid the Prieſt, *Hath Joſeph done this?* Annas replied, *If you ſend any of your ſervants, you will find that ſhe is with child.* And the ſervants went, and found it as ſhe ſaid. Upon this both ſhe and Joſeph were brought to their trial; and the Prieſt ſaid unto her, *Mary, what haſt thou done? Why haſt thou debaſed thy ſoul, and forgot thy God, ſeeing thou waſt brought up in the Holy of Holies, and didſt receive thy food from the hands of Angels, and heardeſt their ſongs? Why*

ησας; Ἡ δὲ ἐδάκρυσε πικρῶς, λέγουσα· Ζῇ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, καθότι καθαρὰ εἰμὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω. Εἶπε δὲ ἱερεὺς πρὸς Ἰωσήφ· Τί τοῦτο ἐποίησας; εἶπε δὲ Ἰωσήφ· Ζῇ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, καθότι καθαρός εἰμι ἐξ αὐτῆς. Εἶπε δὲ ὁ ἱερεύς· Μὴ ψευδομαρτύρει, εἰπὲ τὸ ἀληθές· Ἐκλεψας τὰς γάμους αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἐφανέρωσας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ· οὐκ ἔκλινας τὴν κεφαλήν σου ὑπὸ κραταιὰν χεῖρα, ὅπερ εὐλογηθῇ τὸ σπέρμα σου. Ἐσίγησε δὲ Ἰωσήφ.

haſt thou done this? To with a flood of tears ſwered, *As the Lord my God liveth, I am innocent in his ſight, ſeeing I know no man.* Then the Prieſt ſaid to Joſeph, *Why haſt thou done this?* And Joſeph anſwered, *As the Lord my God liveth, I have not been concerned with her.* But the Prieſt ſaid, *Lie not, but declare the truth; thou haſt privately married her, and not diſcovered it to the children of Iſrael, and humbled thyſelf under the mighty hand* (of God), *that thy ſeed might be bleſſed: and Joſeph was ſilent.*

XVI. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεύς· Ἀπόδος τὴν παρθένον, ἣν παρέλαβες ἐκ ναοῦ Κυρίου. Καὶ περιδακρυς γενόμενος, εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ Ἰωσήφ· Ποτιῶ ὑμᾶς τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἐλέγξεως Κυρίου, καὶ φανερώσει τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὑμῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν. Λαβὼν δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπότισε τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ὀρεινήν, καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ὁλόκληρος. Ἐθαύμασεν δὲ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, ὅτι ἁμαρτία οὐκ

XVI. Then ſaid the Prieſt (to Joſeph), *You muſt reſtore to the Temple of the Lord the Virgin which you took thence.* But he wept bitterly, and the Prieſt added, *I will cauſe you both to drink the water of the Lord*[a], *which is for trial, and ſo your iniquity ſhall be laid open before you.* Then the Prieſt took (the water) and made Joſeph drink, and ſent him to a mountainous place, and he returned perfectly well, and all the people wondered

[a] Num. v. 18.

that

ἐφάνη ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεύς· Εἰ Κύριος οὐκ ἐφανέρωσε τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ὑμῶν, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ κρίνω ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς. Παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰωσὴφ τὴν Μαρίαν, ἀπίει εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, χαίρων καὶ ὑμνῶν τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσραήλ.

that his guilt was not diſcovered. So the Prieſt ſaid, *Since the Lord has not made your ſins evident, neither do I condemn you.* So he ſent them away. Then Joſeph took Mary, and went to his houſe, rejoicing and praiſing the God of Iſrael.

XVII. Ἐγένετο δὲ κέλευσις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Αὐγούστου ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, οἱ ἦσαν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Εἶπε δὲ Ἰωσήφ· Ἐγὼ ἀπογράψομαι τοὺς υἱούς μου· ταύτην δὲ τὴν παῖδα τί ποιήσω; ἀπογράψασθαι αὐτὴν γυναῖκα ἐμὴν αἰσχύνομαι· ἀλλὰ θυγατέρα; οἴδασι δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μου θυγάτηρ. Αὐτὴ ἡ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ποιήσει ὡς βούλεται. Καὶ ἐσαγαγὼν τὴν ὄνον καὶ ἐκάθισεν αὐτήν. Ἰωσὴφ δὲ καὶ Σιμὼν ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἤγγισαν ἐπὶ μίλια τρία. Καὶ ἐστράφη Ἰωσήφ, καὶ εἶδε τὴν Μαρίαν συγνήν, καὶ εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ Ἰωσήφ· Ἴσως τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ χειμάζει αὐτήν. Καὶ πάλιν ἐστράφη Ἰωσὴφ, καὶ εἶδεν αὐ-

XVII. And it came to paſs, that there went forth a decree[a] from the Emperor Auguſtus, that all the Jews ſhould be taxed, who were of Bethlehem in Judea: and Joſeph ſaid, *I will take care that my children be taxed: but what ſhall I do with this young woman? To have her taxed as my wife, I am aſhamed; and if* (I tax her) *as my daughter, all Iſrael knows ſhe is not my daughter. When the time of the Lord's appointment ſhall come, let him do as ſeems good to him.* And he ſaddled the aſs, and put her upon it, and Joſeph and Simon followed after her, and arrived (to Bethlehem) within three miles. Then Joſeph turning about ſaw Mary ſorrowful, and ſaid within himſelf, *Perhaps ſhe is in pain through that which is within her.* But when he turned

[a] Luke ii. 1.

τὴν γελῶσαν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Μαρία, τί ἐστιν, ὅτι τὸ πρόσωπόν σα βλέπω ποτὲ μὲν συγνὸν, ποτὲ δὲ γελῶν καὶ ἀγαλλιώμενον; καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Μαρία· Δύο λαοὺς βλέπω τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μα, ἕνα κλαίοντα καὶ κοπτόμενον, καὶ ἕνα γελῶντα καὶ ἀγαλλιώμενον. Ἦλθε δὲ πάλιν ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ὁδῦ, καὶ εἶπεν Μαρία τῷ Ἰωσήφ· Καθέλον με, ὅτι ἐπείγει τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ προελθεῖν. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· Πῦ ἀπάξω σε; ὅτι ὁ τόπος ἔρημός ἐστι. Καὶ εἶπε πάλιν Μαρία τῷ Ἰωσήφ· Κατάλαγέ με, λίαν γὰρ τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐπείγει με. Καὶ εὐθὺς κατήγαγεν αὐτὴν Ἰωσήφ.

about again, he saw her laughing, and said to her, *Mary, how happens it, that I sometimes see sorrow, and sometimes laughter and joy in thy countenance?* And Mary replied to him, *I see two people with mine eyes, the one weeping and mourning, the other laughing and rejoicing.* And he went again across the way, and Mary said to Joseph, *Take me down from the ass, for that which is in me presses to come forth.* But Joseph replied, *Whither shall I take thee? for the place is desert.* Then said Mary again to Joseph, *Take me down, for that which is within me mightily presses me.* And Joseph took her down.

XVIII. Εὗρε δὲ ἐκεῖ σπήλαιον, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ· καὶ παραχήσας αὐτὴν τῷ σπηλαίῳ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῦ, ἐξῆλθε ζητῆσαι μαῖαν Ἑβραίαν ἐν χώρᾳ Βηθλεέμ. Ἐγὼ δὲ, λέγει Ἰωσήφ, περιπατῶν ἀνέβλεψα εἰς τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ εἶδον τὸν ἀέρα ἐκθαμβον, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τῦ οὐρανῦ ἠρεμοῦντα. Καὶ ἐπέβλεψα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ εἶδον σκάφην κειμένην, καὶ ἐργάτας ἀνα-

XVIII. And he found there a cave, and let her into it, and leaving her and his sons in the cave, he went forth to seek a Hebrew midwife in the village of Bethlehem. *But as I was going* (said Joseph) *I looked up into the air, and I saw the clouds astonished, and the fowls of the air stopping in the midst of their flight. And I looked down towards the earth, and saw a table spread, and working peo-*

ple

κειμένας, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν σκάφην· καὶ οἱ μασσόμενοι οὐκ ἐμάσσοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀναφέροντες ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐκ ἀνέφερον, καὶ οἱ προσφέροντες τῷ στόματι οὐ προσέφερον· ἀλλὰ πάντων ἦν τὰ πρόσωπα ἄνω βλέποντα. Καὶ εἶδον πρόβατα ἐλαυνόμενα, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ἐστήκεισαν. Καὶ ἦρεν ὁ ποιμὴν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ, πατάξαι αὐτὰ, καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ἔστη ἄνω. Καὶ ἔβλεψα εἰς τὸν χείμαρρον ποταμὸν, καὶ εἶδον τὰς ἐρίφους καὶ τὰ στόματα αὐτῶν ἐπικείμενα τῷ ὕδατι, καὶ μὴ πίνοντα.

ple ſitting around it, but their hands were upon the table (and did not move to eat). *They who had meat in their mouths did not eat: they who lifted their hands up to their heads did not draw them back: and they who lift them up to their mouths did not put any thing in; but all their faces were fixed upwards. And I beheld the ſheep diſperſed, and yet the ſheep ſtood ſtill; and the ſhepherd lift up his hand to ſmite them, and his hand continued up. And I looked unto a river, and ſaw the kids with their mouths cloſe to the water, and touching it, but they did not drink.*

XIX. Καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρεινῆς, καὶ εἶπέ μοι· Ἄνθρωπε, ποῦ πορεύῃ; καὶ εἶπον αὐτῇ· Μαῖαν ζητῶ Ἑβραίαν ἐξ Ἰσραήλ. Καὶ εἶπέ μοι· Ποῦ ἐστιν ἡ γεννῶσα; καὶ εἶπον· Ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, καὶ μεμνηστευμένη μοί ἐστιν. Εἶπε δὲ ἡ μαῖα· Οὐκ ἔστι σε γυνή; καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· Μαρία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνατραφεῖσα εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Κυρίου, καὶ ἐκληρωσάμην αὐτὴν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μοι γυνή· ἀλλὰ σύλ-

XIX. *Then I beheld a woman coming down from the mountains, and ſhe ſaid to me,* Where art thou going, O man? *And I ſaid to her,* I go to enquire for a Hebrew midwife. *She replied to me,* Where is the woman that is to be delivered? *And I anſwered,* In the cave, and ſhe is betrothed to me. *Then ſaid the midwife,* Is ſhe not thy wife? *Joſeph anſwered,* It is Mary, who was educated in the Holy of Holies, in the houſe of the Lord, and ſhe fell to me by lot, and is not my

λημμα ἔχει ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ μαῖα· Τοῦτο ἀληθές ἐστι; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Δεῦρο καὶ ἰδέ. Καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἡ μαῖα μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔστη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ. Καὶ ἦν νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ἐπισκιάζουσα τὸ σπήλαιον, καὶ εἶπεν ἡ μαῖα· Ἐμεγαλύνθη ἡ ψυχή μου σήμερον, ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου παράδοξα, καὶ ὅτι τῷ Ἰσραὴλ σωτηρία ἐγεννήθη. Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἡ νεφέλη ἐγένετο φῶς μέγα ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, ὥστε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν μὴ φέρειν· καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖ ὑπεξέλλετο, ἕως ἂν τὸ βρέφος ἐφάνη, καὶ ἔλαβε μαστὸν ἐκ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας. Καὶ ἐνεθύμησεν ἡ μαῖα, καὶ εἶπεν· Ὡς μεγάλη αὐτὴ ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου καινὸν θέαμα. Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ μαῖα ἀπὸ τοῦ σπηλαίου, καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῇ Σαλώμη, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ἡ μαῖα· Σαλώμη, Σαλώμη, καινόν σοι θέαμα ἐξηγήσομαι· παρθένος ἐγέννησεν, ὃ οὐ χωρεῖ ἡ φύσις αὐτῆς. Εἶπε δὲ Σαλώμη· Ζῇ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ κατανοήσω τὴν φύσιν αὐ-

my wife, but has conceived by the Holy Ghoſt. *The midwife ſaid,* Is this true? *He anſwered,* Come and ſee. And the midwife went along with him, and ſtood in the cave. Then a bright cloud overſhadowed the cave, and the midwife ſaid, *This day my ſoul is magnified, for mine eyes have ſeen ſurpriſing things, and ſalvation is brought forth to Iſrael.* But on a ſudden the cloud became a great light in the cave, ſo that their eyes could not bear it, but the light gradually decreaſed until the infant appeared, and ſucked the breaſt of his mother Mary. Then the midwife cried out, and ſaid, *How glorious a day is this, wherein mine eyes have ſeen this extraordinary ſight!* And the midwife went out from the cave, and Salome met her, and the midwife ſaid to her; *Salome, Salome, I will tell you a moſt ſurpriſing thing which I ſaw; a virgin hath brought forth, which is a thing contrary to nature.* To which Salome replied, *As the Lord my God liveth, unleſs I receive particular proof of this matter, I will not believe*

that

τῆς, ἐ μὴ πιςεύσω, ὅτι ἡ παρθένος ἐγέννησε.

that a virgin hath brought forth.

xx. Ἦλθε δὲ Σαλώμη, καὶ εἶπεν ἡ μαῖα· Μαρία, σχημάτισον σεαυτὴν, ἐ γὰρ μικρὸς ἀγων περίκειται περί σε. Καὶ ἐσημειώσατο Σαλώμη, καὶ ἐξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἠλάλαξε πικρῶς, καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐαὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ με, ὅτι ἐξεπείρασα ζῶντα Θεόν· ἰδὲ γὰρ ἡ χείρ με ἀποπίπτει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Καὶ κλίνασα Σαλώμη τὰ γόνατα αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην, εἶπεν· Ὦ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων με, μνήσθητί με, σπέρμα γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακὼβ, εἰμὶ ἐγώ. μὴ παραδειγμάτισης με τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, ἀλλὰ ἀπόδος με τοῖς γονεῦσί με. Εὖ σὺ οἶδας, δέσποτα, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι τὰς θεραπείας ἐπετέλεν, καὶ τὸν μισθόν με παρά σε ἐλάμβανον. Καὶ ἰδὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίε ἐπέση πρὸς Σαλώμην, λέγων· Ἐπήκεσε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δεήσεώς σε, πρόσαξον τῇ χειρί σε τὸ παιδίον, καὶ βάσασον αὐτὸ, καὶ ἔσαι σοι εἰς σωτηρίαν. Λαβοῦσα δὲ χαρὰν με-

xx. Then Salome went in, and the midwife ſaid, *Mary, ſhew thyſelf, for a great controverſy is riſen concerning thee*; and Salome received ſatisfaction; but her hand was withered, and ſhe groaned bitterly, and ſaid, *Wo to me, becauſe of mine iniquity; for I have tempted the living God, and my hand is ready to drop off.* Then Salome made her ſupplication to the Lord, and ſaid, *O God of my fathers, remember me, for I am the ſeed of Abraham, and Iſaac, and Jacob; make me not a reproach among the children of Iſrael, but reſtore me (ſound) to my parents, for thou well knoweſt, O Lord, that I have performed* (many) *offices of charity in thy name, and have received my reward from thee.* Upon this an angel of the Lord ſtood by Salome, and ſaid, *The Lord God hath heard thy prayer, reach forth thy hand to the child, and carry him, and by that means thou ſhalt be reſtored.* Salome filled with exceeding joy went to the child, and ſaid, *I will*

γάλην Σαλώμη, προσῆλθε τῷ παιδίῳ, λέγασα· Ἄψομαι αὐτοῦ· καὶ διενοήθη Σαλώμη προσκυνῆσαι τῷ παιδίῳ, καὶ εἶπε Σαλώμη· Βασιλεὺς οὗτος μέγας ἐγεννήθη τῷ Ἰσραήλ. Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἰάσθη Σαλώμη. Ἐξῆλθε δὲ ἡ μαῖα ἐκ τοῦ ἁγνιαίου δεδικαιωμένη. Καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ γέγονε πρὸς Σαλώμην· Μὴ ἀναγγέλης ὅσα σὺ εἶδες παράδοξα, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὸ παιδίον εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. Καὶ ἐκπορεύθη Σαλώμη δεδικαιωμένη.

touch him; and ſhe purpoſed to worſhip him, for ſhe ſaid, *This is a great king, which is born in Iſrael.* And ſtraightway Salome was cured. Then the midwife went out of the cave, being approved (by God), and lo! a voice came to Salome, *Declare not the ſtrange things which thou haſt ſeen, till the child ſhall come to Jeruſalem.* So Salome alſo departed approved (by God).

XXI. Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ἡτοιμάσθη τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν· θόρυβος γὰρ γέγονεν ἐν Βηθλεέμ, ὅτι παρεγένοντο μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, λέγοντες· Ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων γεννηθείς; εἴδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, καὶ ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ. Ἀκούσας δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐταράχθη λίαν, καὶ πέμψας ὑπηρέτας ἐπὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ ἱερεῖς, ἀνέκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ, λέγων αὐτοῖς· Ποῦ γέγραπται ὑμῖν περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Χριστοῦ, ἢ ποῦ γεννᾶται; τότε λέγου-

XXI. Then Joſeph was preparing to go away, becauſe there aroſe a great diſorder in Bethlehem by the coming of[a] ſome wiſe men from the eaſt, who ſaid, *Where is the king of the Jews born? for we have ſeen his ſtar in the eaſt, and are come to worſhip him.* When Herod heard this, he was exceedingly troubled, and ſent meſſengers to the wiſe men, and to the prieſts, and enquired of them in the town-hall, and ſaid unto them, *Where have you it written concerning Chriſt the king, or where ſhould he be born?* Then they

[a] Matt. ii. 1, &c.

ſay

σιν αὐτῷ· ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας· οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται, Καὶ σὺ, Βηθλεὲμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γάρ μοι ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ. Καὶ ἀπολύσας τὰς ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνέκρινεν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ τὰς μάγους, λέγων αὐτοῖς· Τί εἴδετε σημεῖον ἐπὶ τὸν τεχθέντα βασιλέα; οἱ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ· Εἴδομεν ἀστέρα παμμεγέθη, λάμψαντα ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἀμβλύνοντα τὰς ἄλλας ἀστέρας, ὥστε μὴ φαίνεσθαι αὐτάς· καὶ ἔγνωμεν ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐγενήθη ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν. Εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδης· Πορευθέντες ἀναζητήσατε ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ ἐὰν εὕρητε ἀπαγγείλατέ μοι, ὅπως κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτόν. Ἐξελθόντες δὲ οἱ μάγοι ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀστὴρ, ὃν εἶδον ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, προσῆγεν αὐτοὺς, ἕως ἐλθὼν ἔστη ἐπάνω τοῦ σπηλαίου, ἔνθα ἦν τὸ παιδίον μετὰ Μαρίας τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐξενέγκαντες ἀπὸ τῶν

say unto him, *In Bethlehem of Judea*; for thus it is written, *And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, art not the leaſt among the princes of Judah, for out of thee ſhall come a ruler, who ſhall rule my people Iſrael.* And having ſent away the Chief-prieſts, he enquired of the wiſe men in the town-hall, and ſaid unto them, *What ſign was it ye ſaw concerning the king that is born?* They anſwered him, *We ſaw an extraordinary large ſtar ſhining among the ſtars of heaven, and ſo out-ſhined all the other ſtars, as that they became not viſible, and we knew* (hereby) *that a great king was born in Iſrael, and therefore we are come to worſhip him.* Then ſaid Herod to them, *Go and make diligent enquiry, and if ye find the child, bring me word again, that I may come and worſhip him alſo.* So the wiſe men went forth, and behold, the ſtar which they ſaw in the eaſt went before them, till it came and ſtood over the cave where the young child was with Mary his mother. Then they brought forth out of their treaſures, and offered

unto

θησαυρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ χρυσὸν, καὶ λίβανον, καὶ σμύρναν· καὶ χρηματισθέντες κατ' ὄναρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, μὴ ἀνακάμψαι πρὸς Ἡρώδην εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.

unto him gold, and frankincenſe, and myrrh. And being warned in a dream by an angel, that they ſhould not return to Herod through Judea, they departed into their own country by another way.

XXII. Γνοὺς δὲ Ἡρώδης ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων, καὶ ὀργισθεὶς, ἔπεμψε φονευτὰς, κελεύων αὐτοῖς ἀνελεῖν πάντα τὰ βρέφη ἀπὸ διετοῦς, καὶ κατωτέρω. Ἀκούσας δὲ Μαρία, ὅτι τὰ βρέφη ἀναιροῦνται, φοβηθεῖσα ἔλαβετο τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἐσπαργάνωσεν αὐτὸ, καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν φάτνῃ βοῶν, διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι. Ἡ δὲ Ἐλισάβετ ἀκούσασα ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς μέλλει ζητεῖσθαι, λαβοῦσα αὐτὸν ἀνέβη εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν, καὶ περιεβλέπετο τόπον, ἐν ᾧ ἀποκρύψει αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν τόπος ἀπόκρυφος. Καὶ στενάζουσα λέγει· Ὄρος τοῦ Θεοῦ,

XXII. Then Herod[a] perceiving that he was mocked by the wiſe men, and being very angry, commanded certain men to go and to kill all the children (that were in Bethlehem) from two years old, and under. But Mary hearing that the children were to be killed, being under much fear, took the child, and wrapped him up in ſwaddling clothes, and laid him in an ox-manger[b], becauſe there was no room for them in the inn. Elizabeth alſo, hearing that her ſon (John) was about to be ſearched for, took him and went up unto the mountains, and looked around for a place to hide him; and there was no ſecret place to be found. Then ſhe groaned within herſelf, and ſaid, *O mountain of the Lord, receive*

[a] Matt. ii. 16.
[b] Luke ii. 7. *is alluded to, though miſapplied as to time.*

the

δέξαι μητέρα μετὰ τέκνου· ἐ γὰρ ἐδύνατο ἡ Ἐλισάβετ προσαναβῆναι· καὶ παραχρῆμα διεσχίσθη τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο, καὶ ἦν διαφαίνων αὐτοῖς ἄγγελος Κυρίου, καὶ διαφυλάττων αὐτούς.

the mother with the child, (for Elizabeth could not climb up), and inſtantly the mountain was divided (and received them), and there appeared to them an angel of the Lord to preſerve them.

XXIII. Ὁ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ζητήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην, ἀπέστειλεν ὑπηρέτας πρὸς Ζαχαρίαν ὄντα ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Πᾶ ἀπέκρυψας τὸν υἱόν σου; Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ λειτουργὸς ὑπάρχω τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ προσεδρεύω τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ πόθεν γινώσκω ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου; πορευθέντες δὲ ὑπηρέται ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ Ἡρῴδῃ πάντα. Ὀργισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἡρῴδης εἶπε· Μὴ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ μέλλει βασιλεύειν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ; καὶ πέμψας τοὺς ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ζαχαρίαν εἶπε· Εἰπὲ ἡμῖν τὸ ἀληθὲς, ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ υἱός σου; οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι τὸ αἷμά σου ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐστίν. Οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται ἀπελθόντες ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ ταῦτα πάντα· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ζαχαρίας· Μάρτυς εἰμὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἐὰν χύσῃ μου τὸ αἷμα, τὸ πνεῦμά μου ὁ Θεὸς λήψ-

XXIII. But Herod made ſearch after John, and ſent ſervants to Zacharias, when he was (miniſtering) at the altar, and ſaid unto him, *Where haſt thou hid thy ſon?* He replied to them, *I am a miniſter of God, and a ſervant at the altar: how ſhould I know where my ſon is?* So the ſervants went back, and told Herod the whole; at which he was incenſed, and ſaid, *Is not this ſon of his like to be king in Iſrael?* He ſent therefore again his ſervants to Zacharias, ſaying, *Tell us the truth, where is thy ſon, for you know that your life is in my hand.* So the ſervants went and told him all this; but Zacharias replied to them, *I am a witneſs (or martyr) for God, and if ye ſhed my blood, the Lord will receive my ſoul. Beſides* (know) *that*

εται· πλὴν ὅτι αἷμα ἐκχεῖτε ἀθῷον. Παρὰ τὰ πρόθυρα τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ περὶ τὸ διάφραγμα ἐφονεύθη Ζαχαρίας· οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν πότε ἐφονεύθη.

ye ſhed innocent blood. However Zacharias was murdered in the entrance of the temple and altar, and about the partition; but the children of Iſrael knew not when he was killed.

XXIV. Ἀλλὰ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἀσπασμοῦ ἦλθον οἱ ἱερεῖς, καὶ οὐκ ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς Ζαχαρίας κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, ὡς εὐλόγει αὐτούς. Καὶ ἵσαντο οἱ ἱερεῖς προσδοκῶντες τὸν Ζαχαρίαν, τοῦ ἀσπάσασθαι αὐτούς· χρονίζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, τολμήσας εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἁγίασμα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ εἶδε τὸ αἷμα κείμενον καὶ πεπηγός. Καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ λέγουσα, Ζαχαρίας πεφόνευται, καὶ οὐκ ἐξηλειφθήσεται τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃ ὁ ἐκδικῶν. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τοῦ λόγου ἐφοβήθη, καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἃ εἶδε καὶ ἤκουσε· καὶ εἰσῆλθον καὶ εἶδον τὸ γεγονός. Τά τε φατνώματα τοῦ ναοῦ ὠλόλυξαν, αὐτὰ δὲ περιεσχίσαντο ἀπὸ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω. Καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ οὐχ εὗρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ μόνον, καὶ γενόμενον ὡσεὶ λίθος. Καὶ ἀπελθόντες

XXIV. Then at the hour of ſalutation the prieſts went (into the temple), but Zacharias did not according to cuſtom meet them and bleſs them; yet they ſtill continued waiting for him to ſalute them; and when they found he did not in a long time come, one of them ventured into the holy place where the altar was, and he ſaw blood lying upon the ground congealed; when, behold, a voice from heaven ſaid, *Zacharias is murdered, and his blood ſhall not be wiped away, until the revenger* (of his blood) *come.* But when he heard this, he was afraid, and went forth and told the prieſts what he had ſeen and heard; and they all went in, and ſaw the fact. Then the roofs of the temple howled, and were rent from the top to the bottom: and they could not find the body, but only blood made (hard) like ſtone. And they

went

ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ λαῷ, ὅτι Ζαχαρίας πεφόνευται· καὶ ἤκουσαν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῦ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐπένθησαν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐκόψαντο αὐτὸν τρεῖς ἡμέρας. Καὶ ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ ἱερεῖς, τίνα ἀνασήσουσιν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῦ· καὶ ἔβαλε Συμεὼν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς κλήρους αὐτῶν, ἀνέβη δὲ ὁ κλῆρος ἐπὶ Συμεῶν· ἦτος γὰρ ἦν χρηματισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῦ ἁγίε πνεύματος μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον, ἕως ἂν ἴδῃ τὸν Χριςὸν Κυρίε ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα.

went away, and told the people, that *Zacharias was murdered*, and all the tribes of Iſraël heard thereof, and mourned for him, and lamented three days. Then the prieſts took counſel together concerning a perſon to ſucceed him. And Simeon and the other prieſts caſt lots, and the lot fell upon Simeon, for he had been aſſured by the holy Spirit, *that he ſhould not die, till he had ſeen Chriſt come in the fleſh*[a].

XXV. Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἰάκωβος ἔγραψα τὴν ἱςορίαν ταύτην ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις· γενομένε δὲ θορύβε συνέσειλα ἐγὼ ἐμαυτὸν ἐν τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ, ἕως ἔ ἐτελεύτησεν Ἡρῴδης· καὶ κατεπαύθη ὁ θόρυβος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Τό τε λοιπὸν ἔμην δοξάζων τὸν Θεὸν, τὸν δόντα μοι τοιαύτην σοφίαν τῦ γράψαι ὑμῖν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς, καὶ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Θεὸν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.

XXV. I JAMES WROTE THIS HISTORY IN JERUSALEM; AND WHEN THE DISTURBANCE WAS, I RETIRED INTO A DESERT PLACE, UNTIL THE DEATH OF HEROD. AND THE DISTURBANCE CEASED AT JERUSALEM. THAT WHICH REMAINS IS, THAT I GLORIFY GOD THAT HE HATH GIVEN ME SUCH WISDOM TO WRITE UNTO YOU WHO ARE SPIRITUAL, AND WHO LOVE GOD; TO WHOM (BE ASCRIBED) GLORY AND DOMINION FOR EVER AND EVER, AMEN.

[a] Luke ii. 26.

CHAP. XVI.

The Goſpel of the Nativity of Mary extant in the primitive Ages of Chriſtianity, and received by ſeveral of the antient Hereticks. The preſent Goſpel different from the old one. It went heretofore under the Name of St. Matthew. Is for the moſt Part the ſame as the Protevangelion of James.

HAVING thus produced theſe two famous Apocryphal pieces, I ſhall now offer to the reader whatſoever I have obſerved conſiderable, relating to them, under the following diſtinct heads.

OBS. I. *In the early ages of Chriſtianity* (viz. the third, and even the ſecond century) *there was a book publiſhed*, intitled, *Of the Nativity of Mary.* This is evident from the places of Epiphanius and Auſtin referred to at the bottom of the page [a].

OBS. II. *This book was received by ſeveral of the antient Hereticks of that time, as a genuine and authentick monument of the Chriſtian religion.* Out of this the Gnoſticks borrowed, and by this they ſupported their monſtrous and abſurd ideas of Chriſtianity [b]; of which more hereafter. Out of this the Manichees, and particularly Fauſtus, after having endeavoured to prove, that *Chriſt was not the Son of God till after his baptiſm, endeavours, contrary to all the Scriptures both of the Old and New Teſtament, to prove, that* Chriſt was not of the progeny of David, and tribe of Judah, becauſe the *Virgin herſelf* (according to this book) *was not of this tribe, but of the tribe of Levi, becauſe her father was a prieſt whoſe name was Joachim* [c]. Out of this the Collyridians ſeem to have gathered and eſtabliſhed their ridiculous doctrine *concerning the neceſſity of worſhipping and offering ſacrifices to the Virgin Mary,*

[a] Hæreſ. 78. n. 7. et lib. 79. contr. Faust. Manich. c. 4 and 5. tom. opp. 1.

[b] Epiph. ibid.

[c] Aug. Lib. cit. c. 4.

whom

whom they ſeem to have imagined born of a virgin (as our Saviour was born of her), by means of this book [a].

Obs. III. The book *of the Nativity of Mary ſuffered many alterations; and the antient copies of it were very different from the preſent copy*, which I have above publiſhed out of Jerome's works. This is evident from the ſmall fragments of it, which are in Epiphanius and Auſtin; for whereas in that place above cited Epiphanius has produced a paſſage out of it, *concerning the occaſion of the death of Zacharias*, there is not in the preſent *Goſpel of the Nativity of Mary* any mention or footſteps of it. The hiſtory I refer to is as follows, viz. "That it was the occaſion of the death of Zacharias in the "Temple, that when he had ſeen a viſion, he through ſurpriſe "was willing to diſcloſe it, and his mouth was ſtopped. That "which he ſaw was at the time of his offering incenſe, and it "was a man ſtanding in the form of an aſs. When he was "gone out, and had a mind to ſpeak thus to the people, *Woe "unto you, whom do ye worſhip?* He who had appeared to "him in the Temple took away the uſe of his ſpeech. Af-"terwards when he recovered it, and was able to ſpeak, he "declared this to the Jews, and they ſlew him. They add "(viz. the Gnoſticks in this book), that on this very account "the High-prieſt was appointed by their lawgiver (by God "to Moſes) to carry little bells, that whenſoever he went into "the Temple to ſacrifice, he, whom they worſhipped, hear-"ing the noiſe of the bells, might have time enough to hide "himſelf, and not be caught in that ugly ſhape and figure." Nothing of this is in the preſent Goſpel of the Nativity of Mary: wherefore the antient and the preſent one are not the ſame. This is further evident from this manifeſt contradiction, which I have obſerved to be between them, viz. That whereas the old Goſpel *of the Generation of Mary*, which the Manichees made uſe of, aſſerted, that *the father of Mary, viz. Joachim, was of the tribe of Levi, and a prieſt*, from whence Fauſtus argues (as above), that Chriſt was not of the tribe of Judah; *the preſent Goſpel of the Birth of Mary* expreſsly aſſerts

[a] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 79. §. 5.

the contrary, that the Virgin ſprang from the race and family of David, and that her father's family was of Nazareth in Galilee, and her mother's of Bethlehem. (See Ch. I.)

OBS. IV. *The Goſpel* of the Birth of Mary *formerly went under the name of St. Matthew, or was looked upon as his compoſure.* This is manifeſt from the two Latin Epiſtles in Jerome's works, which I have above produced. I know indeed, that learned men have generally agreed to reject theſe Epiſtles, as not being Jerome's. Thus Sixtus Senenſis [a], Coke [b], Rivet [c], Cave [d], and others of this ſort of writers; to whom if I ſhould in this point ſubſcribe, yet as I dare venture to ſay the letters are very antient, ſo it is not likely the author of them would venture upon a forgery of ſuch a fact, in which every one was able to confute him. He ſays, this Goſpel went under the name of St. Matthew, nor does he at all pretend to believe it was really ſo, but on the contrary aſcribes it to Seleucus the Manichee, as its author, and reckons it among the tricks and artifices of the Hereticks; and though he ſuppoſes it to contain ſome few true accounts, yet he alſo ſuppoſes it to be in a great meaſure the fiction of that Heretick. From all which it is evident it would no way ſerve his purpoſe to ſay, this book went under St. Matthew's name, unleſs the fact was really ſo.

OBS. V. *The Goſpel of* the Birth of Mary *is for the moſt part contained in, or the ſame with, the Protevangelion of James.* This will be at firſt view evident to any one, who will be at the pains to compare them together. It is true indeed, the *Protevangelion* proceeds farther in the hiſtory than the Goſpel of Mary, and adds ſeveral remarkable ſtories concerning Joſeph's *drinking the water of trial, their journey to Bethlehem, the clouds and birds and all things elſe ſtanding ſtill at our Saviour's birth, the ſtory of the midwife, the coming of the wiſe men*, &c. but as far as the hiſtory reaches in *the Goſpel*

[a] Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 2. p. 83.
[b] Centura quorun. vet. Script. p. 152.
[c] Critic. Sacr. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 433.
[d] Hiſt. Lit. vol. 1. p. 225.

of

of Mary, viz. to the birth of Chriſt, it is ſo much the ſame with that in *the Protevangelion of James*, that I think there can be no room to doubt, but that one of them was made out of the other.

CHAP. XVII.

There are ſeveral Contradictions in the preſent Goſpel of Mary to the Protevangelion of James. Inſtances of this. The Protevangelion of James different from, and contrary to, the antient Goſpel of Mary. Several of the Relations of the Goſpel of Mary, and the Protevangelion, have been credited by the Antients.

OBS. VI. *THAT there are ſeveral paſſages and circumſtances in the* preſent Goſpel of Mary, *which are directly contrary to the relations or accounts of the* preſent Protevangelion of James. This obſervation ſeems to be of ſome conſiderable importance, becauſe it undeniably proves one of theſe two antient pieces to be Apocryphal, and withal ſhews us how ridiculous and unhappy the Hereticks were in their moſt celebrated forgeries. For the ſupport of the obſervation I offer the following inſtances.

Out of the Protevangelion of James.

1. The High-prieſt's name, who rejected Joſeph's offering, was Reuben, Chap. I.

2. Mary diſmiſſed from the Temple ſervice at twelve years of age, Chap. VIII.

3. Only widowers were appointed by the Angel to be ſummoned, Chap. VIII.

Out of the Goſpel of the Birth of Mary.

1. The High-prieſt's name was Iſſachar, Chap. II.

2. Mary was not diſmiſſed till ſhe was more than fourteen years old, Chap. VII.

3. All ſorts of marriageable perſons are ſummoned, Chap. VII.

4. The dove proceeded out of Joſeph's rod, and flew upon his head, Chap. IX.	4. The dove deſcended from Heaven, and flew upon Joſeph's rod, Chap. VIII.
5. The Angel appears to Mary, when ſhe was gone forth to draw water, Chap. XI.	5. The Angel appears to Mary in her chamber, Chap. IX.
6. Mary received the Angel with great fear and trembling, Ibid.	6. Mary (being accuſtomed to ſuch viſions) was not ſurpriſed, nor terrified at the Angel's appearance, Ibid.

Theſe are ſome of thoſe many differences and contradictions which may be obſerved in theſe two Apocryphal Goſpels.

OBS. VII. The Protevangelion of James is *different from, and in ſome things contrary to, the* antient Goſpel of Mary, *which was uſed by the Gnoſticks, and which Epiphanius ſaw.* I have above proved, OBS. III. that the *preſent* Goſpel of the Birth of Mary is different from the *antient* one, under that title, and hope my preſent remark will appear as juſt to thoſe who will conſider, that the accounts given in the *Protevangelion* and the *old Goſpel of Mary*, concerning the *death or murder of Zacharias* (John Baptiſt's father), *are irreconcileably different, and contrary to each other.* The account in the old Goſpel of Mary, as it is preſerved by Epiphanius, concerning his murder, you have above, OBS. III. viz. that he was ſlain by the Jews, becauſe he told them a viſion he had ſeen in the Temple of the object of their worſhip, which was a man in the form of an aſs: but the relation of his murder in the *Protevangelion* is quite different, viz. that he was murdered by Herod, becauſe he would not diſcover where his ſon John was, who that tyrant feared would be king of Iſrael. See Chap. XXIII.

OBS. VIII. *Several of the accounts or relations of the* Goſpel of the Birth of Mary, *and the* Protevangelion, *have been credited by ſome antient Chriſtian writers.* To omit many others,

others, I ſhall inſtance only in the two following, which are the moſt remarkable, viz.

1. That in the *Protevangelion* (Chap. XXIII.) *concerning Herod's murder of Zacharias, father of John the Baptiſt, at the entrance of the Temple by the altar.* This fact, though no where related in ſacred hiſtory, is mentioned and credited by Tertullian [a], Petrus Alexandrinus [b], Origen [c], Epiphanius [d], Theophylact [e], and others. I confeſs they do not all relate it with the ſame circumſtances, which are in the Protevangelion; yet they ſo far all agree, as that it is evident they reſpected the ſame ſtory. So Tertullian, *Zacharias was killed between the altar and the Temple, and the drops of his blood made indelible impreſſions on the ſtones.* The Protevangelion, *Zacharias was killed at the entrance of the Temple, and his blood was made hard as ſtone.* The account of Petrus Alexandrinus perfectly agrees. Origen and Theophylact endeavour to prove, that the Zacharias mentioned by our Saviour, Matt. xxiii. 35. was the father of John the Baptiſt, who was ſlain in the Temple, though according to them it was by the Jews for this reaſon, *becauſe he would place the Virgin Mary after our Saviour's birth in a certain apartment in the Temple, which was proper to virgins, and only ſuch.* Epiphanius, or whoever was the author of that old Book *De Vitâ Prophet.* tells us, *that Zacharias, the ſon of Joiada, and father of John the Baptiſt, was ſlain by Herod between the altar and the Temple, and that his blood was ſpilt upon the threſhold of the Temple.* An impartial reflection upon all theſe places will undeniably evidence, that this ſtory of Zacharias, which is in the *Protevangelion*, was very much known and credited by the antients: I ſhall only add, that notwithſtanding the common opinion of the Fathers, that Zacharias mentioned by our Sa-

[a] Scorpiac. adverſ. Gnoſticos. c. 8.

[b] He lived in the latter end of the third century. This is extant in that part of his Treatiſe of Repentance, which remains. Vid. Cave Hiſt. Liter. p. 111. & Hammond in Matt. xxiii. 35.

[c] Homil. xxvi. in Matth. xxiii. fol. 49.

[d] De Vit. Propht. Vol. II. p. 250. *It is queſtioned by* Reignolds, Coke, *and* Rivet, *whether this book was written by* Epiphanius, *though* Bellarmine *and others aſſert it was.*

[e] In loc. Matth. cit.

viour (Matt. xxiii. 35.) was the father of John the Baptiſt, yet moſt of our later criticks have thought otherwiſe, and that the perſon intended is *that Zacharias whom the people ſtoned in the court of the Houſe of the Lord in the days of Joaſh*, 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 22. But how they endeavour to prove this, and ſolve the difficulties that attend it, I ſhall not enquire. He who has a mind to examine the matter critically, may ſee it largely and clearly treated of in Grotius's annotations on the place of Matthew, and his two conſtant followers, Dr. Hammond and Dr. Whitby; but eſpecially in Dr. Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraicæ, in loc.

2. *The next inſtance* which I aſſign of an account or relation in the *Protevangelion*, and *Goſpel of Mary*, which was credited by many of the antient Chriſtian writers, is that *of Joſeph's being an old man when Mary was betrothed to him, his having had a former wife, and ſeveral children by her.* In the Goſpel of the Birth of *Mary* (Ch. VIII.), Joſeph is called a *perſon very far advanced in years*, and in the *Protevangelion* (Chap. IX.), he is introduced, ſaying, *I am an old man, and have children, but ſhe is young*, &c. (and Ch. XVII.) *he takes care about the taxing of his children at Bethlehem.* Now this, I ſay, was a commonly received opinion among the antients. So Origen [a], *There are ſome who ſay the brethren of Chriſt here mentioned* (viz. Matt. xiii. 55.) *were the children of Joſeph by a former wife, who lived with him before Mary; and they are induced to this opinion by ſome paſſages in that which is intitled*, The Goſpel of Peter, *or* the Book of James. Euſebius [b] tells us, *James was called the brother of Chriſt, becauſe he was the ſon of Joſeph by a former wife.*

Epiphanius has very frequently related this hiſtory. In one place he ſays (as Euſebius), *that James was the ſon of Joſeph by a former wife, and therefore called the brother of Jeſus* [c]. In another place [d], *that Joſeph was about fourſcore years old when he married Mary, and had ſix children before that time by a former wife*; and yet more particularly diſputing againſt the

a Comment. in Matt. xiii. 55. See the Greek paſſage above, Part II. Ch. XXXI. p. 329.

b Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 2. c. 1.

c Hæreſ. 29. Nazar. §. 3, 4.

d Hæreſ. 51. Alogor. §. 10.

Antidi-

Antidicomarianitæ, *who denied the perpetual virginity of Mary*, he ſays [a], *Joſeph was very old when he married Mary, and had been many years a widower; that he was the brother of Cleophas, the ſon of James, ſurnamed Panther; that he had his firſt wife of the tribe of Judah, and by her ſix children, viz. four ſons and two daughters. His eldeſt ſon was James, ſurnamed Oblias* [b]*——That he begat him when he was about forty years old: after him he had another ſon named Joſe, then Simeon and Judas, and then his two daughters Mary and Salome: after his wife's death he continued many years a widower, and about fourſcore years old married Mary* [c]. Beſides Epiphanius, ſeveral other of the Greek Fathers have given into this ſame opinion, viz. Hilary [d], Chryſoſtome, Cyrill, Euthymius, Theophylact, Oecumenius, and generally, as Biſhop Pearſon ſays [e], *all the Latin Fathers till Ambroſe, and the Greeks afterward* [f]; from all which it is very evident, that the account of Joſeph's age and family, which is in the Goſpel of the Birth of *Mary*, and the *Protevangelion of James*, met with a very general credit among the antient Chriſtians.

I might add here, that the learned annaliſt Cardinal Baronius, in his ſurpriſing apologies for the Virgin Mary (though he reject both theſe Apocryphal Goſpels), *cites many of the Fathers as giving credit to its accounts*, and particularly as to *that of her being brought at three years of age to the Temple, and devoted to its ſervice* (Evang. Mar. c. 4. 6. Protevang. Jacob. c. 7.), *and that ſhe continued there eleven years.* He ſays it is teſtified by Euodius, Gregory Nyſſene, Damaſceno, Germanus Biſhop of Conſtantinople, Andreas Cretenſis, George Biſhop of Nicomedia, and others. See Apparat. ad Annal. Num. 48. and Caſaubon's Reflections upon this Exercit. I. contr. Baron. ad eund. Numer.

[a] Hæreſ. 78. Antidic. §. 7.

[b] Oblias] *This I alſo obſerve is ſaid to be his ſurname in that Fragment of* Hegeſippus's Commentaries, *which is preſerved in* Euſebius's Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 23.

[c] Epiph. Hæreſ. 78. §. 8.

[d] In Matth. i.

[e] On the Creed, p. 175. Art. III.

[f] *See a Collection of the Fathers Opinions on this Head in* Sixtus Senenſ. Biblioth. Sanct. l. 6. p. 455. Annot. 64. and in Valeſius Annot. in Euſeb. Hiſtor. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Another place in the Works of Epiphanius, where the Goſpel of Mary ſeems referred to. The Author of the Goſpel of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James, was a Jew. This proved by ſeveral Arguments.

OBS. IX. BESIDES the former places cited out of Epiphanius, there *are two more in his works, which ſeem to have plain reference, the one to the* Protevangelion, *the other to the Goſpel of the Birth of* Mary, *and the* Protevangelion. The places I mean are thoſe in his Ancoratus, Vol. II. c. 60. and Orat. de Laudib. Virg. Mar. Vol. II. p. 292. In the firſt we read, that Joſeph being an antient widower, and having ſix children, viz. four ſons, and two daughters, Κατ' ἀνάγκην τῶν κλήρων βαλλομένων ἐπὶ χήρους καὶ ἀγάμους καθ' ἑκατὸν φυλὴν εἰς τὰς ἀπὸ ναῦ παρθένους, διὰ τὸ ἀφιερωθῆναι ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοὺς πρωτοτόκους παῖδας, ἄρρενάς τε καὶ θηλείας, ἔλαβε κατὰ κλῆρον τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Μαρίαν, i. e. *when lots were caſt for the widowers, and unmarried perſons of every tribe, that ſo it might be determined who ſhould take the virgins which were in the Temple (for it was the cuſtom that the firſt-born of both ſexes ſhould be devoted to the Temple-ſervice), he (viz. Joſeph) was obliged by the neceſſity of the lot to take the holy Virgin Mary*, &c. This is exactly agreeable to what we read in the *Protevangelion, c.* 9. and *the Goſpel of Mary, c.* 7, 8. Only I obſerve, that whereas the *Protevangelion* and Goſpel of *Mary* contradict each other as to the perſons ſummoned, they being according to the former only *widowers*, and according to the latter *all unmarried perſons* (ſee Obſ. VI. above), Epiphanius agrees with the latter. In the other place of Epiphanius we read, *that Joachim and Anna were the names of the father and mother of the Virgin; that Joachim retired into the wilderneſs, and there prayed for iſſue; Mary retired into the garden, and put up the ſame petitions, and were both anſwered in the birth of Mary.* All which is in the *Protevangelion, c.* 1, 2, 3, 4. and for

for the moſt part in the Goſpel of the Birth of *Mary*, *c.* 2, 3, &c. [a]

Obs. X. *The Goſpel of the Birth of* Mary, *and the* Protevangelion, *were the compoſure of ſome Jew, or Helleniſt.* I aſſert this equally of both, becauſe I make no doubt they were originally one and the ſame compoſure; which in proceſs of time underwent ſo many alterations, interpolations, and additions, that they ſeem almoſt two different and diſtinct works. But of this more hereafter. I conjecture it was the compoſure of ſome Jew, or Helleniſt; and this ſeems to me probable from the following reaſons.

1. Becauſe *of the ſeveral Hebraiſms that are viſible and apparent therein.* Every one, who is acquainted with the orientals, particularly with Hebrew and Chaldee, will eaſily obſerve, *that there are many Hebraiſms in our Saviour's diſcourſes, and the other writings of the New Teſtament*; I mean, that the phraſeology or idiom of innumerable paſſages in thoſe writings is Hebrew, or Chaldee, though the words are Greek. The reaſon of which (as I have above ſhewn [b]) is the utter impoſſibility a man is under of avoiding the peculiarities of his native language, though he write in another. He cannot but conceive, and range his ideas in his old accuſtomed manner, and by virtue of that will, notwithſtanding all his caution and care to avoid it, place his words in the ſame order. Thus the Apoſtles being Jews, though they wrote in Greek, frequently expreſſed themſelves in the Hebrew *dialect*, and theſe expreſſions we call *Hebraiſms*, and this language *Helleniſtick* [c]; and of this ſort I obſerve there are many inſtances in the books we have now under conſideration, ſuch as in *the Goſpel of Mary* there are ſeveral inſtances remaining, notwithſtanding it is a tranſlation, as that Chap. III. in the *ſpeech of the Angel to Joachim*, "Videns vidit (Dominus) pudorem tuum," *The*

[a] *I am ſenſible this oration, aſcribed to* Epiphanius, *is ſuſpected to be ſpurious by* Rivet, Critic. Sacr. l. 3. c. 29. Dr. Cave Hiſt. Liter. Vol. I. p. 186. *and others, but I will not here enter into any diſpute concerning it.*

[b] Vol. I. Par. I. Chap. XIII. Prop. XIV. p. 81.

[c] See Father Sim. Crit. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Par. II. c. 27, 28.

Lord

Lord hath ſurely ſeen, or particularly regarded, your reproach; which conduplication of the verb is a moſt known way of ſpeaking in Hebrew, to make the thing ſpoken more *certain and emphatical*; of which there are a thouſand inſtances in the Hebrew Bible (ſee Glaſs. Gram. Sacr. Lib. 3. Tract. 3. Can. 37. p. 628.), and ſeveral in the New Teſtament. So Act. vii. 34. we have the very ſame words which are in this Goſpel, 'ιδων ειδον for that, Exod. iii. 7. רָאֹה רָאִיתִי *I have ſurely ſeen* [a]. Another plain Hebraiſm in the Goſpel of the Birth of *Mary*, is that in the *ſame ſpeech of the Angel*, ſpeaking of Mary, "Omne immundum neque manducabit, neque bibet;" which, according to the meaning of the Hebrew idiom, and the unqueſtionable meaning of the place, I tranſlate, *ſhe ſhall neither eat nor drink any thing which is unclean*; but if it were not a Hebraiſm, and were to be taken according to the Latin idiom, it muſt be rendered, *ſhe ſhall not eat nor drink* every thing *which is unclean:* but this form of ſpeaking is common in the Jewiſh language, and it is a trite obſervation in Grammar, that a negative particle, ſuch as אין לא &c. after כל i. e. as it is in this inſtance, *non* after *omnis* ſignifies the ſame as *nullus*, i. *e. univerſal negative*, though every one knows in Latin and Greek this does not obtain, but is quite otherwiſe. He who has a mind to ſee inſtances of ſuch Hebraiſms, may find in Glaſſius Gram. Sacr. Lib. 3. Tract. 5. Can. 19. ſeveral both out of the Old and New Teſtament.

As to the *Protevangelion*, it is ſo full of Hebraiſms almoſt n every Chapter, that I can ſcarce believe any one, who is at

[a] For the ſake of thoſe who delight in ſuch remarks, I obſerve from this place, what I dare undertake to ſhew from many others, that the Engliſh tranſlators of the New Teſtament very much follow Beza's Latin in their tranſlation; for whereas they always, where this phraſeology or idiom of conduplicating the verb happens, make uſe of ſome adverb to denote the emphaſis, as for אָכֹל תֹּאכֵל Geneſ. ii. 16. *Thou mayeſt freely eat*, and Gen. ii. 17. for מוֹת תָּמוּת *Thou ſhalt ſurely die*; and in the very place referred to, Exod iii. 7. for רָאֹה רָאִיתִי *I have ſurely ſeen*; yet in the place of the Acts they tranſlate the Hebraiſm literally, *I have ſeen, I have ſeen*, following according to their cuſtom the tranſlation of Beza, who awkwardly enough tranſlates here, *Vidi, Vidi.*

all

all acquainted with the Hebrew language and idiom, but will preſently acknowledge it to be the compoſure of ſome Helleniſtick Jew. The inſtances are ſo frequent, that to make a collection of them would be almoſt to tranſcribe the whole book, and ſo very plain, that I ſuppoſe any impartial reader will judge it impoſſible for any one to imitate. The learned Henry Stephens, who very weakly conjectured that the *Protevangelion* was made by Poſtellus himſelf, who firſt publiſhed it, undertakes to prove to any one ſkilful in theſe things, *that the Hebraiſms are all counterfeit, and only imitations of the Hebrew idiom*; but it is evident he would have been no more able to perform his undertaking, than he was right in his conjecture concerning the original of it, which will appear by what I ſhall preſently obſerve to be without any foundation, and has accordingly been rejected by all learned men. I conclude then, that the ſtyle of the book demonſtrates the author of it to have been either a Jew, or Helleniſt. I might further argue this from the *great knowledge the author appears to have had of the Jewiſh cuſtoms*, which manifeſtly ſhews itſelf in every page. The whole contexture of the work is accommodated to the Jewiſh rites, and there is ſuch a perpetual alluſion to them, as inconteſtably proves the author to have been more acquainted with them, than the Chriſtians ordinarily were, or indeed than any perſon can be ſuppoſed to be, who was not educated in the Jewiſh religion.

2. *The ſtory in the* Protevangelion of James, *concerning the death of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptiſt, ſeems to be borrowed from the Talmud, or the Talmudick account of the circumſtances of the death of Zacharias, the ſon of Jehoiada,* 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, &c. whence I conclude the author was a Jew. To make this obſervation appear juſt, I ſhall firſt collect ſome circumſtances in the death of Zacharias, which are related in the *Protevangelion*, and then ſhew how probable it is that they were borrowed or taken out of the Talmud. Thoſe I refer to are the *indelible impreſſion made upon the ſtones by the blood of Zacharias*, or rather *the petrifaction of his blood, and the voice from heaven which ſaid*, Zacharias is murdered, and his blood ſhall not be wiped away till an avenger of his

blood

blood ſhall come. *Now this*, I ſay, *is Talmudick*. For we find both in the Jeruſalem and Babyloniſh Talmud, as they are cited by Dr. Lightfoot [a], *that the blood of Zacharias continued, and was not wiped away till Nebuzaradan, the Babyloniſh general, came to Jeruſalem, and became a remarkable avenger of his blood.* The whole hiſtory is this, *Talmud. Hieroſol. in Taanith (fol.* 69.) and *Talmud. Babyl. in Sanhedr. fol.* 96. " *R. Jochanan ſaid, Eighty thouſand prieſts were* " *ſlain for the blood of Zacharias. R. Judas aſked R. Achan,* " *Where did they kill Zacharias? Was it in the women's* " *court, or in the court of Iſrael? He anſwered, Neither in* " *the court of Iſrael, nor in the court of women, but in the court* " *of the prieſts; and they did not treat his blood in the ſame* " *manner as they were wont to treat the blood of a ram or* " *young goat. For of theſe it is written*, He ſhall pour out " his blood, and cover it with duſt. *But it is written here*, " The blood is in the midſt of her; ſhe ſet it upon the top " of a rock; ſhe poured it not upon the ground (Ezek. xxiv. " 7.) *But why was this? That it might cauſe fury to come up* " *to take vengeance: I have ſet his blood upon the top of a* " *rock, that it ſhould not be covered. They committed ſeven* " *evils that day: they murdered a prieſt, a prophet, and a* " *king: they ſhed the blood of the innocent: they polluted the* " *court: that day was the Sabbath: and the day of expiation.* " *When therefore Nebuzaradan came there* (viz. to Jeruſalem), " *he ſaw his blood bubbling, and ſaid to them, What meaneth* " *this? They anſwered, It is the blood of calves, lambs, and* " *rams, which we have offered upon the altar. He commanded* " *then, that they ſhould bring calves, and lambs, and rams, and* " *ſaid, I will try whether this be their blood: accordingly they* " *brought and ſlew them, but the blood (of Zacharias) ſtill* " *bubbled, but the blood of theſe did not bubble. Then he ſaid,* " *Declare to me the truth of this matter, or elſe I will comb* " *your fleſh with iron combs. Then ſaid they to him, He was* " *a prieſt, prophet, and judge, who prophecied to Iſrael all thoſe*

[a] Hor. Hebr. et Talmud. in Matt. xxiii. 35. See alſo Galatin. de Arcan. Cathol. Verit. l. 4. c. 23.

" *calamities*

" *calamities which we have ſuffered from you; but we aroſe*
" *againſt him, and ſlew him. Then ſaid he, I will appeaſe*
" *him: then he took the rabbins, and ſlew them upon his (viz.*
" *Zacharias's) blood, and he was not yet appeaſed. Next he*
" *took the young boys from the ſchools, and ſlew them upon his*
" *blood, and yet it bubbled. Then he brought the young prieſts,*
" *and ſlew them in the ſame place, and yet it ſtill bubbled. So*
" *he ſlew at length ninety-four thouſand perſons upon his blood,*
" *and it did not as yet ceaſe bubbling. Then he drew near to*
" *it, and ſaid,* O Zacharias, Zacharias, thou haſt occaſioned
" the death of the chief of thy countrymen, ſhall I ſlay them
" all? *Then the blood ceaſed, and did bubble no more,* &c."
This is very evidently the ſame ſtory which we find in the *Protevangelion*, though applied to a different perſon there under the ſame name; from which being a plain Jewiſh or Talmudick ſtory, and alſo common among the Jewiſh writers, as in Midraſch. Coheleth, fol. 93. and Midraſch. Echah. fol. 69 [a], it is moſt evident the author of this ſpurious Goſpel was a Jew.

3. It ſeems to me not unreaſonable to conclude, that the author of this Goſpel was a Jew, becauſe Epiphanius relates the *ſame things which are in this Goſpel, as taken* ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραδόσεως, *out of the accounts or traditions of the Jews* [b]. The things I mean are the relations of Joſeph's *former wife, and children, and age*, &c. (as above, Obſ. VIII.) Now theſe being alſo in this Apocryphal Goſpel, what can be more evident from what I have above ſaid, than that he thought the author of this hiſtory to be a Jew?

4. The Epiſtle of Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome, and his Anſwers (which I have above produced after the Goſpel of the Birth of Mary), do expreſsly aſſert *that Goſpel to have been originally written in Hebrew*; and though indeed perhaps thoſe Epiſtles may be ſuppoſititious (for which I am not able yet to ſee that clear evidence which the writers above-mentioned pretend, ſee Obſ. IV.), yet I think their antiquity

[a] See Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. et Talmud. in Luc. xi. 51.

[b] Hæreſ. 78. contr. Antidicomar. §. 7.

will

will be no ſmall collateral evidence, with my foregoing arguments, to prove the author of this Goſpel was a Jew, or Helleniſt.

CHAP. XIX.

The Protevangelion of James and the Goſpel of Mary are Apocryphal, becauſe they were not acknowledged by the Antients, but expreſsly rejected. They contain ſeveral Things contrary to known Truths. Inſtances produced out of both.

OBS. XI. THE *Protevangelion of James*, and the Goſpel of the Birth of *Mary*, are *ſuppoſititious and Apocryphal.* I have above ſhewn (Obſ. V.), that moſt of the Goſpel of *Mary* is contained in the *Protevangelion*; though it ſeems hard to determine which was compiled out of the other, or which of the two was the original compoſure. If I were to conjecture, I ſhould rather imagine that the *Protevangelion* was the older book, and that of the Birth of *Mary* made out of it, becauſe *its relations ſeem more compendious*, and the author omits many circumſtances which are in the *Protevangelion.* However this be, they are both ſpurious and Apocryphal, as will appear by the following arguments.

ARG. I. By Prop. IV. becauſe they *are not to be found in any of the catalogues of ſacred books* which are in the writings of the primitive Chriſtians.

ARG. II. By Prop. V. becauſe they *are not cited in any of the firſt Chriſtian writings*, but on the contrary rejected. The only writers who have mentioned them within my time are Epiphanius, Auſtin, and Pope Gelaſius; each of which looked upon the compoſure as trifling and ridiculous, as well as ſpurious and Apocryphal. Epiphanius places it among the impudent forgeries of the Gnoſticks, Hæreſ. 26. §. 12.

Beſides

Ἄλλα δὲ μυρία παρ' αὐτοῖς πεπλασμένα γραφεῖα τετόλμηται· Γένναν μὲν γὰρ Μαρίας βιβλίον τί φασιν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ δεινά τε καὶ ὀλέθρια ὑποβάλλοντές τινα ἐκεῖσε λέγουσιν.

Beſides, they have among them ten thouſand *ſpurious and impudent writings*; ſuch is that book entitled, *Of the Nativity of Mary*, in which they have forged the moſt dreadful and damnable ſtories.

An inſtance of which he produces, ſee above Obſ. III. viz. concerning the Jews worſhipping an aſs in the Temple.

Auſtin as expreſsly rejects it, contr. Fauſt. Manich. l. 23. c. 9. See Caſaub. adv. Apparat. Annal. Baron. Exercit. 1. No. 44.

Nos ergo credimus Mariam fuiſſe in cognatione David, quia Scripturis eis credimus, quæ utrumque dicunt, et Chriſtum ex ſemine David ſecundum carnem, et ejus matrem — virginem. Quiſquis itaque dicit Mariam ad conſanguinitatem David non pertinuiſſe——hoc oſtendat, non ex quibuſcunque literis, ſed Eccleſiaſticis, Canonicis, et Catholicis. Aliæ quippe apud nos non habent ad has res ullum pondus auctoritatis; ipſæ ſunt enim quas recepit et tenet Eccleſia toto orbe diffuſa.—Ac per hoc illud quod de Generatione Mariæ Fauſtus poſuit, quod patrem habuerit ex tribu Levi quendam ſacerdo-

But we believe, that *Mary was of the family of David*, becauſe we believe thoſe Scriptures, which affirm, both that Chriſt was of the ſeed of David, and his mother—a virgin. He who aſſerts that Mary did not belong to the family of David——let him prove it, *not by any ſort of writings, but by the Eccleſiaſtical, Canonical, and Catholick Scriptures.* For other Scriptures *have no weight at all with us in things of this ſort*, but thoſe only which are received by the univerſal Church.——So that as to what Fauſtus urges from the book, entitled *Of the Nativity* (or Pedigree) *of Mary*, viz. that her father was a Prieſt of the tribe of Levi,

tem, nomine Joachim, quia Canonicum non eſt, non me conſtringit.

named Joachim, *is of no manner of authority with me, becauſe it is not Canonical.*

Pope Gelaſius, in his Decree of Apocryphal Books, rejects it thus;

Liber de Nativitate Salvatoris, et de Maria, et obſtetrice Salvatoris, Apocryphus.

The book of *the Birth of our Saviour, and of Mary, and the Midwife of our Saviour,* is Apocryphal.

Although we meet not here with the title of the *Protevangelion*, yet there can be no doubt it is the book which is here meant, becauſe it has the title from the three moſt conſiderable heads of that Goſpel.

Thus all the antient writers, who have mentioned it, have agreed to condemn this hiſtory as ſpurious and fictitious. It is true indeed, ſome parts of it have been credited (ſee above, Obſ. VIII.), yet it does not appear they were the more credited, becauſe contained in either of theſe volumes; and though particularly the ſtory of Joſeph's former wife and children was ſo univerſally received, this ſeems to have been owing to the univerſally prevailing opinion of the *perpetual virginity of Mary*, which the antients were exceedingly fond of, as founded upon what they thought a credible tradition. I will only add here, that I have obſerved *one* place in Jerome's Commentary on Matthew [a], where he ſeems *to have had reference to one of theſe books, and condemned it as Apocryphal. Some*, ſays he, *ſuppoſe the brethren of our Lord* (ſpoken of in the Goſpel) *to be the ſons of Joſeph by a former wife, following the idle fancies of ſome Apocryphal books, and feign her name to have been Eſcha*, &c. and another in his Epiſtle againſt Helvidius [b], in which he plainly ſeems to reflect upon the *Hiſtory of the Midwife*, in the *Protevangelion, as falſe, and reject the book as Apocryphal.* His words are, *Let us not entertain ſuch thoughts of the mother of our Saviour and her pious huſband.*

[a] Cap. xii. 49. [b] Cap. iv.

There

There was no midwife preſent at her delivery, no hurry of women; the Virgin herſelf put the child in ſwaddling-clothes, and was both mother and midwife. To prove this he cites thoſe words of Luke (c. ii. 7.), *And ſhe brought forth her firſt-born ſon, and wrapped him in ſwaddling-clothes, and laid him in a manger, becauſe there was no room for them in the inn*; then adds, "Quæ ſententia Apocryphorum deliramenta convincit, "dum Maria ipſa pannis involvit infantem;" i. e. *which text confutes the idle fancies of the Apocryphal books, ſeeing Mary herſelf wrapped the infant in clothes.* This to me ſeems a plain reference to, and reflection upon, the *Protevangelion*, in which we read, ch. 19. of the midwife Joſeph brought to Mary.

ARG. III. The Goſpel of the Birth of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James, are Apocryphal, becauſe *neither of them appear to have been read in the Chriſtian Churches, or Aſſemblies.* Prop. VI.

ARG. IV. The Goſpel of the Birth of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James, are Apocryphal, becauſe *they contain ſeveral things contrary to certain and known truths.* Prop. VIII. Of this I have obſerved the following inſtances.

Falſehoods in the Goſpel of the Birth of Mary.

Ch. ii. *Iſachar is ſaid to be the name of the High-prieſt who diſcourſed with Joachim; whereas it is certain from the catalogue of High-prieſts, which is eaſily to be made out of Joſephus, there was no High-prieſt about this time of this name, nor indeed at any other time.* On the contrary, if this hiſtory ſhould be ſuppoſed true, and the Virgin Mary taken from the Temple when ſhe was full fourteen (ſee Chap. 7.), and our Saviour born nine months after that, then we can eaſily diſcover who the High-prieſt was at the time ſuppoſed; and that it was not Iſachar, but Simon, the Son of Boethus Alexandrinus, whoſe daughter Herod himſelf married [a], and began his

[a] Vid. Joſeph. Antiquit. Judaic. l. 15. c. 12. Helvic. Chronol. et Sigon. de Repub. Judæor. l. 5. c. 2. p. 220. *The ſame as this is hinted by*

his prieſthood in the year of the world 3926, and continued therein nineteen years, i. e. till within four or five years of the time in which our Saviour was born.

Ch. VI. We read that Mary was *brought at three years old to the Temple, placed in the apartments, and according to cuſtom continued there till marriageable age*, viz. *till ſhe was fourteen years old.* But this is evidently a fiction, or falſehood; for,

1. *It is certain there were no ſuch cells or apartments in the Temple at Jeruſalem, for the reception and entertainment* of virgins. Baronius indeed [a] dreamt of ninety cells erected by Solomon for this purpoſe; but how fooliſh and abſurd his opinion is, the learned Caſaubon has well ſhewn [b].

2. The Scriptures, Joſephus, and the Rabbins, *are perfectly ſilent concerning any ſuch cuſtom*, as that of nuns in the Temple at Jeruſalem.

Falſehoods in the Protevangelion *of James.*

Inſtance I. Ruben is ſaid to be High-prieſt when Joachim offered his ſacrifices (c. 1. and 6.); whereas it is certain there never was any High-prieſt of that name, and I have above proved another perſon was then High-prieſt.

Inſt. II. The ſame is to be ſaid of the ſtory of Mary's being brought to the Temple, related in this book (c. 7, 8.), which is ſaid immediately above [c] concerning the cells in the Temple.

Inſt. III. The High-prieſt, who conſulted God about the diſpoſal of Mary, is named Zacharias (c. 8.); but it is certain *there was no one of that name High-prieſt at this time, nor indeed at any other time.* See Joſephus's account of the High-prieſts.

Inſt. IV. The Virgin is ſaid, ch. xvii. and xviii. *to have brought forth our Saviour in a cave and deſert place*; whereas it is certain, not only from the prophecy of Micah (ch. v. 2.),

[a] Baron. Apparat. ad Annal. Eccleſ. No. 19. *and* Caſaub. Exercit. in cund. Num.

[b] Apparat. ad Annal. Eccleſ. Num. 19.

[b] Exercit. I. ad Apparat. cund. Num.

[c] *By this argument the learned* Chemnitius *has proved the* Protevangelion *to be ſpurious.* Exam. Concil. Trident. par. 3. p. 63.

that

that Chriſt was to be born in the town of Bethlehem, but from the *expreſs teſtimony of Matthew* (c. ii. 1, &c.), *Luke* (c. ii. 4, 6, &c.), *and all the antient writers, except Juſtin Martyr.* Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. This is abundantly proved by the great Caſaubon againſt Baronius, Exercit. ii. ad Ann. 1. n. 2. and though he be oppoſed in this matter by the Jeſuit Lanſſellius, in his tract againſt Caſaubon's Exercitations, inſerted among the laſt edition of Juſtin Martyr's works (c. 12.), yet it is with the weakeſt arguments, and ſuch as ſhew more malice than learning; which is indeed viſible in the whole of that performance of the Jeſuit.

Inſt. V. It is evident by comparing c. 10. with the 23d, *that the ſame Zacharias is ſpoken of in both places.* In the latter place *he is ſaid to be the father of John the Baptiſt*, and in the former *to have loſt the uſe of his ſpeech*; which is a relation concerning Zacharias, the father of the Baptiſt, in the genuine Goſpel of Luke (ch. i. 20.) Now hence it is eaſy to collect a freſh argument of the falſehood of this Goſpel; for (ch. 10.) *Zacharias is ſaid to be High-prieſt*, but it is certain *the father of the Baptiſt was not High-prieſt, but one of the common Prieſts, and of the courſe of Abia, which was the eighth in order of thoſe twenty-four courſes of ordinary Prieſts*, which were to miniſter by turn, each his week, according to the inſtitution of David. See 1 Chron. xxiv. 10. and Luke i. 5.

Nor will it be of any force to object, that I ſuppoſe in this argument the Canonical authority of Luke, which I have not proved; for it can be no unfair way of reaſoning to ſuppoſe it truer in this particular than the *Protevangelion*, becauſe in that wherein they differ, the *Protevangelion* is contrary to Joſephus, but St. Luke is not, viz. as to Zacharias being High-prieſt. After all, I am ſenſible many of the antients, which Baronius has produced, imagined that Zacharias the Baptiſt's father was an High-prieſt; and Auſtin particularly attempts to prove it [a], *becauſe there were ſeveral High-prieſts at the ſame time, and*

[a] Tract. xlix. in Joan. in fine. See Caſaub. adverſ. Apparat. Annal. Baron. Exercit. I. Num. 69. *The learned* Daillé *has obſerved, that the author of the books under the name of* Dionyſius the Areopagite

and it was lawful for none but a High-prieſt to offer incenſe. But herein every one knows he is miſtaken, as indeed it is common for the Fathers to be miſtaken in Jewiſh antiquities.

Inſt. VI. The ſtory *of the death of Zacharias*, ch. xxiii. *with its circumſtances, is falſe and apparent forgery.* This may eaſily be gathered from ſeveral of the preceding obſervations; but I ſhall endeavour now to evidence it by this argument, that *it is a ſtory jumbled together, and patched up partly out of the hiſtory of Zacharias* (2 Chron. xxiv. 20.), *and partly out of what we read concerning Zacharias, the father of the Baptiſt*, Luke i, and this will appear by the following compariſon.

The ſtory of the murder of Zacharias in Chronicles is, that he was ſlain in the court of the Houſe of the Lord, and prayed the Lord to revenge his blood; the Jewiſh expoſition of which is, that the blood remained indelible upon the ſtones, till it was actually revenged by Nebuzaradan, ſee above, Obſ. X.

The ſtory of the murder of Zacharias, the father of the Baptiſt, in the *Protevangelion*, is, that he was murdered in the entrance or court of the Temple; that *immediately upon his death, a voice* was heard, ſaying, *Zacharias is ſlain, and his blood ſhall not be wiped away till a revenger come; that accordingly his blood petrified, and became hard as ſtone*, Ch. 24.

This is evidently the ſame ſtory; to which there are ſome circumſtances added out of the firſt chapter of Luke, relating to the true Zacharias, father of the Baptiſt; for whereas we

(De Cœleſt. Hierarc. c. 4. §. 4.) *does alſo make* Zacharias, *the father of the* Baptiſt, *to have been High-prieſt; but as he ſhews this to be falſe, ſo he hence forms an argument to prove the ſpuriouſneſs of thoſe pretended works of* Dionyſius, viz. *becauſe the true* Dionyſius *could not be miſtaken in a fact of this ſort, and conjectures alſo, that theſe books under his name were forgeries of the fourth or fifth century; becauſe, ſays he, then aroſe and was ſpread the opinion of* Zacharias, *the* Baptiſt's *father, being High-prieſt.* Dall. de Lib. ſuppoſit. Dionyſ. Areop. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 164, 165.

there

there read, ver. 20, 21, 22, *that Zacharias was dumb, that the people waited for him, and marvelled that he tarried ſo long in the Temple:* in the *Protevangelion* (c. 10.) we read, *Zacharias loſt the uſe of his ſpeech*, and (ch. 24.) *that the Prieſt continued for a long time waiting for him to come out of the Temple*; &c. Nothing then upon the whole can be more evident, than that the author of this book has jumbled together in this hiſtory what is ſaid of two perſons called Zacharias, and applied it to one; and conſequently that compoſure is a forgery, and ſo Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

Inſt. VII. The laſt inſtance of falſehood, which I ſhall mention in this Protevangelion, is that (c. 24.) where *Simeon* (mentioned Luke ii. 25.) *is ſaid to be choſen ſucceſſor to Zacharias in the High-prieſthood.* That the author meant the ſame Simeon is evident, becauſe he expreſsly ſays, as Luke, that *it was revealed to him by the Holy Ghoſt, that he ſhould not ſee death, before he had ſeen Chriſt in the fleſh.* But it is certain this Simeon was not then High-prieſt; for though there were many of that name advanced to this poſt, yet he who at this time poſſeſſed it was Joazarus; beſides, had he been really High-prieſt, as Mr. Fabritius [a] well obſerves, *it is not likely that St. Luke, when he was giving him ſo honourable a character, would omit that which muſt needs have a conſiderable addition to it*, viz. his being High-prieſt. It is indeed difficult for us to know who this Simeon was; whether it were Rabban Simeon, the ſon of Hillel, Preſident of the Sanhedrim, and father of Gamaliel, as ſeveral learned men have thought [b], or ſome other perſon of that name, I ſhall not enquire, but only obſerve, that although the Fathers generally believed he was a High-prieſt, there can be nothing more ridiculous than the miſtake of Jerome [c], and others, who confound him with Simon the Juſt, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and, according to the Jews, met him when he came to Jeruſalem. See Druſ. Præter. lib. 3. in Luc. ii. 25.

[a] Cod. Apocr. N. T. t. 1. p. 124.

[b] Lightfoot. Hor. Heb. in Luc. ii. 25. Scultet. Exercit. in loc.

[c] Adverſ. Helvid. c. 4.

CHAP. XX.

The Goſpel of Mary and the Protevangelion of James proved Apocryphal, becauſe of the many idle and fabulous Things which they contain. A Collection of theſe. The Protevangelion is Apocryphal, becauſe it contains ſeveral Contradictions; and both are ſo, becauſe they are not in the Syriack Verſion.

ARG. V. THE Goſpel of the Birth of Mary, and the *Protevangelion* of James, are Apocryphal by Prop. IX. becauſe they contain things ludicrous and trifling, fabulous and ſilly relations. To collect all theſe would be almoſt the ſame as tranſcribing the whole books themſelves; becauſe, beſides what is taken out of the received Canonical books, they contain little but things of this nature. I ſhall think it ſufficient to preſent the reader with a few remarkable inſtances.

A Collection of ſeveral trifling Stories and fabulous Relations in the Protevangelion *of James, and the Goſpel of the Birth of Mary.*

In the Protevangelion *are the following.*

1. The ſtory of *Joachim's faſting forty days and forty nights in the wilderneſs* (ch. i.), appears an idle forgery in imitation of the faſt which Moſes and Chriſt kept of forty days and nights in the wilderneſs, Exod. xxiv. 18. Matt. iv. 3.

2. *The prayer of Anna* (c. iii.) ſeems very trifling; and if it were really conceived by her, yet very unworthy the notice of an inſpired writer.

3. *The Virgin's walking nine ſteps* at ſix months of age, ch. vi.

4. God's ſending down power from heaven to the Virgin *to leap and dance upon the third ſtep of the Altar*, ch. vii.

5. *The*

5. *The Virgin's being fed, and receiving her food from the hand of an angel*, ch. viii.

6. *A dove flying out of Joſeph's rod*, and lighting upon his head, ch. ix.

7. *The Virgin's hearing the angel's ſongs*, ch. xv.

8. *The ceaſing of all ſorts of motion at our Saviour's birth*, and the ridiculous account of the aſtoniſhment of the air, fowls ſtopping in the midſt of their flight, men who ſat at table not eating, their hands lift up to their mouths, and not having power to put any thing in, their eyes all upwards, the ſhepherd's lifting up his hand to ſmite the ſheep, and his hand continuing lift up, the kids with their mouths at the water, and not being able to drink, ch. xviii.

9. Elizabeth's praying that the *mountain ſhould open, and the mountain opening accordingly* to receive her, ch. xxii.

In the Goſpel of the Birth of Mary, I only obſerve the idle account;

1. Of the *Virgin's familiarity with angels*, and her receiving daily viſits from them, c. vii.

2. Of the *dove's deſcending from heaven, and pitching upon the top of Joſeph's rod*, c. viii.

3. Of the *Virgin's knowing the countenance of the angels*, c. ix.

ARG. VI. The Goſpel of the Birth of Mary, and the *Protevangelion* of James, are Apocryphal by Prop. XIV. *becauſe they appear plainly to be ſtolen or tranſcribed out of ſeveral parts of the received and Canonical Scriptures.* I ſhall endeavour to ſhew the fact firſt, and then the force of the conſequence.

As to the fact, it ſeems evident by the inſtances following.

Inſtances in the Protevangelion *of accounts borrowed from the Canonical books.*

1. *Joachim's faſting forty days and forty nights*, ch. i. ſeems to be taken from the faſt of Moſes, Exod. xxiv. 18. Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 8. and our Saviour, Matt. iv. 2. who are recorded to have faſted during the ſame ſpace of time preciſely.

2. *The*

2. *The ſtory of Anna's barrenneſs, her praying for a child* (ch. ii. iii.), *her devoting him to the temple* (ch. iv.), ſeems all to be taken from the hiſtory of Hannah (1 Sam. i.), where we meet with the very ſame relations.

3. The account of *Joachim's making a great feaſt, when the child,* which his wife after long barrenneſs had brought forth, was a year old, ch. vi. ſeems to be taken from the like hiſtory of Abraham's making a feaſt, when Iſaac the child, which Sarah after long barrenneſs bare to him, was weaned, Gen. xxi. 8.

4. Anna's being *made to ſing a ſong of praiſe on account of her child,* ſeems to be founded on Hannah's prayer or ſong, 1 Sam. ii. 1, &c.[a] and the thoughts are agreeable, as the phraſe is taken from that of Rachel, Gen. xxx. 23.

5. The ſtory of *Zacharias the High-prieſt being dumb,* (ch. x.) is formed from that of Zacharias, *the Baptiſt's* father, Luke i. 20, 62, &c.

6. *The angel's ſalutation of the Virgin* (ch. xi.), is the ſame, and in the very ſame words, with that, Luke i. 28.

7. *The angel's relation to Mary* (ch. xi.) *of the conception and birth of Chriſt,* and of the *conception of John by Elizabeth,* is exactly the ſame with that in Luke i. 30—39. and expreſſed in almoſt all the ſame words.

8. The account of Mary's *going to Elizabeth, the child's leaping in her womb thereupon, her ſpeech to Mary, &c.* ſeems plainly taken out of Luke i. 39, &c.

9. *Joſeph's reaſoning concerning Mary's being with child, and the angel's appearing to him* (ch. xiv.), is a plain paraphraſe of Matt. i. 19, &c.

10. The charge from heaven given to *Salome not to publiſh the miracle wrought for her by touching Chriſt* (ch. 20.), ſeems taken from our Saviour's frequent commands to thoſe for whom he wrought miracles, not to publiſh what he had done for them[b], and particularly from that charge which he gave

[a] The verb תתפרל which we tranſlate *prayed,* would be better rendered *ſung,* or *praiſed in ſongs,* as the word תפילות Pſ. lxxii. 20. muſt neceſſarily be taken for *ſongs,* or *pſalms,* which is derived from the ſame root.

[b] See Matt. viii. 4. ix. 30. xvii. 9.

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upon the working the very ſame miracle (viz. *curing a withered hand*), Matt. xii. 16.

11. *The hiſtory of the wiſe men*, with its various circumſtances and conſequences, ch. xxi. and Herod's killing the children, ch. xxii. appears a manifeſt tranſcript of the ſecond chapter of St. Matthew's Goſpel, only with this conſiderable difference, that the circumſtance of our Saviour's being wrapped in ſwaddling clothes, and laid in a manger at his birth, *becauſe there was no room in the inn*, which is related by St. Luke (ch. ii. 7.), is here moſt aukwardly applied to *Mary's hiding the child from the ſearch of Herod, and that in the very words of St. Luke*; a plain inſtance of a forgery.

12. The ſtory of Simeon (ch. xxiv.), viz. *his having a revelation that he ſhould not die till he ſhould ſee Chriſt*, ſeems to be taken from Luke iv. 26. not only becauſe the ſenſe, but the very words in the Greek are the ſame.

Inſtances in the Goſpel of the Birth of Mary of accounts borrowed from the Canonical books.

1. The Hiſtory of *Joachim and Anna devoting their child to the ſervice of God in the temple*, ch. i. and vi. is the ſame with that of Anna, 1 Sam. i. See the former inſtances, Numb. 2.

2. The phraſe, ch. iii. *Thy prayers are heard, and thine alms come up before God*, which is made uſe of by the angel to Joachim, is the very ſame with that which the angel made uſe of to Cornelius, Acts x. 4.

3. The character given to Anna, Luke ii. 37. viz. *that ſhe did not depart from the temple, but ſerved God with faſtings and prayers*, is *manifeſtly borrowed hence*, and made by the angel to be the future character of the Virgin Mary, c. iv.

4. The compendium of the ſong of praiſe, which Joachim and Anna ſang to God for the promiſe of a child, viz. *that he exalted the humble*, is borrowed from the ſong of Mary, Luke i. 52. in which ſhe praiſed God for the promiſe of her bringing forth Chriſt.

5. *The angel's ſalutation to Mary* (ch. ix) is the ſame with that, Luke i. 28, 29.

6. *Joſeph's*

6. *Joſeph's heſitating what to do* (ch. x.) is a manifeſt paraphraſe of Matthew i. 19.

From theſe inſtances it is very evident that the author or authors of the Goſpel of the Birth of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James, *formed a very large part of thoſe books from, and accommodated them to, ſeveral hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtament.* It is manifeſt they borrowed their circumſtances hence, and for the moſt part applied them to other different ſtories, which, as it is impoſſible ever to have happened by chance or without deſign, manifeſtly demonſtrates the whole compoſure to be a mere fable and fiction; and conſequently Apocryphal: for as inſpiration and extraordinary aſſiſtance is needleſs in ſuch a caſe, ſo to ſuppoſe a perſon inſpired who compoſes out of another's work, and publiſhes it as his own, is to make the Holy Spirit concur to the production of a mere cheat and impoſture. They are therefore Apocryphal by Prop. XIV.

ARG. VII. The *Protevangelion* of James is Apocryphal by Prop. VII. becauſe there are in it ſeveral contradictions. For inſtance,

Ch. xi. We read, that the angel came to *Mary, gave her a particular account of her conception, and the manner of it*; and yet ch. xiii. when Joſeph accuſes her of being with child, ſhe *ſolemnly ſwears, ſhe was utterly ignorant how ſhe came to be with child.* This is ſo palpable a contradiction, that I know not any thing can be ſaid in favour of it, unleſs that the Virgin lied in denying her knowledge; but this cannot be ſuppoſed conſiſtent with the opinion the author of this book had of the Virgin[a].

Ch. xvii. xviii. It is ſaid the place where the Virgin brought forth was in a *deſert place, and in a cave*; but this is not only contrary to Scripture and fact, but to another part of the *Protevangelion*, where the author tranſcribing the ſe-

[a] *This I find, ſince my firſt writing, is alſo obſerved by Rivet, as a contradiction, and what proves the book ſpurious.* Critic. Sacr. l. 1. c. 4. p. 131.

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cond Chapter of Matthew, forgets what he had before ſaid, and *agrees with St. Matthew, that our Saviour was born at Bethlehem.* See ch. xxi.

ARG. VIII. It is Apocryphal, becauſe it is not contained in the Syriack Verſion, by Prop. XV.

CHAP. XXI.

Several miſcellaneous Reflections on the Goſpel of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James. Poſtellus's Account of the Protevangelion. His Arguments for its Authority particularly refuted.

HITHERTO I have been endeavouring to entertain the reader with my own obſervations and remarks on theſe two famous Apocryphal Goſpels. It remains only now, that I give ſome account of the remarks of others concerning them, with ſome ſuitable reflections. Mr. Fabritius has indeed with much labour done this in a great meaſure already, and at length ſet down what the learned have wrote concerning them; to whom therefore I would refer the curious reader, judging it ſufficient (after what I have above ſaid) to give here the following accounts.

I. *There are ſeveral manuſcript copies of this Goſpel now extant in Europe.* Father Simon [a] tells us, that he ſaw two Greek manuſcript copies of it in the French King's library; the one entitled, Τῦ μακαρίυ Ἰακώβυ τῦ ἀδελφοθέου λόγος ἱςορικὸς εἰς τὸ γενέσιον τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκυ, *An Hiſtorical Account of the Nativity of the moſt Holy Mother of our Lord, by James the bleſſed Brother of our Lord*; the other very little different, Τῦ μακαρίυ Ἰακώβυ τῦ Ἀποσόλυ, καὶ ἀδελφῦ τῦ Κυρίυ, περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκυ, *A Diſcourſe of James the Bleſſed, an Apoſtle and Bro-*

[a] Nouvelles Obſerv. ſur la Texte & les Verſions du Nouv. Teſt. c. 1.

apud Fabrit. Cod. Apocr. t. i. p. 58.

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ther of our Lord, concerning the Nativity of the holy Mother of our Lord. Daniel de Neſſel, in his Abridgment and Supplement to Lambecius's Commentary on the library of the Emperor at Vienna, among other of the Greek MSS. which are in his catalogue, tells us, there are *five MSS. of the Protevangelion of James in that library* [a].

II. *The firſt perſon who made this Goſpel* (viz. the Protevangelion) *known in Europe, was Poſtellus, who entertained a very high opinion of it.* He brought it from the Levant, tranſlated it into Latin, ſent it to Oporinus, a printer at Baſil; where Bibliander meeting with it, cauſed it to be printed, A. D. 1552. The ſubſtance of what Bibliander, after Poſtellus, ſaith, concerning it, I ſhall here give the reader, as I find it collected by Father Simon [b], and afterwards by Fabritius [c]; viz. "That it was publickly read in the Eaſtern Churches, "among whom it was reckoned authentick, they never mak- "ing any doubt but that James was the author of it: that it "is to be looked upon as a jewel among the books of divi- "nity, as the baſis and foundation of all the Goſpel hiſtory, "and the beginning of the preſent Goſpel of Mark:—that "the Goſpels now received can never be ſufficiently regarded "by the Jews without this: for which he offers among others "this reaſon, that *the rulers of the Jews made uſe of the water "of trial mentioned* (Numbers v.) *to prove the innocency of the "Virgin.* (See ch. xvi.) He obſerves from the Jewiſh writ- "ings, that it was made a law among the Jews, that *what- "ever woman of the tribe of Judah, and eſpecially of the fa- "mily of David, was found with child, the matter was to be "referred to the conſideration of the Prieſts, and thence* con- "cludes, they could not be unacquainted with the delivery of "Mary, ſhe being given to Joſeph by them, but muſt have "an inconteſtable proof of the miraculous birth of Chriſt. "The Evangeliſt Luke, in the Preface to his Goſpel, wit- "neſſes, *that many have taken in hand to ſet forth a declara- "tion of thoſe things which are moſt ſurely believed among "Chriſtians, even as they delivered them, who from the begin-*

[a] Apud Fabric. t. i. p. 59, 60.
[b] Critic. Hiſtor. of the New Teſt. par. i. c. 3.
[c] Cod. Apoc. t. i. p. 48, 49.

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" *ning were eye-witneſſes and miniſters of the Word.* This " does not ſeem ſo well to agree to Matthew and John, as to " James the brother of our Lord, the author of the hiſtory " which I now publiſh, concerning *the Nativity of Chriſt*; " of which Luke gives a more compendious account, but does " not at all differ from this *Protevangelion*. St. Auſtin refers " to it in the firſt chapter of the firſt book, De Conſenſ. " Evang. Beſides, that this tradition (viz. concerning the " birth of Chriſt) is very old, and has been received in the " Church, and owes its original to no other than James the " brother of our Lord, I am perſuaded from Epiphanius " againſt the Collyridians and Antidicomarians [a], who men- " tions the cave, and other miracles. But if any one think " this book ought not to be placed among the Eccleſiaſtical " writings, becauſe Jerome, Euſebius, and others, who have " wrote concerning the life and writings of James, have " made no mention of it, nor reckoned it among the ſacred " books, he may be anſwered by good reaſons: for Epipha- " nius, who was before Jerome and Euſebius, proves the an- " tiquity of the hiſtory. Beſides, ſome things have eſcaped " the knowledge of the moſt diligent writers, and others have " been long concealed in the Church, as the *Book of the Law* " *in the time of Joſiah*, *The Second Epiſtle of Peter*, *The Epiſtle* " *of Paul to the Hebrews*, *The Epiſtle of Jude*, *and the Re-* " *velation*, *were unknown to many Chriſtians for a long time*, " *and not till very late received into the Canon.* But this " much recommends this writing of James, that it is never " reckoned among the Apocryphal and ſpurious writings, as " the Goſpel of Nicodemus, Thomas, Bartholomew, and " others. Nor are we for that reaſon to reject this book as " Apocryphal, becauſe it contains ſome of thoſe things which " are in the *Book of Joachim*, or the *Nativity of Mary* (which " Jerome tranſlated out of Hebrew into Latin), or the book " of *the Infancy of our Saviour*, *of the Birth of our Saviour*, *of* " *Mary*, *or the Midwife of our Saviour*, which Gelaſius " ranks among Apocryphal books. For we do not eſteem

[a] Hæreſ. 78. §. 15.

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" the four received Goſpels of the leſs credit, becauſe they " agree in many things with the Goſpel of Nicodemus, Tho- " mas, Bartholomew, the Nazarenes, or the Alcoran of Ma- " homet. But if any one be offended at the multitude of " miracles therein, let him conſider the incarnation of Chriſt " was a great work, which was to be ſupported by divine " works and evidences againſt the infidelity of Jews, Maho- " metans, Heathens, deceivers, and Hereticks. Beſides, " theſe miracles have no tendency to draw men's minds from " the knowledge and worſhip of God, but the contrary; " which is the nature of a true miracle. Nor is there any " thing in this writing of James, which is repugnant to the " ſacred hiſtory; nor does there appear any motive which " would induce the oriental Chriſtians to forge it, viz. nei- " ther their temporal intereſt, reputation, power, &c. ſo that " if ever any thing was received by juſt tradition, this book " was formerly, and is ſtill preſerved in the Eaſtern Churches, " and ought not to be deſpiſed by us in the Weſtern. After " all, as I do not contend for its being advanced to the ſame " height as the Canonical books of the Old and New Teſta- " ment, ſo I think it ſhould not be rejected among the Apo- " crypha. For if the little book of Ruth, which contains the " pedigree of David from Booz to Ruth, is placed in the Ca- " non, though we know not the writer's name, it ſeems to " me very unjuſt, that this firſt *Goſpel of St. James concern-* " *ing the Nativity of Chriſt and the Virgin*, which is reckoned " among the authentick (i. e. Canonical) books by the Eaſt- " ern Churches, ſhould not at leaſt be placed among the Ha- " giographa, or Eccleſiaſtical books, ſuch as the *Epiſtle of* " *Clemens*, and *the Shepherd of Hermas* formerly were " eſteemed, and the book of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *the Wiſdom of So-* " *lomon*, *Eccleſiaſticus*, *the Hiſtory of the Maccabees*, *the third* " *and fourth Books of Ezra*, are now eſteemed by all the " Churches; which books, as to excellency of argument, " and that ſimplicity of ſtile which is uſual in inſpired writ- " ings, are far exceeded by this book of James." Such was the very high opinion which Poſtellus, and after him Bibliander, have entertained of this *Protevangelion*.

III. *Nothing that Poſtellus or Bibliander have ſaid for the credit*

credit of this Goſpel of James is of any real force to ſupport its authority. It would be ſuperfluous to enter into a diſtinct critical examination of all his pretended arguments; I ſhall think it enough briefly to diſcuſs that which ſeems moſt conſiderable of what he offers in the preceding abſtract of his opinion.

1. He urges in the beginning, that *it was publickly read in the Eaſtern Churches, and acknowledged as authentick and genuine*; and towards the end ſays, *it was reckoned by them among the Canonical books.* But to this it is eaſy to anſwer,

(1.) *That the practice or opinion of the Oriental Churches, in the time of Poſtellus*, viz. in the ſixteenth century, *can be no good rule for us to determine by in this matter*; nor can we be more obliged to receive this or any other book which the Oriental Chriſtians of ſeveral preceding centuries received, becauſe they did or do receive it, than we are to acknowledge the idle fables of the Apocrypha of the Old Teſtament, becauſe they are received by the Weſtern Chriſtians of the Church of Rome.

(2.) *It is not unreaſonable to queſtion the truth of the fact*, ſeeing it is only related by Poſtellus, and ſeems in itſelf improbable. This, ſays Mr. Fabritius [a], *is aſſerted without any reaſon, and cannot be proved.* I have not ſeen any perſons, or obſerved any whole Churches, who reckon it among the Canonical Scriptures.—Nor ſhall I eaſily believe Poſtellus herein, &c.

2. What he urges, that it is of uſe to *convince the Jews, and agreeable to ſome Jewiſh ſtories*, is of no account, becauſe this *is very conſiſtent with its being a forgery.*

3. That St. Luke (chap. i. 1.) *reſpected it*, and that *what he ſays will better agree to it than Matthew and John*, is indeed in one ſenſe true, becauſe I have above proved [b], that St. Luke in thoſe words *reſpected only the falſe Goſpels*, which were then publiſhed, and therefore his argument will only prove

[a] Cod. Apocr. N. T. t. i. p. 53, 57.

[b] Vol. I. Ch. II. p. 23. *See my Vindic. of St.* Matthew's *Goſpel*, ch. 2.

againſt himſelf; but that St. Luke had any reſpect in his Preface to this Goſpel, is *a mere groundleſs and precarious aſſertion.*

4. What he urges in favour of it, that it *does not differ from St. Luke's account of the nativity of Chriſt*, is in reality an argument of no weight, if it were true, becauſe a *forgery might eaſily be ſo*; but beſides the fact is abſolutely falſe, it contradicting the Evangeliſt's account in ſeveral particulars, ſome of which I have above obſerved, Ch. XIX. Arg. IV. Inſt. 4, 5.

5. That St. Auſtin *refers to it* (Lib. i. de Conſenſ. Evang. c. 1.), is alſo utterly falſe.

6. That *ſeveral of the ſtories or traditions in it have been credited by Epiphanius*, is indeed true (ſee above, Ch. XVII. Obſ. VIII.); but it is equally true, that Epiphanius *rejected this book as ſpurious and Apocryphal*, as I have ſhewn, Chap. XIX. Arg. II.

7. His anſwer to the obvious objection againſt it, *that it is not mentioned by Euſebius, or Jerome, or any of the antients, among the works of James*, is very trifling, viz. *that ſeveral things have eſcaped the knowledge of the moſt diligent writers*, that the book of the law was not known till found in Joſiah's time, and that the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, the Second Epiſtle of *Peter*, *Jude*, and the *Revelation*, were not of a long time received into the Canon. *This*, I ſay, *is a very weak and trifling anſwer*; becauſe,

(1.) *The teſtimony of the firſt centuries is the principal, and almoſt only rule we have, whereby to judge of the Canonical authority of any book* (ſee Par. I. Ch. VI. Prop. III.); conſequently, if the book was not known to them, we cannot eſteem it Canonical.

(2.) Although the *Epiſtle to the* Hebrews, *the ſecond of* Peter, *that of* Jude *and the* Revelation, *were not for ſome time ſo univerſally received as the other writings of the New Teſtament*, yet it is certain they were at the ſame time in being, and received by moſt (as I ſhall hereafter ſhew); neither of which can be ſo ſaid of this *Protevangelion.*

8. *That*

8. *That it is not reckoned among the Apocryphal Goſpels by the antients*, is utterly falſe. See above, Ch. XIX. Arg. III.

9. What he ſays in vindication of the miraculous ſtories contained in it, viz. that *they are related as attending a very great event, and have no bad tendency*, may be equally ſaid of moſt fabulous legends.

10. That there is *nothing in it repugnant to the ſacred hiſtory*, I have above proved falſe by ſeveral inſtances. See Ch. XX.

11. *That nothing could tempt the Oriental Chriſtians to forge it*, is what we call *petitio principii*, and may be with equal reaſon aſſerted of many known forgeries.

12. His confeſſing it *ought not to be eſteemed in the ſame high degree of Canonical authority with the other parts of Scripture, and yet not allowing it to be Apocryphal*, is utterly inconſiſtent with what he contends for, viz. that *it was the genuine writing of St. James, and ought to be received as ſuch.*

13. His argument for the Canonical authority of this book, *becauſe of the likeneſs of its ſubject to the book of Ruth*, is exceeding weak; becauſe it would thence follow, that all genealogical books among the Jews muſt be equally Canonical.

14. *That it agrees more in ſtile with the undoubted inſpired books of Scripture, than the Apocrypha of the Old Teſtament*, is not only falſe, as appears from the idle and fabulous accounts in it which I have above collected, Ch. XX. Arg. V. but *would prove nothing if true*, but the greater artifice of the impoſtor.

Thus weak are all the arguments which are offered by Poſtellus and Bibliander in defence of this *Protevangelion* under the name of *James*.

IV. Beſides the above-mentioned Poſtellus and Bibliander, *all other writers have agreed to reject the* Protevangelion *as ſpurious and Apocryphal.* I confeſs indeed, Jacob Grynæus * *ſeems to have entertained ſome more favourable ſentiments of it*; which indeed it is not ſtrange he ſhould, when we conſider that he inſerted it among the other pieces, to which he gives

* Præfat. in Orthodoxographia.

the ſplendid title of *Orthodoxographa:* His words are, "Multa "habet quæ narrationibus quatuor Evangeliſtarum pulchre "conſentiunt, plura autem quæ ab illis velut παράρυγα ſunt "prætermiſſa.—Plura autem Evangelia illa ætate ſcripta eſſe "auctor eſt Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccl. l. iii. c. 25." i. e. *It contains many things which perfectly agree to the accounts of the four Evangeliſts, but more which they thought proper to omit as needleſs: however Euſebius aſſures us, that there were many Goſpels written about that time*, i. e. about the time of James, and the other Apoſtles. Such an overſight in Grynæus, who was a Proteſtant, could not eſcape the cenſure of the Papiſts. Sixtus Senenſis [a] obſerves with an air of contempt, *that it was publiſhed by the Hereticks of his time*, and Father Simon ſeems to *wonder the Proteſtants ſhould cauſe it to be printed, and think it worthy to be publiſhed under the title of* Orthodoxographa [b]; and I muſt indeed own, it is not a little ſtrange Grynæus ſhould be thus impoſed upon: only I would obſerve, that Poſtellus, the firſt publiſher of it, *was a Papiſt* [c]; and that it is not juſt in Father Simon to impute the miſtake of one Proteſtant to the whole body of thoſe who go under that denomination. It is certain, that all other Proteſtants have rejected it, who have mentioned it. Mr. Fabritius [d] has made a large collection of the ſentiments both of Proteſtants and Papiſts, who have all judged it ſpurious and Apocryphal. I ſhall think it ſufficient to refer the reader only to ſuch whom I have ſeen; and thoſe are,

Among the Proteſtants.

Chemnitius Examen. Concil. Trid. par. iii. p. 63, and p. 90.

Caſaubon. Exercit. i. contr. Baron. Num. 39.

Rivet. Crit. Sacr. lib. i. c. 4. p. 131.

Scultetus Medulla Patrum. par. i. l. xi. c. 6.

Biſhop Pearſon's Expoſit. on the Creed, Artic. iii. p. 170.

[a] Bibliothec. Sanct. in Jacob. l. 2. p. 67.

[b] Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. Par. 1. c. 3. p. 27.

[c] This I conclude from his ſaying, the Apocrypha of the Old Teſtament were eſteemed in all the Churches; which is only true of the Popiſh Churches, they being rejected by the Proteſtants.

[d] Cod. Apocr. Nov. Teſt. Par 1. p. 53, &c.

Dr.

Dr. Cave Hiſt. Liter. Vol. I. p. 9. in Jacobo.
Spanheim. Hiſt. Chriſt. Secul. i. p. 580.
Dr. Mill Prolegom. in Nov. Teſt. §. 274.

Among the Papiſts.

Gaſpari Quirog. Index Expurgat. Hiſpan. p. 420.
Sixtus Senenſis Biblioth. Sanct. l. ii. p. 67. ad voc. Jacob.
Bellarmin. de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt. in Jacob. p. 42.
Du Pin. Hiſt. of the Canon of the New Teſtam. Vol. II. c. 6. §. 4.
Father Simon Critic. Hiſt. of the New Teſt. par. i. c. 3. p. 27.

Thus I have endeavoured largely to offer to the reader, what I have obſerved or judged moſt conſiderable, relating to this Goſpel. I ſhall only add, that as the hiſtory contained therein undoubtedly was a very early forgery, ſo it ſeems impoſſible to give any certain particular account either of its age or author; unleſs we will ſuppoſe, as the author of the Epiſtle to Chromatius and Heliodorus, under the name of Jerome above produced, does, both in his Epiſtle and Preface, that it was the compoſure of Seleucus, who is the ſame (as I have proved, Par. II. Ch. XXI.) with Leucius Charinus; not that he was the firſt author, (for he, as I have proved above, was undoubtedly a Jew), but the perſon who made ſuch large additions and interpolations, that he was eſteemed the author.

CHAP. XXII.

The Goſpel of our Saviour's Infancy.

THE following Goſpel was publiſhed and tranſlated by Mr. Henry Sike at Utrecht, 1697, Profeſſor of the Oriental languages in Cambridge, and requires a place here for the following reaſons:

1. Becauſe it is of the ſame original with the other Goſpel of the Infancy publiſhed by Cotelerius, and that claims St. Thomas for its author. See the next Chapter.

2. Becauſe the books of Chriſt's Infancy went under the names of St. Matthew [a], and St. Peter [b].

3. Becauſe they were received by the Gnoſticks in the ſecond century. See below, Ch. XXIV.

4. Becauſe ſeveral of its relations were credited by the Chriſtians in the following ages, viz. Euſebius, Athanaſius, Epiphanius, Chryſoſtom, &c. To omit all others, I ſhall only inſtance in Sozomen, who credits and ſays he was told by many the following ſtories, which are in this Goſpel, viz. that Ch. X. of the idol's falling down in Egypt upon Joſeph's flight thither with Chriſt, and that Ch. XXIV. of Chriſt's making a well in a ſycamore tree (to waſh his clothes), called Matarea, and a balſam proceeding from the tree. Theſe are related by Sozomen thus [c]: "They ſay, that at Hermopolis, "which is a town of Thebais, there is a tree called Perſis, "of which either the fruit or leaves, or any ſmall piece of the "bark, brought near to ſick perſons, has cured many. For "it is ſaid, that Joſeph, when he fled with Chriſt and Mary "for fear of Herod, came to Hermopolis, and that as ſoon as "he came near the gate, that tree, though a very great one, "was moved at Chriſt's coming by, and bowed down to the "ground, and worſhipped Chriſt. He adds, that he ſuppoſes

[a] See the Epiſtle of Chromatius and Heliodorus, and Jerome's Anſwers above, Chap. XIV.

[b] Ahmed Ibn Edris apud Fabrit. Cod. Apocr. t. 1. p. 153.

[c] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 20.

"the

" the tree was an idol, and the Devil was affrighted at Chriſt's " coming, and that all the idols of Egypt fell down upon " Chriſt's coming there, according to the prophecy of Iſaiah " xix. 1. *The burden of Egypt. Behold the Lord rideth upon* " *a ſwift cloud, and ſhall come into Egypt, and the idols of* " *Egypt ſhall be moved at his preſence*, &c. So, ſays he, the " Devil being caſt out, the tree remained to be a witneſs of " the fact, and to cure believers of their diſeaſes [a]."

5. Mr. La Croſe cites a ſynod, which was held in the dioceſe of Angamala, in the mountainous country of Malabar, A. D. 1599, which condemns the *Goſpel of Chriſt's Infancy*, as a book that was commonly read by the Neſtorians in Malabar [b]. Add to this, that Ahmed Ibn Idris, a writer for the Mahometan religion againſt the Chriſtians and Jews [c], ſays, *it was uſed by ſome Chriſtians as the other four Goſpels* [d]: and Ocobius de Caſtro ſpeaks of a Goſpel of *Thomas*, which Mr. Fabritius takes for the *Goſpel of the Infancy* [e] (and probably was ſo), that was read in very many Churches of Aſia and Africa, as the only rule of their faith; which, he ſays, he ſaw, and had tranſlated to him by an Armenian Archbiſhop at Amſterdam.

[a] Chemnitius out of Stapulenſis, who had it from Peter Martyr, ſays, that the place in Egypt, where Chriſt was baniſhed, is now called Matarea, which is ten miles beyond Cairo, and that the inhabitants there keep a lamp continually burning in remembrance thereof; and that there is to be ſeen there a garden of ſmall trees that yield a balſam, which were planted by Jeſus, when a boy. Vid. Chemnit. Harmon. Evang. tom. 1. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 246.

[b] Vid. Fabr. Cod. Apoc. tom. 3. p. 422.

[c] Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 261.

[d] Cod. Apoc. tom. 1. p. 153.

[e] Tom. 1. p. 146.

Numb. VII.

EVANGELIUM INFANTIÆ.

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Dei Unius. Auxiliante et favente ſummo Numine, incipimus ſcribere librum miraculorum Heri et Domini et Servatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui vocatur Evangelium Infantiæ, *in pace Domini,* Amen.

Cap. I.

INVENIMUS in libro Joſephi Pontificis, qui vixit tempore Chriſti; dicuntque nonnulli cum eſſe Caiapham; dixit is, Jeſum locutum eſſe, et quidem cum in cunis jaceret, dixiſſeque matri ſuæ Mariæ; Ego ſum Jeſus, Filius Dei, Verbum illud quod peperiſti, quemadmodum annunciavit Angelus tibi Gabriel, miſitque me Pater meus ad ſalutem

II. Anno autem trecenteſimo nono æræ Alexandri edixit Auguſtus, ut deſcriberetur unuſquiſque in patria ſua.

The GOSPEL of the INFANCY (of our SAVIOUR).

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, One God. I begin with the aſſiſtance and favour of God to write the book of the miracles of our Maſter, and Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which is entitled, The Goſpel of the Infancy, *with the bleſſing of God,* Amen.

Chap. I.

THE following accounts we found in the book of Joſeph the High-prieſt, called by ſome Caiphas: he relates, that Jeſus ſpake even when he was in his cradle, and ſaid to his mother, *Mary, I am Jeſus the Son of God, that Word, which thou didſt bring forth according to the declaration of the Angel Gabriel to thee, and my Father hath ſent me for the ſalvation of the world.*

II. In the three hundred and ninth year of the æra of Alexander, Auguſtus publiſhed a decree, that all perſons ſhould go to be taxed in their own

Surrexit itaque Joſephus, et aſſumpta Maria ſponſa ſua Hieroſolymam abiit, venitque Bethlehemum, ut cum familia ſua in urbe patria deſcriberetur. Cumque ad ſpeluncam perveniſſent, faſſa eſt Maria Joſepho, inſtare ſibi tempus pariendi, neque ſe poſſe in urbem proficiſci; ſed hanc, inquit, ſpeluncam intremus. Sol autem præceps in occaſum ferebatur. At Joſephus propere abiens, ut mulierem, quæ (in partu) ipſi adeſſet, accerſeret, anum Hebræam conſpicit, Hieroſolymis oriundam; et, Heus benedicta, inquit, huc ades, et ſpeluncam iſtam ingredere, in qua mulierem partui vicinam invenies.

own country. Joſeph therefore aroſe, and with Mary his ſpouſe he went to Jeruſalem, and then came to Bethlehem, that he and his family might be taxed in the city of his fathers. And when they came by the cave, Mary confeſſed to Joſeph, that her time of bringing forth was come, and ſhe could not go on to the city, and ſaid, *Let us go into this cave.* At that time the ſun was very near going down. But Joſeph haſtened away, that he might fetch her a midwife; and when he ſaw an old Hebrew woman, who was of Jeruſalem, he ſaid to her, *Pray come hither, good woman, and go into that cave, and you will there ſee a woman juſt ready to bring forth.*

III. Poſt ſolis itaque occaſum anus, et cum illa Joſephus, ad ſpeluncam pervenit, eamque ambo intraverunt. Et ecce! repleta illa erat luminibus, lucernarum et candelarum fulgorem excedentibus, et ſolari luce majoribus: infans faſciis involutus divæ Mariæ matris ſuæ ubera ſugebat, in præſepi repoſitus. Hanc lucem cum ambo mira-

III. It was then after ſunſet, when the old woman and Joſeph with her reached the cave, and they both went into it. And behold, it was all filled with lights, greater than the light of lamps and candles, and greater than the light of the ſun itſelf. The infant was then wrapped up in ſwaddling clothes, and ſucking the breaſts of his mother St. Mary. When they both ſaw this light, they were ſurpriſed; the old woman aſked St. Mary,

Art

rentur, rogat vetula divam Mariam, Tune hujus prolis es mater? et annuente diva Maria, Nequaquam, ait, ſimilis es filiabus Evæ. Dicebat diva Maria, Sicuti filio meo nemo inter pueros ſimilis exiſtit, ita ipſius genetrix nullam inter mulieres parem habet. Reſpondente vero anu, et dicente, Hera mea, veni ego, ut præmium perpetuo duraturum acquirerem: inquit illi Domina noſtra diva Maria, Impone manus tuas infanti: quod cum feciſſet, anus extempore munda evaſit. Egreſſa itaque dicebat, Ab hoc tempore famula et miniſtra ero hujus infantis omnibus diebus vitæ meæ.

Art thou the mother of this child? St. Mary replied, *She was.* On which the old woman ſaid, *Thou art very different from all other women.* St. Mary anſwered, *As there is not any child like to my ſon, ſo neither is there any woman like to his mother.* The old woman anſwered, and ſaid, *O my Lady, I am come hither, that I may obtain an everlaſting reward.* Then our Lady St. Mary ſaid to her, *Lay thine hands upon the infant*; which when ſhe had done, ſhe became clean (or whole); and as ſhe was going forth, ſhe ſaid, *From henceforth all the days of my life I will attend upon, and be a ſervant of this infant.*

IV. Deinde cum adveniſſent paſtores, et ſuccenſo igne admodum lætarentur, apparuerunt illis exercitus cœleſtes, laudantes et celebrantes Deum ſupremum, idemque facientibus paſtoribus, ſpelunca iſta tunc temporis auguſto templo ſimillima videbatur, quoniam ora cœleſtia pariter et terreſtria celebrabant et magnificabant Deum, ob nativitatem Domini Chriſti.

IV. After this, when the ſhepherds came, and had made a fire, and they were exceedingly rejoicing, the heavenly Hoſt appeared to them, praiſing and adoring the ſupreme God; and as the ſhepherds were engaged in the ſame employment, the cave at that time ſeemed like a glorious temple, becauſe both the tongues of Angels and men united to adore and magnify God, on account of the birth of the Lord Chriſt. But when the old Hebrew woman

ſaw

Videns vero anus illa Hebræa manifeſta illa miracula, gratias Deo agebat, dicens, Gratias tibi ago, O Deus, Deus Iſraelis, propterea quod viderunt oculi mei nativitatem Servatoris mundi.

ſaw all theſe evident miracles, ſhe gave praiſes to God, and ſaid, *I thank thee, O God, thou God of Iſrael, for that mine eyes have ſeen the birth of the Saviour of the world.*

V. Cumque adeſſet tempus circumciſionis, dies ſcilicet octavus, quo circumcidendum eſſe puellum lex præcipit, circumciderunt illum in ſpelunca, ſumſitque anus illa Hebræa pelliculam iſtam (dicunt vero alii ipſam ſumſiſſe præſegmen umbilici), eamque in alabaſtro olei nardini vetuſti recondidit. Erat autem illi filius ſeplaſiarius, cui tradens illud, Cave, inquit, vendas alabaſtrum hoc unguenti nardini, quamvis trecenti denarii pro illo tibi offerentur. Atque hoc eſt alabaſtrum illud, quod Maria peccatrix ſibi comparavit, et in caput et pedes Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti effudit, eoſque capillitio capitis ſui exterſit. Tum decem dierum ſpatio interjecto Hieroſolymas eum detulerunt, et quadrageſimo a nativitate die in Templo coram facie Domini ſtiterunt, offerentes pro ipſo munera,

V. And when the time of his circumciſion was come, viz. the eighth day, on which the law commanded the child to be circumciſed, they circumciſed him in the cave, and the old Hebrew woman took the fore-ſkin (others ſay ſhe took the navel-ſtring), and preſerved it in an alabaſter-box of old oil of ſpikenard. And ſhe had a ſon who was a druggiſt, to whom ſhe ſaid, *Take heed thou ſell not this alabaſter-box of ſpikenard-ointment, although thou ſhouldeſt be offered three hundred pence for it.* Now this is that alabaſter-box which Mary the ſinner procured, and poured forth the ointment out of it upon the head and the feet of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and wiped them off with the hairs of her head. Then after ten days they brought him to Jeruſalem, and on the fortieth day from his birth they preſented him in the Temple before the Lord, making the proper offerings for him, according to the

quod in lege Moſis præſcriptum eſt; ſcilicet, Omnis mas adaperiens vulvam ſanctus Dei vocabitur.

the requirement of the law of Moſes, viz. *that every male which opens the womb ſhall be called holy unto God.*

VI. Viditque illum Simeon ſenex inſtar columnæ lucis refulgentem, cum diva Maria Virgo, mater ejus, ulnis ſuis eum geſtaret, magnamque ex ipſo lætitiam perciperet; et circumdabant eum Angeli inſtar circuli, celebrantes illum, tanquam ſatellites Regi adſtantes. Simeon itaque propere ad divam Mariam accedens, et manus ſuas verſus illam extendens, dicebat Domino Chriſto; Nunc, O Domine mi, ſervus tuus in pace dimittitur, juxta verbum tuum; nam viderunt oculi mei miſericordiam tuam, quam paraſti ad ſalutem omnium gentium; lucem omnibus populis, et gloriam populo tuo Iſraeli. Aderat quoque Hanna prophetiſſa, et accedens, Deo gratias agebat, Dominamque Mariam felicem prædicabat.

VI. At that time old Simeon ſaw him ſhining as a pillar of light, when St. Mary the Virgin, his mother, carried him in her arms, and was filled with the greateſt pleaſure at the ſight. And the Angels ſtood around him, adoring him, as a King's guards ſtand around him. Then Simeon going near to St. Mary, and ſtretching forth his hands towards her, ſaid to the Lord Chriſt, *Now, O my Lord, thy ſervant ſhall depart in peace, according to thy Word; for mine eyes have ſeen thy mercy, which thou haſt prepared for the ſalvation of all nations; a light to all people, and the glory of thy people Iſrael.* Hanna the Propheteſs was alſo preſent, and drawing near, ſhe gave praiſes to God, and celebrated the happineſs of Mary.

VII. Et factum eſt, cum natus eſſet Dominus Jeſus Bethlehemi urbe Judeæ, tempore Herodis Regis; ecce! magi venerunt ex Oriente Hieroſolymas, quemadmodum

VII. And it came to paſs, when the Lord Jeſus was born at Bethlehem, a city of Judæa, in the time of Herod the King; the wiſe men came from the Eaſt to Jeruſalem, according

prædixerat Zoradaſcht (Zoroaſter), erantque cum ipſis munera, aurum, thus, et myrrha, et adoraverunt eum, ſuaque ipſi munera obtulerunt. Tunc Domina Maria ſumſit unam ex illis tæniis (quibus involutus erat infans) eamque loco benedictionis illis tradidit; quam ipſi, tanquam munus præclariſſimum ab ea acceperunt. Eademque hora apparuit illis Angelus in forma ſtellæ illius, quæ antea dux itineris ipſis fuerat, cujus lucis ductum ſecuti abierunt, donec in patriam ſuam reverterentur.

according to the prophecy of Zoradaſcht (Zoroaſter), and brought with them offerings, viz. gold, frankincenſe and myrrh, and worſhipped him, and offered to him their gifts. Then the Lady Mary took one of his ſwaddling-clothes (in which the infant was wrapped), and gave it to them inſtead of a bleſſing, which they received from her as a moſt noble preſent. And at the ſame time there appeared to them an Angel in the form of that ſtar which had before been their guide in their journey; the light of which they followed till they returned into their own country.

VIII. Aderant autem reges et principes illorum rogantes, ecquidnam vidiſſent aut egiſſent? Quomodo iviſſent ac rediviſſent? Quos tandem itineris comites habuiſſent? Hi vero protulerunt illis faſciam iſtam, quam diva Maria ipſis tradiderat; quapropter celebrarunt feſtum, ignemque pro more ſuo ſuccenderunt, eumque adoraverunt, et faſciam iſtam in illum conjecerunt, corripuitque eam ignis, et in ſeſe comprehendit. Extincto autem igne, faſciam extraxe-

VIII. On their return their kings and princes came to them, enquiring, What they had ſeen and done? What ſort of journey and return they had? What company they had on the road? But they produced the ſwaddling-cloth which St. Mary had given to them, on account of which they kept a feaſt; and having, according to the cuſtom of their country, made a fire, they worſhipped it, and caſting the ſwaddling-cloth into it, the fire took it, and kept it; and when the fire was put out,

runt illæſam, ac ſi ignis eam non attigiſſet; itaque cœperunt illam oſculari, capitibuſque ſuis et oculis imponere, dicentes, Hæc ſane indubitata eſt veritas! utique magna res eſt, quod ignis comburere illam aut perdere nequiverit. Inde ſumſerunt eam, et magna cum veneratione in theſauris ſuis repoſuerunt.

out, they took forth the ſwaddling-cloth unhurt, as much as if the fire had not touched it. Then they began to kiſs it, and put it upon their heads, and their eyes, ſaying, *This is certainly an undoubted truth, and it is really ſurpriſing that the fire could not burn it, and conſume it.* Then they took it, and with the greateſt reſpect laid it up among their treaſures.

IX. Herodes autem videns magos cunctari, nec ad ſeſe reverti, accerſivit ſacerdotes et ſapientes, et dixit illis; Docete me ubi naſciturus ſit Chriſtus: cumque illi reſpondiſſent, Bethlehemi urbe Judeæ, cœpit animo volvere cædem Domini Jeſu Chriſti. Tunc apparuit Angelus Domini Joſepho in ſomnis, dixitque, Surge, accipe puerum et matrem ejus, et abi in Ægyptum, ſub galli cantum; itaque ſurrexit, et profectus eſt.

IX. But Herod perceiving that the wiſe men did delay, and not return to him, called together the prieſts and wiſe men, and ſaid, *Tell me in what place the Chriſt ſhould be born?* And when they replied, *In Bethlehem, a city of Judæa*; he began to contrive in his own mind the death of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But an Angel of the Lord appeared to Joſeph in his ſleep, and ſaid, *Ariſe, take the child and his mother, and go into Egypt as ſoon as the cock crows.* So he aroſe, and went.

X. Cumque reputaret ſecum, quale futurum eſſet iter ſuum, ſupervenit ipſi aurora, ruperatque defatigatio itineris ſellæ cingulum. Jamque appropinquabat urbi magnæ in

X. And as he was conſidering with himſelf about his journey, the morning came upon him. In the length of the journey the girts of the ſaddle broke. And now he drew near to a great city, in which

qua idolum erat, cui reliqua Egypti idola et numina munera et vota offerebant: aderatque huic idolo ſacerdos miniſtrans ipſi, qui, quotieſcunque Satanas ex idolo iſto loqueretur, incolis Ægypti et plagarum ejus illa referebat. Erat huic ſacerdoti filius triennis a magna Dæmonum multitudine obſeſſus, qui plurima loquebatur et proferebat; et cum corriperent illum Dæmones, laceratis veſtibus ſuis nudus obambulabat, et homines lapidibus petebat. In vicinia autem iſtius idoli erat noſocomium illius urbis, quam cum ingreſſi eſſent Joſephus et diva Maria, et noſocomium iſtud divertiſſent, valde conſternati ſunt cives ejus, convenerunt que omnes principes et ſacerdotes idolorum ad idolum illud, rogantes, Ecquænam eſt iſta conſternatio et trepidatio, quæ regionem noſtram invaſit? Reſpondit eis idolum, Appulit huc Deus ignotus, qui revera eſt Deus, neque quiſquam præter illum divino cultu dignus eſt, quoniam revera eſt filius Dei; ejus ad famam hæc regio contremuit, ejuſque adventu commota eſt

which there was an idol, to which the other idols and gods of Egypt brought their offerings and vows. And there was by this idol a prieſt miniſtering to it, who, as often as Satan ſpake out of that idol, related the things he ſaid to the inhabitants of Egypt, and thoſe countries. This prieſt had a ſon three years old, who was poſſeſſed with a great multitude of Devils, who uttered many (ſtrange) things; and when the Devils ſeized him, walked about naked, with his clothes torn, throwing ſtones at thoſe whom he ſaw. Near to that idol was the inn of the city, into which when Joſeph and St. Mary were come, and had turned into that inn, all the inhabitants of the city were aſtoniſhed, and all the magiſtrates and prieſts of the idols aſſembled before that idol, and made enquiry there, ſaying, *What means all this conſternation and dread, which has fallen upon all our country?* The idol anſwered them, *The unknown God is come hither, who is truly God; nor is there any one beſides him, who is worthy of divine worſhip; for he is truly the Son of God. At the fame of him this country trembled, and at his coming it*

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et concuſſa, et nos a magnitudine imperii ejus valde timemus. Eademque hora idolum hoc corruit, et ad ruinam ejus, præter cæteros, omnes Ægypti incolæ concurrerunt[a].

is under the preſent commotion and conſternation, and we ourſelves are affrighted by the greatneſs of his power. And at the ſame inſtant this idol fell down, and at his fall all the inhabitants of Egypt, beſides others, ran together.

XI. Filius autem ſacerdotis, cum ſolitus illum morbus invaderet, noſocomium ingreſſus, Joſephum ibi et divam Mariam offendit; quos cæteri omnes fuga deſeruerant; et quoniam diva Domina Maria laverat faſcias Domini Chriſti, eaſque in tigillo ſuſpenderat, puer iſte Dæmoniacus unam harum faſciarum detraxit, eamque capiti ſuo impoſuit, ſtatimque Dæmones ex ore ipſius egredi, et corvorum et ſerpentum figura fugere cœperunt. Extempore igitur imperio Domini Chriſti ſanatus eſt puer, et Domino, qui ipſum ſanaverat, laudes canere et gratias agere cœpit. Quem cum ſanitati priſtinæ reſtitutum pater cerneret, Mi fili, inquit, quid tibi accidit? et qua ratione ſanatus es? reſpondit filius, Cum agitarent

XI. But the ſon of the prieſt, when his uſual diſorder came upon him, going into the inn, found there Joſeph and St. Mary, whom all the reſt had left behind and forſook; and when the lady St. Mary had waſhed the ſwaddling-clothes of the Lord Chriſt, and hanged them out to dry upon a poſt, the boy poſſeſſed with the Devil took down one of them, and put it upon his head, and preſently the Devils began to come out of his mouth, and fly away in the ſhapes of crows and ſerpents. From that time the boy was healed by the power of the Lord Chriſt, and he began to ſing praiſes, and give thanks to the Lord who had healed him. When his father ſaw him reſtored to his former ſtate of health, he ſaid, *My ſon, what has happened to thee, and by what means wert thou cured?* The ſon anſwered, *When the Devils*

[a] *See above, Ch. XXII. of this Part.*

ſeiſed

me Dæmones, in noſocomium abii, ibique fœminam decori vultus cum puero inveni, cujus illa faſcias recens lotas in tigillo ſuſpenderat: harum unam direptam dum căpiti meo impono, reliquerunt mè Dæmones, et fugerunt. Gaudio exultans Pater, Mi fili, ait, fieri poteſt, ut hic puer ſit filius Dei vivi, qui cœlos et terram creavit; ſimulatque enim ad nos tranſiit, fractum eſt idolum, ceciderunt cunctaque numina, et a vi majore deſtructa ſunt.

ſeiſed me, I went into the inn, and there found a very handſome woman with a boy, whoſe ſwaddling clothes ſhe had juſt before waſhed, and hanged out upon a poſt: one of theſe I took and put it upon my head, and immediately the Devils left me, and fled away. At this the father exceedingly rejoiced, and ſaid, *My ſon, perhaps this boy is the ſon of the living God, who made the heavens, and the earth; for as ſoon as he came amongſt us, the idol was broke, and all the Gods fell down, and were deſtroyed by a greater power.*

XII. Hic impleta eſt prophetia, quæ dicit, Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum. Joſephum vero et Mariam, cum idolum illud corruiſſe et periiſſe audirent, terror et tremor invaſit adeo, ut dicerent, Cum eſſemus in terra Iſraelis, Herodes Jeſum interficere voluit, et propterea omnes infantes Bethlehemi ejuſque viciniæ occidit; neque dubium eſt, quin Ægyptii, ſi idolum hoc fractum corruiſſe audiverint, nos igne ſint crematuri.

XII. Now was fulfilled the prophecy which ſaith, *Out of Egypt I have called my ſon.* But Joſeph and Mary, when they heard that the idol was fallen down and deſtroyed, were ſeiſed with fear and trembling, and ſaid, *When we were in the land of Iſrael, Herod, intending to kill Jeſus, ſlew for that purpoſe all the infants at Bethlehem, and that neighbourhood; and there is no doubt but the Egyptians, if they come to hear that this idol is broken and fallen down, will burn us with fire.*

XIII. Hinc ergo digreſſi

XIII. They went therefore

ad latibula latronum pervenerunt, qui prætereuntes viatores ſarcinis modo et veſtibus exſpoliaverant, eoſque vinctos ducebant. Audiebant vero latrones iſti ſtrepitum ingentem, qualis eſſe ſolet ſtrepitus regis magno cum exercitu et equitatu, reboantibus tympanis, ex urbe ſua egredientis; qua re perculſi, relicta omni præda, propere fugiebant. Surgentes itaque captivi, alter alterius vincula ſolvebant, et receptis ſarcinis ſuis abeuntes, cum Joſephum et Mariam accedentes viderent, rogabant, Ubinam ille rex, cujus adventantis ſtrepitum audientes latrones nos reliquerunt, ita ut ſalvi evaſerimus? Reſpondebat Joſephus, Pone nos veniet.

fore hence to the ſecret places of robbers, who robbed travellers, as they paſſed by, of their carriages and their clothes, and carried them away bound. Theſe thieves (upon their coming) heard a great noiſe, ſuch as the noiſe of a king with a great army, and many horſe, and the trumpets ſounding, at his departure from his own city; at which they were ſo affrighted, as to leave all their booty behind them, and fly away in haſte. Upon this the priſoners aroſe, and looſed each other's bonds, and taking each man his bags, they went away, and ſaw Joſeph and Mary coming towards them, and enquired, *Where is that king, the noiſe of whoſe approach the robbers heard, and have left us, ſo that we are now come off ſafe?* Joſeph anſwered, *He will come after us.*

XIV. Deinde in aliam urbem venerunt, ubi mulier erat dæmoniaca, quam, cum noctu aliquando aquatum proceſſiſſet, Satanas maledictus et rebellis inſederat. Hæc neque veſtimenta pati, neque in ædibus durare poterat, et quotieſcunque catenis illam aut loris conſtringerent, diſruptis

XIV. Then they went into another city, where there was a woman poſſeſſed with a Devil, and in whom Satan, that curſed rebel, had taken up his abode. One night, when ſhe went to fetch water, ſhe could neither endure her clothes on, nor to be in any houſe; but as often as they tied her with chains or cords,

illis, nuda in loca deſerta fugiebat, triviiſque et ſepulchretis inſiſtens, homines lapidibus impetebat, ita ut propinquis ſuis magnæ calamitati eſſet. Hanc igitur conſpicata diva Maria, miſerta eſt, et confeſtim dereliquit eam Satanas, et in forma juvenis fugiens abiit, dicens, Væ mihi a te, Maria, et a filio tuo! Sic ſanata eſt iſta mulier a cruciatu ſuo, reſipiſcenſque et propter nuditatem ſuam erubeſcens ad ſuos abiit, conſpectum hominum fugitans, indutaque veſtes ſuas patri et propinquis rationem ſtatus ſui expoſuit: qui, quoniam ex optimatibus civitatis erant, divam Mariam et Joſephum magna cum veneratione hoſpitio exceperunt.

cords, ſhe brake them, and went out into deſert places, and ſometimes ſtanding where roads croſſed, and in churchyards, would throw ſtones at men. When St. Mary ſaw this woman, ſhe pitied her; whereupon Satan preſently left her, and fled away in the form of a young man, ſaying, *Wo to me, becauſe of thee, Mary, and thy ſon.* So the woman was delivered from her torment; but conſidering and perceiving herſelf naked, ſhe bluſhed, avoided ſeeing any man, and having put on her clothes, went home, and gave an account of her caſe to her father and relations, who, as they were the beſt of the city, entertained St. Mary and Joſeph with the greateſt reſpect.

XV. Proxima luce, viatico probe inſtructi, ab illis digreſſi ſunt, et circa veſperam ejus diei in aliud oppidum, in quo nuptiæ celebrabantur, devenerunt; ſed technis Satanæ maledictis, et opera veneficorum obmutuerat ſponſa, ita ut hiſcere amplius nequiret. Divam itaque Dominam Mariam, cum filium ſu-

XV. The next morning having received a ſufficient ſupply of proviſions for the road, they went from them, and about the evening of the day arrived at another town, where a marriage was then about to be ſolemnized; but by the arts of Satan, and the practices of ſome ſorcerers, the bride was become ſo dumb, that ſhe could not ſo much as open her mouth. But when this dumb bride ſaw

um Dominum Chriſtum ulnis geſtans oppidum intraret, conſpicata muta iſta ſponſa, manus ſuas verſus Dominum Chriſtum extendit, eumque ad ſe pertractum ulnis excepit, et arcte inhæreſcens baſia frequentia illi impegit, crebro eum motitans, ſuoque corpori apprimens. Extemplo ſolutus eſt nodus linguæ ejus, et apertæ ſunt aures ejus: Deoque, quod ſanitatem ipſi reſtituiſſet, laudes et grates canere cœpit. Magna itaque hac nocte lætitia inter cives ejus oppidi oriebatur, adeo ut putarent Deum et Angelos ejus ad ſeſe deſcendiſſe.

the Lady St. Mary entering into the town, and carrying the Lord Chriſt in her arms, ſhe ſtretched out her hands to the Lord Chriſt, and took him in her arms, and cloſely hugging him very often kiſſed him, continually moving him, and preſſing him to her body. Straightway the ſtring of her tongue was looſed, and her ears were opened, and ſhe began to ſing praiſes unto God, who had reſtored her. So there was great joy among the inhabitants of the town that night, who thought that God and his Angels were come down among them.

XVI. Triduum ibi ſubſtiterunt, magna in veneratione habiti, et apparatu ſplendido accepti. Viatico deinde inſtructi ab illis diſceſſerunt, et in aliam urbem devenerunt, in qua, quod hominum celebritate floreret, pernoctare deſiderabant. Erat vero in hac urbe mulier nobilis, quæ cum aliquando lavatum ad flumen deſcendiſſet, ecce tibi! Satanas maledictus in forma ſerpentis inſiluerat in eam, et ventrem ejus circumplicaverat, ſinguliſque nocti-

XVI. In this place they abode three days, meeting with the greateſt reſpect, and moſt ſplendid entertainment; and being then furniſhed by the people with proviſions for the road, they departed and went to another city, in which they were inclined to lodge, becauſe it was a famous place. There was in this city a gentlewoman, who, as ſhe went down one day to the river to bathe, behold curſed Satan leaped upon her in the form of a ſerpent, and folded himſelf about her belly, and every night

bus ſuper illam ſe extendebat. Hæc mulier conſpicata Dominam divam Mariam, et Dominum Chriſtum infantem in ſinu ejus, rogabat Dominam divam Mariam, ut ſibi infantem hunc geſtandum et deoſculandum traderet. Annuente illa, et vix admoto puero, diſceſſit ab illa Satanas, et fugiens eam reliquit, neque unquam poſt hunc diem mulier illum vidit. Omnes ergo vicini Deum ſupremum laudabant; et mulier iſta magna eos benignitate remunerabatur.

night lay upon her. This woman ſeeing the Lady St. Mary, and the Lord Chriſt the infant in her boſom, aſked the Lady St. Mary, *that ſhe would give her the child to kiſs, and carry in her arms.* When ſhe had conſented, and as ſoon as the woman had moved the child, Satan left her, and fled away, nor did the woman ever afterwards ſee him. Hereupon all the neighbours praiſed the ſupreme God, and the woman rewarded them with ample beneficence.

XVII. Poſtero die eadem mulier aquam odoratam ſumpſit, ut Dominum Jeſum lavaret; eoque loto aquam illam penes ſe reſervavit. Eratque ibi puella, cujus corpus lepra album erat, quæ cum aqua hac perfunderetur et lavaretur, munda fuit ex tempore a lepra ſua. Dicebat ergo populus: Nullum eſt dubium, quin Joſephus et Maria et puer iſte Dii ſint, neque enim mortales videntur. Cum vero diſceſſum pararent, accedens puella iſta, quam lepra infeſtaverat, rogabat illos, ut ſe viæ comitem adſumerent.

XVII. On the morrow the ſame woman brought perfumed water to waſh the Lord Jeſus; and when ſhe had waſhed him, ſhe preſerved the water. And there was a girl there, whoſe body was white with a leproſy, who being ſprinkled with this water, and waſhed, was inſtantly cleanſed from her leproſy. The people therefore ſaid, *Without doubt Joſeph and Mary, and that boy, are Gods, for they do not look like mortals.* And when they were making ready to go away, the girl, who had been troubled with the leproſy, came and deſired they would permit her to go along with them.

XVIII. Annuebant, ibatque cum eis puella, donec in urbem venirent, in qua arx erat magni principis, cujus haud procul a diverſorio ædes erant. Huc divertebant, cumque abiens puella ad uxorem principis intraſſet, eamque triſtem et plorantem reperiret, cauſam fletus ſciſcitabatur. Ne mirare, inquit illa, ſingultus meos; magna enim calamitate premor, quam nulli hominum narrare auſim. Atqui, ait puella, forte, ſi malum tuum ſecretum mihi commiſeris, ejus apud me remedium invenietur. Tu ergo, reſpondit uxor principis, ſecretum hoc abſcondens nulli mortalium narrabis! Ego nupta huic principi, regis inſtar multis terris imperitanti, diu ita cum ipſo vixi, ut nullam ex me prolem ſuſciperet. Tandem ex eo concepi, ſed filium (eheu!) leproſum peperi; quem ille conſpectum pro ſuo non agnovit, mihique, Vel tu, ait, hunc interfice, vel nutrici cuipiam trade, tali loco educandum, unde nulla ejus fama audiatur; jamque res tuas tibi habe, nunquam te rurſus videbo. Itaque mœrorem meum et conditionem miſeram deplo-

XVIII. So they conſented, and the girl went with them till they came to a city, in which was the palace of a great king, and whoſe houſe was not far from the inn. Here they ſtaid, and when the girl went one day to the prince's wife, and found her in a ſorrowful and mournful condition, ſhe aſked her the reaſon of her tears. She replied, *Wonder not at my groans, for I am under a great misfortune, of which I dare not tell any one. But,* ſays the girl, *if you will entruſt me with your private grievance, perhaps I may find you a remedy for it. Thou therefore,* ſays the prince's wife, *ſhalt keep the ſecret, and not diſcover it to any one alive! I have been married to this prince, who rules as king over large dominions, and lived long with him, before he had any child by me. At length I conceived by him, but alas! I brought forth a leprous ſon; which, when he ſaw, he would not own to be his, but ſaid to me, Either do thou kill him, or ſend him to ſome nurſe in ſuch a place, that he may be never heard of; and now take care of yourſelf; I will never ſee you more. So here I pine, lamenting*

rans contabui. Heu filium meum! heu conjugem! dixine tibi? Inquit puella, Morbo tuo medicinam reperi, quam tibi ſpondeo. Nam ego quoque leproſa fui, ſed mundavit me Deus, qui eſt Jeſus, filius Dominæ Mariæ. Rogante autem muliere, Ubinam hic eſſet Deus, quem memoraret; hic tecum, inquit puella, in eadem domo verſatur. At qua ratione hoc fieri poteſt? ait illa; ubinam eſt? Ecce, regerit puella, Joſephum et Mariam; infans vero, qui cum illis eſt, Jeſus vocatur, atque is eſt, qui morbum meum et cruciatum ſanavit. At qua ratione, ait illa, mundata es a lepra tua? nonne id mihi indicabis? Quidni? inquit puella: aquam, qua lotum fuerat corpus ejus, accepi et in me effudi, et evanuit lepra mea. Surgens itaque uxor principis hoſpitio illos excepit, et ſplendidum Joſepho convivium in magno virorum cœtu paravit. Poſtera vero luce aquam odoratam ſumpſit, qua Dominum Jeſum ablueret, et filium ſuum, quem ſecum aſſumpſerat, eadem deinde aqua perfudit, et extemplo filius ejus

menting my wretched and miſerable circumſtances. Alas, my ſon! alas, my huſband! *Have I diſcloſed it to you?* The girl replied, *I have found a remedy for your diſeaſe, which I promiſe you, for I alſo was leprous, but God hath cleanſed me, even he who is called Jeſus, the ſon of the Lady Mary.* The woman enquiring, *Where that God was, whom ſhe ſpake of*; the girl anſwered, *He lodges with you here in the ſame houſe. But how can this be?* ſays ſhe: *where is he? Behold*, replied the girl, *Joſeph and Mary; and the infant who is with them is called Jeſus; and it is he who delivered me from my diſeaſe and torment. But by what means*, ſays ſhe, *were you cleanſed from your leproſy? Will not you tell me that? Why not?* ſays the girl: *I took the water with which his body had been waſhed, and poured it upon me, and my leproſy vaniſhed.* The prince's wife then aroſe, and entertained them, providing a great feaſt for Joſeph among a large company of men, and the next day took perfumed water to waſh the Lord Jeſus, and afterwards poured the ſame water upon her ſon, whom ſhe had brought with her, and her ſon was in-

mundatus eſt a lepra ſua. Grates ergo et laudes Deo canens, Beata, inquit, mater, quæ te peperit, O Jeſu! Itane homines, ejuſdem tecum naturæ participes, aqua, qua corpus tuum perfuſum fuit, mundas? Ingentia porro munera Dominæ Mariæ obtulit, eamque eximio cum honore dimiſit.

ſtantly cleanſed from his leproſy. Then ſhe ſang thanks and praiſes unto God, and ſaid, *Bleſſed is the mother that bare thee, O Jeſus! Doſt thou thus cure men of the ſame nature with thyſelf, with the water with which thy body is waſhed?* She then offered very large gifts to the Lady Mary, and ſent her away with all imaginable reſpect.

XIX. Ad aliam deinde urbem pervenientes, in illa pernoctare deſiderabant. Divertebant itaque ad virum recenti matrimonio devinctum, ſed qui veneficio tactus uxore frui non poterat; cumque ea nocte penes ipſum pernoctaſſent, ſolutum eſt vinculum ejus. At oriente luce, cum ad iter ſeſe accingerent, prohibuit eos ſponſus, magnumque illis convivium apparavit.

XIX. They came afterwards to another city, and had a mind to lodge there. Accordingly they went to a man's houſe, who was newly married, but by the influence of ſorcerers could not enjoy his wife: but they lodging at his houſe that night, the man was freed of his diſorder; and when they were preparing early in the morning to go forward on their journey, the new-married perſon hindered them, and provided a noble entertainment for them.

XX. Poſtero ergo die profecti, et novæ urbi appropinquantes, tres conſpiciunt mulieres a ſepulchro quodam, magno cum fletu procedentes. Quas conſpicata diva Maria, inquit puellæ, quæ ipſam comitabatur, Abi et quære ex illis, quæ ſit ipſarum conditio, et

XX. But going forward on the morrow, they came to another city, and ſaw three women going from a certain grave with great weeping. When St. Mary ſaw them, ſhe ſpake to the girl who was their companion, ſaying, *Go and enquire of them, what is the*

quid ipſis calamitatis acciderit? Cumque a puella rogarentur, nihil reſpondentes, viciſſim interrogabant, Unde vos, et quo tenditis? jam enim præteriit dies, et nox ingruit. Nos viatores ſumus, inquit puella, et diverſorium, in quo pernoctemus, quærimus. Dicebant illæ, Ite nobiſcum, et apud nos pernoctate. Secuti ergo illas, in domum novam, ornatam, et varia ſupellectile inſtructam, introducebantur. Erat vero tempus brumale, et puella mulierum iſtarum conclave ingreſſa, rurſus eas flentes et lamentantes inveniebat. Adſtabat eis mulus, tegumento ſerico inſtratus, ebeno ex collo ejus dependente, cui oſcula dabant, et pabulum ſubminiſtrabant. Dicente autem puella iſta, Quam pulcher, O Dominæ meæ, hic mulus eſt? Reſpondebant illæ flentes, et dicebant, Mulus hic, quem cernis, noſter fuit frater, eadem hac matre noſtra natus; cum enim fato functus parens noſter magnas nobis opes reliquiſſet, atque hunc unicum fratrem haberemus, commodum illi matrimonium quærebamus, nuptias ei, more hominum, parare geſtientes.

the matter with them, and what misfortune has befallen them? When the girl aſked them, they made her no anſwer, but aſked her again, *Who are ye, and where are ye going? For the day is far ſpent, and night is at hand. We are travellers,* ſaith the girl, *and are ſeeking for an inn to lodge at.* They replied, *Go along with us, and lodge with us.* They then followed them, and were introduced into a new houſe, well furniſhed with all ſorts of furniture. It was now winter-time, and the girl went into the parlour where theſe women were, and found them weeping and lamenting, as before. By them ſtood a mule, covered over with ſilk, and an ebony-collar hanging down from his neck, whom they kiſſed, and were feeding. But when the girl ſaid, *How handſome, ladies, that mule is!* they replied with tears, and ſaid, *This mule, which you ſee, was our brother, born of this ſame mother as we; for when our father died, and left us a very large eſtate, and we had only this brother, and we endeavoured to procure him a ſuitable match, and thought he ſhould be married as other men,*

Sed mulieres zelotypiæ œſtro percitæ illum nobis inſciis faſcinarunt: et nos quadam nocte, paulo ante auroram foribus ædium noſtrarum probe occluſis, fratrem hunc noſtrum mulum factum eſſe vidimus, qualem hodie illum cernis. Nos vero triſtes ſicuti vides, quia pater non erat nobis, quo nos ſolaremur, nullum in mundo ſapientem aut magum aut incantatorem omiſimus, quin illum accerſeremus; ſed nihil omnino nobis profuit. Itaque quoties pectora noſtra mœrore opprimuntur, ſurgimus, et cum matre hac noſtra ſepulchrum patris noſtri adimus, et poſtquam ibi flevimus, revertimur.

men, ſome giddy and jealous (or invidious) women bewitched him without our knowledge; and we one night, a little before day, while the doors of the houſe were all faſt ſhut, ſaw this our brother was changed into a mule, ſuch as you now ſee him to be: and we in the melancholy condition in which you ſee us, having no father to comfort us, have applied to all the wiſe men, magicians, and diviners in the world, but they have been of no ſervice to us. As often therefore as we find ourſelves oppreſſed with grief, we riſe and go with this our mother to our father's tomb, where when we have cried ſufficiently, we return home.

XXI. Hæc cum audiviſſet puella iſta, Animum recipite, inquit, et fletus omittite; etenim medicina mali veſtri propinqua eſt, imo vobiſcum eſt, et in medio ædium veſtrarum. Nam ego quoque leproſa fui, ſed ut iſtam vidi mulierem, et cum illa infantem hunc parvulum, cujus nomen eſt Jeſus, aqua, qua illum abluerat mater, corpus meum perfudi, et munda evaſi. Novi autem illum veſtro quoque malo poſſe me-

XXI. When the girl had heard this, ſhe ſaid, *Take courage, and ceaſe your fears, for you have a remedy for your afflictions near at hand, even among you, and in the midſt of your houſe. For I was alſo leprous; but when I ſaw this woman, and this little infant with her, whoſe name is Jeſus, I ſprinkled my body with the water with which his mother had waſhed him, and I was preſently made well. And I am certain that he is alſo capable*

deri; quare ſurgite, Dominam meam Mariam adite, atque ei in manſiunculam veſtram deductæ ſecretum veſtrum revelate, ſuppliciter illum rogantes, ut veſtrum miſereatur. Poſtquam mulieres ſermonem puellæ audiverant, propere Dominam divam Mariam adibant, et ad ſeſe introducebant, et coram ea conſidentes flebant, et dicebant, O Domina noſtra, diva Maria, miſerere ancillarum tuarum; neque enim ſenior nobis ſupereſt, aut familiæ princeps, neque pater aut frater, qui coram nobis intret et exeat; ſed mulus hic, quem vides, frater noſter fuit, quem mulieres faſciño talem, qualem cernis, effecerunt; te itaque rogamus, ut noſtrum miſerearis. Tunc ſortem illarum dolens diva Maria, ſublatum Dominum Jeſum dorſo muli imponit, et filio ſuo, Heus, inquit, Jeſu Chriſte, ſana hunc mulum eximia tua potentia, et formam illi humanam et rationalem, quali antea fuit præditus, reſtitue. Vix egreſſa erat vox ex ore Dominæ divæ Mariæ, cum immutatus ſubito mulus in formam humanam tranſiret,

pable of relieving you under your diſtreſs. Wherefore ariſe, go to my miſtreſs Mary, and when you have brought her into your own parlour, diſcloſe to her the ſecret, at the ſame time earneſtly beſeeching him to compaſſionate your caſe. As ſoon as the women had heard the girl's diſcourſe, they haſtened away to the Lady St. Mary, introduced themſelves to her, and ſitting down before her, they wept, and ſaid, *O our Lady St. Mary, pity your handmaids, for we have no head of our family, no one elder than us; no father or brother to go in and out before us; but this mule, which you ſee, was our brother, which ſome women by witchcraft have brought into this condition which you ſee; we therefore intreat you to compaſſionate us.* Hereupon St. Mary was grieved at their caſe, and taking the Lord Jeſus, put him upon the back of the mule, and ſaid to her ſon, *O Jeſus Chriſt, reſtore* (or heal) *according to thy extraordinary power this mule, and grant him to have again the ſhape of a man and a rational creature, as he had formerly.* This was ſcarce ſaid by the Lady St. Mary, but the mule immediately paſſed into a human

ac vir juvenis, et ab omni labe integer evaderet. Tunc ipſe, ac mater ejus, et ſorores, Dominam divam Mariam adorabant, ac puerum ſuper capita ſua elatum oſculabantur, dicentes, Beata eſt genetrix tua, O Jeſu, O Servator mundi! beati ſunt oculi, qui felicitate aſpectus tui fruuntur.

a human form, and became a young man without any deformity. Then he and his mother and the ſiſters worſhipped the Lady St. Mary, and lifting the child upon their heads, they kiſſed him, and ſaid, *Bleſſed is thy mother, O Jeſus, O Saviour of the world! Bleſſed are the eyes which are ſo happy as to ſee thee.*

XXII. Dicebant porro ambæ ſorores matri ſuæ, Equidem frater noſter auxilio Domini Jeſu Chriſti, et benedictione puellæ iſtius, quæ Mariæ et filii ejus indicium nobis fecit, in priſtinam formam reſtitutus eſt. Nunc igitur, cum frater noſter ſit cælebs, convenit ut puellam hanc, famulam illorum, nuptum ipſi demus. Hoc cum a diva Maria petiiſſent, ipſaque annuiſſet illis, ſplendidas huic puellæ nuptias paraverunt; et mœrore in lætitiam, planctuque in riſum commutato, gaudere, lætari, exſultare et canere cœperunt, ob exceſſum lætitiæ ſplendidiſſimis veſtibus et monilibus ornatæ. Deinde Deum commemorantes et laudantes, dicebant, O Jeſu, fili Davidis, qui mœrorem in lætitiam et lamenta

XXII. Then both the ſiſters told their mother, ſaying, *Of a truth our brother is reſtored to his former ſhape by the help of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the kindneſs of that girl, who told us of Mary and her ſon. And inaſmuch as our brother is unmarried, it is fit that we marry him to this girl their ſervant.* When they had conſulted St. Mary in this matter, and ſhe had given her conſent, they made a ſplendid wedding for this girl, and ſo their ſorrow being turned into gladneſs, and their mourning into mirth, they began to rejoice, and make merry, and ſing, being dreſſed in their richeſt attire, with bracelets. Afterwards they glorified and praiſed God, ſaying, *O Jeſus, ſon of David, who changeſt ſorrow into gladneſs,*

in riſum convertis! Manſeruntque ibi Joſephus et Maria decem dies. Deinde profecti ſunt, magnis honoribus ab hiſce hominibus affecti; qui cum illis valedixiſſent, et a valedicendo revertiſſent, flebant, et præ cæteris puella.

gladneſs, and mourning into mirth! After this Joſeph and Mary tarried there ten days, then went away, having received great reſpect from thoſe people; who, when they took their leave of them, and returned home, cried, but eſpecially the girl.

XXIII. Hinc digreſſi cum in terram deſertam perveniſſent, eamque latrociniis infeſtam eſſe audirent, Joſephus et diva Maria regionem hanc noctu trajicere parabant. At inter eundum, ecce! duos in via latrones conſpiciunt dormientes, et cum illis multitudinem latronum, qui illorum ſocii erant, itidem ſtertentium. Erantque duo iſti latrones, in quos incidebant, Titus et Dumachus; dicebatque Titus Dumacho, Rogo te, ut iſtos libere ſinas abire, ne ſocii noſtri illos animadvertant; recuſante autem Dumacho, rurſus Titus, Cape tibi, inquit, a me quadraginta drachmas, et pignus habe zonam hanc meam, quam dicto citius illi porrigebat, ut ne hiſceret, aut loqueretur. Videnſque Domina diva Maria hunc latronem ipſis bene-

XXIII. In their journey from hence they came into a deſert country, and were told it was infeſted with robbers; ſo Joſeph and St. Mary prepared to paſs through it in the night: and as they were going along, behold they ſaw two robbers aſleep in the road, and with them a great number of robbers, who were their confederates alſo, aſleep. The names of thoſe two were Titus and Dumachus; and Titus ſaid to Dumachus, *I beſeech thee let thoſe perſons go along quietly, that our company may not perceive any thing of them*; but Dumachus refuſing, Titus again ſaid, *I will give thee forty groats, and as a pledge take my girdle*, which he gave him before he had done ſpeaking, that he might not open his mouth, or make a noiſe. When the Lady St. Mary ſaw the kindneſs which this robber

facere, ait illi, Dominus Deus te ad dextram ſuam recipiet, et remiſſionem peccatorum tibi largietur. Et reſpondit Dominus Jeſus, et dixit matri ſuæ, Poſt triginta annos, O mater, crucifigent me Judæi Hieroſolymis, et duo iſti latrones mecum una in crucem tollentur, Titus ad dextram meam, et Dumachus ad ſiniſtram; et ab illo die præcedet me Titus in Paradiſum. Cumque dixiſſet illa, Avertat hoc a te Deus, mi fili! Abierunt illinc ad urbem idolorum, quæ, poſtquam illi appropinquaſſent, in colles arenarum fuit mutata.

robber did ſhew them, ſhe ſaid to him, *The Lord God will receive thee to his right-hand, and grant thee the pardon of thy ſins.* Then the Lord Jeſus anſwered, and ſaid to his mother, *When thirty years are expired, O mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jeruſalem; and theſe two thieves ſhall be with me at the ſame time upon the croſs, Titus on my right-hand, and Dumachus on my left, and from that time Titus ſhall go before me into Paradiſe*; and when ſhe had ſaid, *God forbid this ſhould be thy lot, O my ſon*, they went on to a city, in which were ſeveral idols; which, as ſoon as they came near to it, was turned into hills of ſand.

XXIV. Hinc ad ſycamorum illam digreſſi ſunt, quæ hodie Matarea vocatur, et produxit Dominus Jeſus fontem in Matarea, in quo diva Maria tunicam ejus lavit; ex ſudore autem, qui a Domino Jeſu ibi defluxit, balſamum in illa regione provenit[a].

XXIV. Hence they went to that ſycamore-tree, which is now called Matarea; and in Matarea the Lord Jeſus cauſed a well to ſpring forth, in which St. Mary waſhed his coat; and a balſam is produced, or grows, in that country, from the ſweat which ran down there from the Lord Jeſus.

XXV. Inde Memphin

XXV. Thence they pro-

[a] *See above, Chap. XXII. of this Volume.*

ceeded

deſcenderunt, viſoque Pharaone, triennium in Ægypto ſubſtiterunt, fecitque Dominus Jeſus plurima in Ægypto miracula, quæ neque in Evangelio Infantiæ, neque in Evangelio Perfecto ſcripta reperiuntur.

ceeded to Memphis, and ſaw Pharaoh, and abode three years in Egypt, and the Lord Jeſus did very many miracles in Egypt, which are neither to be *found in the Goſpel of the Infancy*, nor in *the Goſpel of Perfection.*

XXVI. Exacto vero triennio, rediit ex Egypto, et reverſus eſt, cumque Judæam attigiſſent, timuit Joſephus illam intrare; audiens enim deceſſiſſe Herodem, et Archelaum filium in locum ejus ſucceſſiſſe, metuit, et in Judæam abiit, apparuitque illi Angelus Dei, et dixit, O Joſephe, abi in [c]urbem Nazareth, atque ibi ſubſiſte. (Mirum ſane geſtari ſic, et circumferri per regiones Dominum regionum!)

XXVI. At the end of three years he returned out of Egypt, and when he came near to Judea, Joſeph was afraid to enter; for hearing that Herod was dead, and that Archelaus his ſon reigned in his ſtead, he was afraid; and when he went to Judea, an Angel of God appeared to him, and ſaid, *O Joſeph, go into the city Nazareth, and abide there.* (It is ſtrange indeed, that he, who is the Lord of all countries, ſhould be thus carried backward and forward through ſo many countries.)

XXVII. Ingreſſi deinde urbem Bethlehemum, videbant ibi morbos plurimos et difficiles, oculos infantum infeſtantes, ita ut plerique morerentur. Aderat ibi mulier, ægrotum habens filium, quem morti jam vicinum ad Dominam divam Mariam adduxit; death, to the Lady St. Mary,

XXVII. When they came afterwards into the city Bethlehem, they found there ſeveral very deſperate diſtempers, which became ſo troubleſome to children by ſeeing them, that moſt of them died. There was there a woman who had a ſick ſon, whom ſhe brought, when he was at the point of who ſaw her when ſhe was waſhing

quæ, cum Jeſum Chriſtum lavaret, illam conſpexit. Dicebat vero mulier iſta, O Domina mea Maria, reſpice filium hunc meum, qui diris cruciatibus torquetur. Et exaudiens illam diva Maria, Cape, inquit, aliquantum iſtius aquæ, qua filium meum ablui, eaque illum conſperge. Accipiens ergo illa paululum de iſta aqua, prout juſſerat diva Maria, illa filium ſuum perfudit, qui vehementi agitatione laſſatus in ſoporem lapſus eſt, et cum paululum dormiiſſet, ſalvus poſtea et ſanus evigilavit. Mater hoc eventu admodum læta, divam Mariam rurſus adibat, dicebatque illi diva Maria, Gratias age Deo, qui filium hunc tuum ſanavit.

washing Jeſus Chriſt. Then ſaid the woman, *O my Lady Mary, look down upon this my ſon, who is afflicted with moſt dreadful pains.* St. Mary hearing her, ſaid, *Take a little of that water with which I have waſhed my ſon, and ſprinkle it upon him.* Then ſhe took a little of that water, as St. Mary had commanded, and ſprinkled it upon her ſon, who being wearied with his violent pains, was fallen aſleep; and after he had ſlept a little, awaked perfectly well and recovered. The mother being abundantly glad of this ſucceſs, went again to St. Mary, and St. Mary ſaid to her, *Give the praiſe to God, who hath cured this thy ſon.*

XXVIII. Erat ibidem alia mulier, vicina ejus, cujus modo filius ſanatus erat. Hujus filius, cum eodem morbo laboraret, jamque fere clauſi eſſent ejus oculi, dies noctesque ejulabat. Huic ſanati infantis genetrix, Quare, inquit, non defers filium tuum ad divam Mariam, ſicuti ego filium meum ad illam detuli, cum in agone mortis verſaretur? qui ſanatus eſt aqua illa, qua cor-

XXVIII. There was in the ſame place another woman, a neighbour of her, whoſe ſon was now cured. This woman's ſon was afflicted with the ſame diſeaſe, and his eyes were now almoſt quite ſhut, and ſhe was lamenting for him day and night. The mother of the child which was cured ſaid to her, *Why do you not bring your ſon to St. Mary, as I brought my ſon to her, when he was in the very agonies of death, and he was cured by that water, with which the*

pus Jeſu filii ejus ablutum fuerat. Quæ cum ex ea audiviſſet mulier iſta, ipſa quoque abiit, ſumptaque eadem aqua, filium ſuum abluit, cujus extemplo corpus et oculi ad ſanitatem priſtinam redierunt. Hanc quoque diva Maria, cum filium ſuum ad ipſam detuliſſet, ejuſque caſum ipſi aperuiſſet, gratias Deo pro recuperata filii valetudine agere, neque cuiquam, quod evenerat, narrare juſſit.

the body of her ſon Jeſus was waſhed? When the woman heard her ſay this, ſhe alſo went, and having procured the ſame water, waſhed her ſon with it, whereupon his body and his eyes were inſtantly reſtored to their former ſtate. And when ſhe brought her ſon to St. Mary, and opened his caſe to her, ſhe commanded her to give thanks to God for the recovery of her ſon's health, and to tell no one what had happened.

XXIX. Erant in eadem urbe duæ fœminæ unius viri uxores, quarum utrique erat filius ægrotus. Harum altera Maria vocabatur, et filio ejus Kaljuſo erat nomen. Surgebat iſta, et adſumpto filio ſuo Dominam divam Mariam matrem Jeſu adibat, oblatoque ei perpulchro mantili, O Domina mea Maria, inquit, accipe a me hoc mantile, et pro illo faſciolam unam mihi redde. Faciebat hoc Maria, abienſque mater Kaljuſi confectam ex illa tunicam filio ſuo induebat. Sic ſanatus eſt morbus ejus; at filius rivalis diem obiit. Hinc orto inter illas diſſidio, cum alternis hebdomadibus

XXIX. There were in the ſame city two wives of one man, who had each a ſon ſick. One of them was called Mary, and her ſon's name was Caljuf (or Caleb). She aroſe, and taking her ſon, went to the Lady St. Mary, the mother of Jeſus, and offered her a very handſome carpet, ſaying, *O my Lady Mary, accept this carpet of me, and inſtead of it give me a ſmall ſwaddling-cloth.* To this Mary agreed; and when the mother of Caleb was gone, ſhe made a coat for her ſon of the ſwaddling-cloth, put it on him, and his diſeaſe was cured; but the ſon of the other wife died. Hereupon there aroſe between them a difference in doing the buſineſs of the family by

domadibus munia domeſtica obirent, adeſſentque vices Mariæ matris Kaljuſi, hæc panem coctura furnum calefaciebat, et farinam petitura, filio ſuo Kaljuſo ad furnum relicto, foras prodibat. Hunc æmula ejus ſolum conſpicata (furnus autem ſuccenſo igne æſtuabat) prehendit et in furnum conjecit, ac ſeſe inde ſubduxit. Rediens Maria videnſque filium ſuum Kaljuſum in medio furno jacentem ridere, furnumque refriguiſſe, ac ſi nihil in eum ignis conjectum foret, cognovit æmulam ſuam in ignem immiſiſſe. Extractum ergo eum ad divam Dominam Mariam detulit, eidemque caſum ejus narravit. Cui illa, Tace, inquit, nam metuo tibi, ſi iſta divulgaberis. Poſtea æmula ejus aquam hauſtura ad puteum proceſſit, et conſpicata Kaljuſum juxta puteum ludentem, neque quenquam mortalium adeſſe, prehenſum illum in puteum deturbavit. Cumque homines aquam ex puteo petituri acceſſiſſent, videbant puerum iſtum in ſuperficie aquæ ſedentem, quem demiſſis funibus extrahebant; ceperatque eos magna admiratio iſtius pueri, ita ut Deum

turns, each her week; and when the turn of Mary the mother of Caleb came, and ſhe was heating the oven to bake bread, and went away to fetch the meal, ſhe left her ſon Caleb by the oven; whom the other wife, her rival, ſeeing to be by himſelf, took and caſt him into the oven, which was very hot, and then went away. Mary on her return ſaw her ſon Caleb lying in the middle of the oven laughing, and the oven quite as cold as though it had not been before heated, and knew that her rival the other wife had thrown him into the fire. When ſhe took him out, ſhe brought him to the Lady St. Mary, and told her the ſtory; to whom ſhe replied, *Be quiet, for I am concerned leſt thou ſhouldeſt make this matter known.* After this her rival (the other wife) as ſhe was drawing water at the well, and ſaw Caleb playing by the well, and that no one was near, took him, and threw him into the well. And when ſome men came to fetch water from the well, they ſaw the boy ſitting on the ſuperficies of the water, and drew him out with ropes, and were exceedingly ſurpriſed at the child, and praiſed God. Then came

celebrarent. Accedens vero mater ejus, ſublatum illum ad Dominam divam Mariam detulit, plorans et dicens; O Domina mea, vide, quid æmula mea filio meo fecerit, et quomodo in puteum illum deturbaverit; neque dubium mihi eſt, quin aliquando exitii cauſa ipſi ſit futura. Inquit illi diva Maria, Deus injuriam tibi factam vindicabit. Paucis diebus interjectis, cum aquam hauſtura ad puteum æmula proceſſiſſet, pes ejus funi implicabatur, ita ut præceps in puteum decideret; quique ad auxilium ipſi ferendum accurrerant, caput ejus fractum et oſſa contuſa inveniebant. Sic malo fato periit, et impletum in ea fuit dictum illud authoris: Puteum foderunt, et alte humum egeſſerunt; ſed ceciderunt in foveam, quam paraverant.

came the mother, and took him and carried him to the Lady St. Mary, lamenting and ſaying, *O my Lady, ſee what my rival hath done to my ſon, and how ſhe hath caſt him into the well, and I do not queſtion but one time or other ſhe will be the occaſion of his death.* St. Mary replied to her, *God will vindicate your injured caſe.* Accordingly a few days after, when the other wife came to the well to draw water, her foot was entangled in the rope, ſo that ſhe fell headlong into the well, and they who ran to her aſſiſtance found her ſkull broke, and her bones bruiſed. So ſhe came to a bad end, and in her was fulfilled that ſaying of (ſome) author, *They digged a well, and made it deep, but fell themſelves into the pit which they prepared.*

XXX. Alia illic mulier geminos habebat filios morbo pariter languentes: defuncto-que altero, alter quoque in vicinia mortis verſabatur; quem in ulnas ſuſceptum ad Dominam divam Mariam, vim lachrymarum effundens, detulit; et, O Domina mea, inquit, opem mihi fer, et ſuccurre; nam duos habui filios,

XXX. Another woman in that city had likewiſe two ſons ſick, and when one was dead, the other, who lay at the point of death, ſhe took in her arms to the Lady St. Mary, and in a flood of tears addreſſed herſelf to her, ſaying, *O my Lady, help and relieve me; for I had two ſons, the*

quorum alterum modo ſepelivi, alterum vero in vicinia mortis conſtitutum cerno: vide quomodo gratiam a Deo petam, eumque ſupplex rogem; cœpitque dicere, O Domine, tu es clemens, et miſericors, et pius! duos mihi dediſti filios, quorum alterum cum ad te receperis, hunc ſaltem mihi relinque! Diva itaque Maria ardorem lachrymarum ejus conſpiciens, miſerta eſt ejus, et, Heus tu, ait, filium tuum in lecto filii mei colloca, ejuſque veſtibus ipſum contege. Cumque collocaſſet eum in lecto, in quo Chriſtus jacebat (modo autem oculi ejus in æternam noctem claudebantur); ſimulatque odor veſtium Domini Jeſu Chriſti puerum hunc contigit, oculi ejus aperiebantur, magnaque voce matrem inclamans, panem poſcebat, eumque acceptum ſugebat. Tunc mater ejus, O Domina Maria, inquit, nunc cognovi virtutem Dei in te habitare, adeo ut filius tuus ſanet pueros ejuſdem cum ipſo naturæ participes, ſimulatque veſtes ejus attigerint. Hic puer iſta ratione ſanatus, is eſt qui in Evangelio Bartholomæus vocatur.

one I have juſt now buried, the other I ſee is juſt at the point of death: behold, how I (earneſtly) ſeek favour from God, and pray to him! Then ſhe ſaid, *O Lord, thou art gracious, and merciful, and kind; thou haſt given me two ſons; one of them thou haſt taken to thyſelf, O ſpare me this other.* St. Mary then perceiving the greatneſs of her ſorrow, pitied her, and ſaid, *Do thou place thy ſon in my ſon's bed, and cover him with his clothes.* And when ſhe had placed him in the bed wherein Chriſt lay (at which moment his eyes were juſt cloſed by death); as ſoon as ever the ſmell of the garments of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt reached the boy, his eyes were opened, and calling with a loud voice to his mother, he aſked for bread, and when he had received it, he ſucked it. Then his mother ſaid, *O Lady Mary, now I am aſſured that the powers of God do dwell in you, ſo that thy ſon can cure children who are of the ſame ſort as himſelf, as ſoon as they touch his garments.* This boy, who was thus cured, is the ſame who in the Goſpel is called Bartholomew.

XXXI.

XXXI. Erat porro ibi mulier leproſa, quæ adiens Dominam divam Mariam matrem Jeſu dicebat, Domina mea, juva me. Reſpondebat vero diva Maria; Ecquodnam auxilium petis? Aurumne, an argentum, an ut corpus tuum a lepra mundetur? Quis autem, rogabat mulier iſta, hoc mihi dare poſſet? Cui diva Maria, Paululum, inquit, expecta, donec filium meum Jeſum laverim, et in lecto repoſuerim. Exſpectabat mulier, prout juſſa erat; et Maria, cum Jeſum in lecto collocaſſet, aquam, qua corpus ejus abluerat, mulieri porrigens, Cape, inquit, aliquantum iſtius aquæ, et in corpus tuum effunde; quod cum feciſſet, extempore mundata Deum celebrabat, et grates ipſi agebat.

XXXI. Again, there was a leprous woman, who went to the Lady St. Mary, the mother of Jeſus, and ſaid, *O my Lady, help me.* St. Mary replied, *What help doſt thou deſire? Is it gold or ſilver, or that thy body be cured of its leproſy? Who,* ſays the woman, *can grant me this?* St. Mary replied to her, *Wait a little till I have waſhed my ſon Jeſus, and put him in bed.* The woman waited, as ſhe was commanded; and Mary, when ſhe had put Jeſus in bed, giving her the water with which ſhe had waſhed his body, ſaid, *Take ſome of the water, and pour it upon thy body*; which when ſhe had done, ſhe inſtantly became clean, and praiſed God, and gave thanks to him.

XXXII. Abiit ergo, poſtquam triduum apud illam manſiſſet; et in urbem proveniens, vidit ibi virum principem, qui alterius principis filiam duxerat uxorem: ſed cum vidiſſet mulierem, conſpexit inter oculos ejus ſigna lepræ, ſtellæ inſtar; adeoque matrimonium diſſolutum et irritum declaratum fuerat. Has

XXXII. Then went ſhe away, after ſhe had abode with her three days; and going into the city, ſhe ſaw a certain prince, who had married another prince's daughter; but when he came to ſee her, he perceived between her eyes the ſigns of the leproſy like a ſtar, and thereupon declared the marriage diſſolved and void. When the woman

mulier iſta in eo ſtatu conſpicata, mœſtas admodum et fletu largo ora rigantes, cauſam ex illis lachrymarum quærebat. At illæ, Ne, inquiunt, in ſtatum noſtrum inquirito; malum enim noſtrum nulli mortalium narrare, aut alieno cuiquam aperire poſſumus. Inſtabat tamen illa, utque illud ſibi committerent, rogabat; ſeſe enim fortaſſe remedium ejus commonſtraturam: cum ergo monſtrarent ipſi puellam, et ſigna lepræ, quæ inter ejus oculos apparebant; Ego quoque, inquit mulier, quam hic videtis, eodem morbo laboravi, et Bethlehemum negotiorum cauſa profecta ſum: ibi ſpeluncam quandam ingreſſa, mulierem nomine Mariam vidi, cui filius erat, qui Jeſus vocabatur: hæc leproſam me videns indoluit, aquamque, qua filii ſui corpus laverat, mihi porrexit; ea corpus meum perfudi, et munda evaſi. Dicebant ergo fœminæ illæ; Numquid, O Domina, ſurges, et nobiſcum proficiſcens, Dominam divam Mariam nobis commonſtrabis? Annuente illa ſurrexerunt, et ad Dominam divam Mariam pervenerunt, ſplendida ſecum munera ferentes. Cumque intraſſent, et mu-

ſaw theſe perſons in this condition, exceeding ſorrowful, and ſhedding abundance of tears, ſhe enquired of them the reaſon of their crying: they replied, *Enquire not into our circumſtances; for we are not able to declare our misfortunes to any perſon whatſoever.* But ſhe ſtill preſſed and deſired them to communicate their caſe to her; intimating, that perhaps ſhe might be able to direct them to a remedy. So when they ſhewed the young woman to her, and the ſigns of the leproſy, which appeared between her eyes, ſhe ſaid, *I alſo, whom ye ſee in this place, was afflicted with the ſame diſtemper, and going on ſome buſineſs to Bethlehem, I went into a certain cave, and ſaw a woman named Mary, who had a ſon called Jeſus. She ſeeing me to be leprous was concerned for me, and gave me ſome water with which ſhe had waſhed her ſon's body; with that I ſprinkled my body, and became clean.* Then ſaid theſe women, *Will you, Miſtreſs, go along with us, and ſhew the Lady St. Mary to us?* To which ſhe conſenting, they aroſe, and went to the Lady St. Mary, taking with them very noble preſents. And when

nera illa ipſi obtuliſſent, puellam iſtam leproſam, quam adduxerant, ipſi monſtrabant. Dicebat ergo diva Maria, Miſericordia Domini Jeſu Chriſti habitet ſuper vos, et paululum aquæ illius, qua corpus Jeſu Chriſti abluerat, illis porrigens, hac miſeram lavare jubebat; quod cum feciſſent, extemplo ſanata eſt, ipſique et omnes adſtantes Deum celebrabant: læti ergo et in urbem ſuam reduces Domino propterea laudes canebant. Audiens vero princeps ſanatam eſſe uxorem ſuam, domum illam recipiebat, et ſecundas nuptias celebrans, pro recuperata uxoris ſanitate grates Deo agebat.

when they came in, and offered their preſents to her, they ſhewed the leprous young woman whom they brought with them to her. Then ſaid St. Mary, *The Mercy of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt reſt upon you*; and giving them a little of that water, with which ſhe had waſhed the body of Jeſus Chriſt, ſhe bad them waſh the diſeaſed perſon with it; which when they had done, ſhe was preſently cured; ſo they, and all who were preſent, praiſed God; and being filled with joy, they went back to their own city, and gave praiſes to God on that account. Then the prince hearing that his wife was cured, took her home, and made a ſecond marriage, giving thanks unto God for the recovery of his wife's health.

XXXIII. Erat quoque ibi puella, quæ a Satana affligebatur: maledictus enim iſte forma ingentis draconis ſubinde illi apparebat, eamque deglutire cupiebat; omnem quoque ejus ſanguinem exſuxerat, ita ut cadaveri ſimilis remaneret. Ipſa ergo, quotieſcunque ad illam accederet, manibus ſuper capite conſtrictis, vociferabatur et dicebat: Væ, væ mihi! quod nemo

XXXIII. There was there alſo a girl, who was afflicted by Satan; for that curſed Spirit did frequently appear to her in the ſhape of a dragon, and was inclined to ſwallow her up, and had ſo ſucked out all her blood, that ſhe looked like a dead carcaſe. As often as ſhe came to herſelf, with her hands wringed about her head, ſhe would cry out, and ſay, *Wo, Wo is me, that there*

adeſt, qui a peſſimo iſto dracone me liberet. Pater autem et mater ejus, et omnes qui circa ipſam erant, aut ipſam videbant, contriſtabantur ſuper illa, et flebant, omneſque, qui aderant, flebant et lamentabantur, præſertim cum ploraret ipſa, et diceret, O fratres mei, et amici, nemone eſt, qui ab homicida iſto me liberet? Filia vero principis, quæ a lepra ſua mundata fuerat, audiens vocem puellæ iſtius, adſcendit in caſtelli ſui tectum, viditque illam manibus ſuper capite complicatis fletus largos edentem, totumque circumſtantium cœtum pariter plorantem. Rogabat itaque maritum iſtius obſeſſæ, viveretne mater uxoris ipſius? Qui cum utrumque ejus parentem vivere dixiſſet, matrem ejus, inquit illa, ad me mitte. Quam ut veniſſe vidit, Hæccine, inquit, obſeſſa filia tua eſt? Ita, inquit illa triſtis et plorans; Ex me, O Domina, eſt genita. Reſpondebat filia principis, Occulta ſecretum meum; nam fateor tibi, me fuiſſe leproſam, ſed mundavit me Domina Maria, mater Jeſu Chriſti. Quod ſi

there is no one to be found, who can deliver me from that impious dragon! Her father and mother, and all who were about her and ſaw her, mourned and wept over her; and all who were preſent would eſpecially be under ſorrow and in tears, when they heard her bewailing, and ſaying, *My brethren and friends, is there no one who can deliver me from this murderer?* Then the prince's daughter, who had been cured of her leproſy, hearing the complaint of that girl, went upon the top of her caſtle, and ſaw her with her hands twiſted about her head, pouring out a flood of tears, and all the people that were about her in ſorrow. She then aſked the huſband of the poſſeſſed perſon, *Whether his wife's mother was alive?* He told her, *That her father and mother were both alive.* Then ſhe ordered her mother to be ſent to her; to whom, when ſhe ſaw her coming, ſhe ſaid, *Is this poſſeſſed girl thy daughter?* She moaning and bewailing ſaid, *Yes, Madam, I bore her.* The prince's daughter anſwered, *Diſcloſe the ſecret of her caſe to me, for I confeſs to you that I was leprous, but the Lady Mary, the mother of Jeſus Chriſt, healed me. And if you deſire your*

daughter

filiam tuam ſanitati priſtinæ reſtitui deſideras, Bethlehemum illam abducens, Mariam matrem Jeſu require, et filiam tuam ſanatum iri confide; credo enim te ſanata filia lætam reverſuram. Statim ab extrema parte verbi ſurrexit illa, et cum filia ſua ad locum deſignatum profecta, Dominam divam Mariam adiit, eique filiæ ſuæ ſtatum aperuit. Audita oratione ejus diva Maria obtulit illi paululum aquæ illius, qua corpus filii ſui Jeſu abluerat, idque in corpus filiæ effundere juſſit. Data quoque ipſi faſciola ex panniculis Domini Jeſu, Cape, inquit, hanc faſciolam, eamque hoſti tuo, quotieſcunque illum videris, oſtende; et in pace illas dimiſit.

daughter to be reſtored to her former ſtate, take her to Bethlehem, and enquire for Mary the mother of Jeſus, and doubt not but your daughter will be cured; for I do not queſtion but you will come home with great joy at your daughter's recovery. As ſoon as ever ſhe had done ſpeaking, ſhe aroſe and went with her daughter to the place appointed, and to Mary, and told her the caſe of her daughter. When St. Mary had heard her ſtory, ſhe gave her a little of the water with which ſhe had waſhed the body of her ſon Jeſus, and bad her pour it upon the body of her daughter. Likewiſe ſhe gave her one of the ſwaddling-cloths of the Lord Jeſus, and ſaid, *Take this ſwaddling-cloth, and ſhew it to thine enemy as often as thou ſeeſt him*; and ſhe ſent them away in peace.

XXXIV. Cum ergo digreſſæ ab illa in civitatem ſuam rediiſſent, adeſſetque tempus, quo Satanas iſte percellere eam ſolebat, eadem hora apparuit illi hic maledictus ſub forma ingentis draconis, eumque videns puella expavit. Cui mater, Abjice timorem, O filia, et ſine illum, donec

XXXIV. After they had left that city, and returned home, and the time was come in which Satan was wont to ſeiſe her, in the ſame moment this curſed Spirit appeared to her in the ſhape of a huge dragon, and the girl ſeeing him was afraid. The mother ſaid to her, *Be not afraid, daughter; let him alone till he come*

propius ad te acceſſerit; tum faſciolam, quam dedit nobis Domina Maria, ipſi obverte, et quid futurum ſit, videamus. Accedente itaque Satana iſto, qui draconem terribilem referebat, corpus puellæ præ timore inhorruit; ſed ſimulatque faſciolam iſtam capiti ſuo ſuperimpoſitam, et oculis obvolutam oſtenderet, exibant ex faſciola flammæ et prunæ ignis, atque in draconem ſpargebantur. Hem! quantum hoc miraculum, quod accidebat, ſimulatque draco faſciolam Domini Jeſu adſpiceret; exibat enim ignis, et in caput ejus atque oculos ſpargebatur, ita ut magna voce exclamaret; Quid mihi tecum eſt, O Jeſu fili Mariæ! Quo a te fugiam? ac territus admodum, et retrocedens, puellam relinqueret. Sic puellæ huic negotium faceſſere deſiit; quæ grates Deo et laudes canebat, et cum ipſa omnes, qui miraculo iſti præſentes affuerant.

come nearer to thee; then ſhew him the ſwaddling-cloth, which the Lady Mary gave us, and we ſhall ſee the event. Satan then coming like a dreadful dragon, the body of the girl trembled for fear; but as ſoon as ſhe had put the ſwaddling-cloth upon her head, and about her eyes, and ſhewed it to him, preſently there iſſued forth from the ſwaddling-cloth flames and burning coals, and fell upon the dragon. Oh! how great a miracle was this, which was done: as ſoon as the dragon ſaw the ſwaddling-cloth of the Lord Jeſus, fire went forth, and was ſcattered upon his head and eyes; ſo that he cried out with a loud voice, *What have I to do with thee, Jeſus, thou ſon of Mary? Whither ſhall I flee from thee?* So he drew back much affrighted, and left the girl. And ſhe was delivered from this trouble, and ſang praiſes and thanks to God, and with her all who were preſent at the working of the miracle.

XXXV. Alia ibidem mulier degebat, cujus filius a Satana vexabatur. Hic Judas nomine, quotieſcunque Satanas iſte illum corripiebat,

XXXV. Another woman likewiſe lived there, whoſe ſon was poſſeſſed by Satan. This boy, named Judas, as often as Satan ſeized him,

was

quoſvis præſentes dentibus appetebat, ac, ſi neminem juxta ſe inveniret, ſuas ipſe manus et cætera membra morſu vexabat. Audiens ergo mater hujus miſeri famam divæ Mariæ et filii ejus Jeſu, ſurrexit propere, ac filium ſuum Judam in ulnas ſublatum ad Dominam Mariam detulit. Interim Jacobus et Joſes commodum Dominum Jeſum infantem abduxerant, ut cum cæteris infantibus colluderent, ac domo egreſſi conſederant, et cum illis Dominus Jeſus. Accedebat vero Judas obſeſſus, et ad dextram Jeſu aſſidens, cum agitaret eum pro conſuetudine ſua Satanas, dentibus Dominum Jeſum appetebat; et quoniam attingere non poterat, latus ipſius dextrum percutiebat, ita ut Jeſus ploraret. Eademque hora fugiens exivit ex puero iſto Satanas, cani rabido ſimilis. Hic autem puer, qui Jeſum percuſſit, et ex quo Satanas ſub forma canis exivit, fuit Judas Iſchariotes, qui illum Judæis prodidit; et idem ejus latus, in quo percuſſerat illum Judas, Judæi lancea confixerunt.

was inclined to bite all that were preſent; and if he found no one elſe near him, he would bite his own hands and other parts. But the mother of this miſerable boy, hearing of St. Mary and her ſon Jeſus, aroſe preſently, and taking her ſon in her arms, brought him to the Lady Mary. In the mean time, James and Joſes had taken away the infant the Lord Jeſus, to play at a proper ſeaſon with other children, and when they went forth, they ſat down, and the Lord Jeſus with them. Then Judas, who was poſſeſſed, came and ſat down at the right hand of Jeſus; when Satan was acting upon him as uſual, he went about to bite the Lord Jeſus, and becauſe he could not do it, he ſtruck Jeſus on his right ſide, ſo that he cried out, and in the ſame moment Satan went out of the boy, and ran away like a mad dog. This ſame boy who ſtruck Jeſus, and out of whom Satan went in the form of a dog, was Judas Iſcariot, who betrayed him to the Jews. And that ſame ſide, on which Judas ſtruck him, the Jews pierced with a ſpear.

XXXVI. Cum vero Dominus Jeſus ſeptimum a nativitate ſua annum compleviſſet, die quodam cum aliis pueris ſodalibus ſuis coætaneis verſabatur, qui ludentes, varias ex luto formas fingebant, aſinos, boves, volucres, et alia his ſimilia; et unuſquiſque ſuum jactans opus ſuper cæterorum plaſmate efferre conabatur. Tunc Dominus Jeſus dicebat pueris, Ego illis, quas feci, figuris præcipiam, ut incederent; eademque hora ſubſiliebant, et cum reverti illas juberet, revertebantur. Fecerat autem avium paſſerumque figuras, quæ, cum volare ipſas juberet, volabant, et cum ſtare juberentur, conſiſtebant; quod ſi cibum et potum illis porrigeret, edebant et bibebant. Cum deinde abiiſſent pueri et parentibus iſta ſuis retuliſſent, dicebant illis patres ipſorum: Cavete in poſterum, O filii, a conſortio ejus, quoniam veneficus eſt; fugite illum et vitate, neque ab hoc momento unquam cum ipſo colludite.

XXXVI. And when the Lord Jeſus was ſeven years of age, he was on a certain day with other boys his companions about the ſame age, who, when they were at play, made clay into ſeveral ſhapes, viz. aſſes, oxen, birds, &c. each boaſting of his work, and endeavouring to excel the reſt. Then the Lord Jeſus ſaid to the boys, *I will command thoſe figures which I have made to walk:* and immediately they moved, and when he commanded them to return, they returned. He had alſo made the figures of birds and ſparrows, which, when he commanded to fly, did fly, and when he commanded to ſtand ſtill, did ſtand ſtill; and if he gave them meat and drink, they did eat and drink. When at length the boys went away, and related theſe things to their parents, their fathers ſaid to them, *Take heed, children, for the future of his company, for he is a ſorcerer; ſhun and avoid him, and from henceforth never play with him.*

XXXVII. Quodam etiam die Dominus Jeſus, cum pueris ludens et diſcurrens, offi-

XXXVII. On a certain day alſo, when the Lord Jeſus was playing with the boys,

cinam tinctoris præteribat, cujus nomen erat Salem; erantque in officina ejus panni plurimi civium illius urbis, quos variis coloribus imbuere parabant. Ingreſſus vero Dominus Jeſus officinam tinctoris, pannos hoſce univerſos ſuſtulit, et in cortinam tinctoriam conjecit. Rediens Salem pannoſque perditos cernens, voce maxima exclamare cœpit, et Dominum Jeſum objurgare, dicens; Quid feciſti mihi, O fili Mariæ? et me et cives meos injuria affeciſti; quilibet enim commodum ſibi colorem expetit, tu vero adveniens omnia perdidiſti. Reſpondebat Dominus Jeſus, Cujuſcunque panni colorem mutare volueris, hunc ego tibi immutabo; ſtatimque pannos ex cortina producere cœpit, ſingulos illo colore imbutos, quem tinctor deſiderabat, donec omnes eduxiſſet. Hoc prodigium atque miraculum videntes Judæi Deum celebrabant.

boys, and running about, he paſſed by a dyer's ſhop, whoſe name was Salem; and there were in his ſhop many pieces of cloth belonging to the people of that city, which they deſigned to dye of ſeveral colours. Then the Lord Jeſus going into the dyer's ſhop, took all the cloths, and threw them into the furnace. When Salem came home, and ſaw the cloths ſpoiled, he began to make a great noiſe, and to chide the Lord Jeſus, ſaying, *What haſt thou done to me, O thou ſon of Mary? Thou haſt injured both me and my neighbours; they all deſired their cloths of a proper colour; but thou haſt come, and ſpoiled them all.* The Lord Jeſus replied, *I will change the colour of every cloth to what colour thou deſireſt*; and then he preſently began to take the cloths out of the furnace, and they were all dyed of thoſe ſame colours which the dyer deſired; and when the Jews ſaw this ſurpriſing miracle, they praiſed God.

XXXVIII. Joſephus autem, per totam urbem circumiens, Dominum Jeſum ſecum ducebat, cum propter ar-

XXXVIII. And Joſeph, whereſoever he went in the city, took the Lord Jeſus with him, where he was ſent for

to

tificium ejus homines illum accerſerent, ut portas ipſis, aut mulctralia, aut cribra, aut arcas conficeret; eratque cum ipſo Dominus Jeſus, quocunque proficiſceretur. Quotieſcunque ergo Joſepho aliquid operis ſui, longius aut brevius, latius ſive anguſtius faciendum eſſet, Dominus Jeſus manum ſuam verſus illud extendebat, ac ſtatim, prout vellet Joſephus, res ſuccedebat; ita ut opus non eſſet ipſi quidquam manu ſua perficere, quia nec admodum peritus erat artis fabrilis.

to work, to make gates or milk-pails, or ſieves, or boxes; the Lord Jeſus was with him, whereſoever he went. And as often as Joſeph had any thing in his work, to make longer or ſhorter, or wider or narrower, the Lord Jeſus would ſtretch his hand towards it, and preſently it became as Joſeph would have it; ſo that he had no need to finiſh any thing with his own hands, for he was not very ſkilful at his carpenter's trade.

XXXIX. Quodam vero die accerſivit illum rex Hieroſolymæ, et, Volo, inquit, Joſephe, ut ſolium mihi conſtruas ad menſuram loci illius, in quo ſedere conſuevi. Paruit Joſephus, ac ſtatim operi manum admovens, biennium in regia manſit, donec fabricam iſtius ſolii abſolviſſet. Cum itaque illud in ſede ſua collocaret, ab unoquoque latere duas illud ſpithamas a præfinita menſura deficere advertit. Quo viſo rex Joſepho admodum iraſcebatur, et Joſephus iram regis metuens incœnatus dormiebat, cum nihil omnino guſtaſſet. Tunc

XXXIX. On a certain time the King of Jeruſalem ſent for him, and ſaid, *I would have thee make me a throne, of the ſame dimenſions with that place in which I commonly ſit.* Joſeph obeyed, and forthwith began the work, and continued two years in the king's palace before he finiſhed it. And when he came to fix it in its place, he found it wanted two ſpans on each ſide of the appointed meaſure. Which when the King ſaw, he was very angry with Joſeph; and Joſeph, afraid of the king's anger, went to bed without his ſupper, taking not any thing to eat.

rogante Domino Jeſu, Quare metueret? Quoniam, inquit Joſephus, opus, in quo biennium integrum elaboravi, perdidi. Cui Dominus Jeſus, Omitte, inquit, timorem, neque animum abjice; tu unum iſtius ſolii latus apprehendes, et ego alterum, ut ad juſtam illud menſuram redigamus. Cumque feciſſet Joſephus, quemadmodum dixerat Dominus Jeſus, et uterque a latere ſuo valide traheret, paruit ſolium, et ad juſtam loci illius menſuram redactum fuit. Quod prodigium cum cernerent adſtantes, obſtupeſcebant, et Deum celebrabant. Fabricatum vero erat ſolium hoc ex ligno illo, quod exſtiterat tempore Soleimanis, ligno ſcilicet variis formis et figuris inſignito.

eat. Then the Lord Jeſus aſked him, *What he was afraid of?* Joſeph replied, *Becauſe I have loſt my labour in the work which I have been about theſe two years.* Jeſus ſaid to him, *Fear not, neither be caſt down; do thou lay hold on one ſide of the throne, and I will the other, and we will bring it to its juſt dimenſions.* And when Joſeph had done as the Lord Jeſus ſaid, and each of them had with ſtrength drawn his ſide, the throne obeyed, and was brought to the proper dimenſions of the place: which miracle when they who ſtood by ſaw, they were aſtoniſhed, and praiſed God. The throne was made of the ſame wood, which was in being in Solomon's time, viz. wood adorned with various ſhapes and figures.

XL. Alio quodam die Dominus Jeſus in plateam egreſſus, et pueros, qui ad ludendum convenerant, conſpicatus, eorum ſe turbæ admiſcuit. Qui viſo illo cum ſeſe occultarent, ipſique inveſtigandos præberent, pervenit Dominus Jeſus ad portam domus cujuſdam, et ſtantes ibi mulieres rogavit, Quonam pueri iſti abiiſſent? Cumque

XL. On another day the Lord Jeſus going out into the ſtreet, and ſeeing ſome boys who were met to play, joined himſelf to their company: but when they ſaw him, they hid themſelves, and left him to ſeek for them; the Lord Jeſus came to the gate of a certain houſe, and aſked ſome women who were ſtanding there, *Where the boys*

were

neminem ibi adeſſe reſponderent, iterum Dominus Jeſus, Hi, inquit, quos in fornace videtis, quinam ſunt? Reſpondentibus illis, Hædos eſſe triennes; exclamavit Dominus Jeſus, dixitque, Huc exite, O hædi, ad Paſtorem veſtrum: et confeſtim egrediebantur pueri hædis ſimiles, et circa ipſum exſultabant; quod conſpicatæ mulieres iſtæ obſtupuerunt admodum, terrorque ipſas et tremor occupavit. Propere igitur Dominum Jeſum adorabant et obſecrabant, dicentes, O Domine noſter Jeſu, fili Mariæ, tu revera es Paſtor ille bonus Iſraelis! miſerere ancillarum tuarum, quæ coram te conſiſtunt, quæ minime dubitant, quin tu, O Domine noſter, ad ſanandum, non vero ad perdendum veneris. Deinde, cum reſpondiſſet Dominus Jeſus, Filios Iſraelis eſſe inter populos, tanquam Æthiopes; dicebant mulieres, Tu, Domine, omnia noſti, neque te quidquam latet; nunc vero te rogamus, et a pietate tua petimus, ut pueros iſtos, ſervos tuos, in priſtinum ipſorum ſtatum reſtituas. Dicebat ergo Dominus Jeſus, Adeſte, O pueri, ut abeamus et ludamus: et extemplo, ad-

were gone? And when they anſwered, *That there was no one there*; the Lord Jeſus ſaid, *Who are thoſe whom ye ſee in the furnace?* They anſwered, *They were kids of three years old.* Then Jeſus cried out aloud, and ſaid, *Come out hither, O ye kids, to your ſhepherd*; and preſently the boys came forth like kids, and leaped about him; which when the women ſaw, they were exceedingly amazed, and trembled. Then they immediately worſhipped the Lord Jeſus, and beſeeched him, ſaying, *O our Lord Jeſus, ſon of Mary, thou art truly that good ſhepherd of Iſrael! have mercy on thy handmaids, who ſtand before thee, who do not doubt, but that thou, O Lord, art come to ſave, and not to deſtroy.* After that, when the Lord Jeſus ſaid, *The children of Iſrael are like Ethiopians among the people*; the women ſaid, *Thou, Lord, knoweſt all things, nor is any thing concealed from thee: but now we intreat thee, and beſeech of thy mercy, that thou wouldeſt reſtore thoſe boys to their former ſtate.* Then Jeſus ſaid, *Come hither, O boys, that we may go and play*; and immediately,

ſtantibus hiſce fœminis, hædi immutati ſunt, et in formam puerorum redierunt.

ly, in the preſence of theſe women, the kids were changed, and returned into the ſhape of boys.

XLI. Menſe autem Adar congregavit Jeſus pueros, eoſque tanquam rex diſpoſuit; ſtraverant enim veſtes ſuas in terra, ut ſuper illas conſideret, et coronam e floribus conſertam capiti ejus impoſuerant, et ſatellitum inſtar, regi adſtantium, a dextris et ſiniſtris coram ipſo conſiſtebant. Si quis autem per viam illam tranſiret, illum vi abſtrahebant pueri, dicentes; Huc ades, et regem adora, ut felix tibi iter contingat.

XLI. In the month Adar Jeſus gathered together the boys, and ranked them as though he had been a king; for they ſpread their garments on the ground for him to ſit on; and having made a crown of flowers, put it upon his head, and ſtood on his right and left as the guards of a king; and if any one happened to paſs by, they took him by force, and ſaid; *Come hither, and worſhip the king, that you may have a proſperous journey.*

XLII. Interea dum hæc gerebantur, accedebant viri, qui puerum lectica geſtabant. Hic enim puer ligna petiturus cum æqualibus ſuis in montem diſceſſerat; ibi vero cum perdicis nidum inveniſſet, et manum ſuam, ut ova exinde tolleret, extendiſſet, ſerpens eum malignus ex medio nidi prorepens pupugit, ita ut ſodalium ſuorum auxilium imploraret: qui, cum propere acceſſiſſent, invenerunt illum in terra jacentem, mortui in-

XLII. In the mean time, while theſe things were doing, there came certain men, carrying a boy upon a couch; for this boy having gone with his companions to the mountain to gather wood, and having found there a partridge's neſt and put his hand in to take out the eggs, was ſtung by a poiſonous ſerpent, which leaped out of the neſt; ſo that he was forced to cry out for the help of his companions: who, when they came, found him lying upon the earth like

ſtar; venerantque propinqui ejus, et ſublatum in urbem referebant. Poſtquam vero pervenerant ad locum illum, in quo Dominus Jeſus more regis reſidebat, cæterique pueri miniſtrorum inſtar circumſtabant, pueri propere obviam procedebant ei, qui a ſerpente morſus erat, et dicebant propinquis ejus, Accedite, et ſalutate regem; ſed cum propter mœrorem in quo verſabantur, accedere nollent, pueri illos invitos vi abſtrahebant. Et cum ad Dominum Jeſum perveniſſent, rogabat ille, Quare hunc puerum geſtarent? Atque illis reſpondentibus, Quod ſerpens ipſum momordiſſet; dicebat Dominus Jeſus pueris, Ite nobiſcum, ut ſerpentem iſtum interficiamus. Rogantibus vero parentibus pueri, ut dimitterentur, quod filius ipſorum in agone mortis verſaretur; reſpondebant pueri, dicentes, Annon audiviſtis, quid rex dixerit, Eamus et occidamus ſerpentem? et vos morem ipſi non geritis? et ſic ipſis nolentibus, lecticam retro abducebant. Cumque ad niduni illum perveniſſent, dicebat Dominus Jeſus pueris, Hoccine eſt latibulum

a dead perſon. After which, his neighbours came, and carried him back into the city. But when they came to the place where the Lord Jeſus was ſitting like a king, and the other boys ſtood around him like his miniſters, the boys made haſte to meet him, who was bitten by the ſerpent, and ſaid to his neighbours, *Come and pay your reſpects to the king*; but when, by reaſon of their ſorrow, they refuſed to come, the boys drew them and forced them againſt their wills to come. And when they came to the Lord Jeſus, he enquired, *On what account they carried that boy?* and when they anſwered, *that a ſerpent had bitten him*, the Lord Jeſus ſaid to the boys, *Let us go and kill that ſerpent.* But when the parents of the boy deſired to be excuſed, becauſe their ſon lay at the point of death: the boys made anſwer, and ſaid, *Did not ye hear what the king ſaid? Let us go and kill the ſerpent*; *and will not ye obey him?* So they brought the couch back again, whether they would or not. And when they were come to the neſt, the Lord Jeſus ſaid to the boys, *Is this the ſerpent's lurking*

ſerpentis? Atque illis annuentibus, ſerpens a Domoni Jeſu vocatus confeſtim prodibat, ſeſeque ipſi ſubmittebat. Cui ille, Abi, inquit, et omne venenum, quod huic puero inſinuaſti, exſuge. Itaque ſerpens iſte, ad puerum adrepens, omne ſuum venenum rurſus abſtulit; et tunc maledixit illi Dominus Jeſus, ut extemplo diſruptus moreretur: puerumque manu ſua tetigit, ut valetudini priſtinæ reſtitueretur; et cum flere inciperet, Reprime fletum, inquit Dominus Jeſus; mox enim meus eris diſcipulus, et hic eſt Simon Cananites, cujus in Evangelio fit mentio.

lurking place? They ſaid, *It was.* Then the Lord Jeſus calling the ſerpent, it preſently came forth, and ſubmitted to him: to whom he ſaid, *Go and ſuck out all the poiſon which thou haſt infuſed into that boy:* ſo the ſerpent crept to the boy, and took away all its poiſon again. Then the Lord Jeſus curſed the ſerpent, ſo that it immediately burſt aſunder, and died; and he touched the boy with his hand to reſtore him to his former health; and when he began to cry, the Lord Jeſus ſaid, *Ceaſe crying, for hereafter thou ſhalt be my diſciple*; and this is that *Simon the Canaanite*, who is mentioned in the Goſpel.

XLIII. Alio die Joſephus filium ſuum Jacobum lignatum miſerat, et comitem ſe illi Dominus Jeſus adjunxerat; cumque perveniſſent ad locum, in quo ligna erant, cœpiſſetque Jacobus illa colligere, ecce vipera maligna illum momordit, ita ut flere et vociferari inciperet. Eum igitur in hoc ſtatu cernens Dominus Jeſus, acceſſit ad ipſum, locumque in quo vipera eum momorderat, afflavit, ut extemplo ſanaretur.

XLIII. On another day, Joſeph ſent his ſon James to gather wood, and the Lord Jeſus went with him; and when they came to the place where the wood was, and James began to gather it, behold, a venemous viper bit him, ſo that he began to cry, and make a noiſe. The Lord Jeſus ſeeing him in this condition, came to him, and blowed upon the place where the viper had bit him, and it was inſtantly well.

XLIV. Quodam etiam die, cum Dominus Jeſus verſaretur inter pueros, qui in tecto ludebant, quidam puerorum ex alto decidens conſeſtim exſpiravit. Diffugientibus vero cæteris pueris, Dominus Jeſus ſolus in tecto remanſit; cumque adveniſſent propinqui iſtius pueri, dicebant Domino Jeſu, Tu filium noſtrum ex tecto præcipitem dediſti. Illo autem id negante, vociferabantur, dicentes, Filius noſter mortuus eſt, et hic eſt, qui illum interfecit. Quibus Dominus Jeſus, Ne me, inquit, arguite facinoris, cujus neutiquam me convincere poteritis; ſed agite, rogemus puerum ipſum, qui veritatem in lucem producat. Tunc deſcendens Dominus Jeſus ſtetit ſuper capite mortui, et voce magna, Zeinune, inquit, Zeinune, quis te de tecto præcipitavit? Tunc reſpondens mortuus, Domine, ait, non tu me dejeciſti, ſed ὁ δεῖνα me ex illo deturbavit. Et cum præcepiſſet Dominus adſtantibus, ut ad verba ejus attenderent; omnes, qui aderant, Deum pro hoc miraculo laudabant.

XLIV. On a certain day the Lord Jeſus was with ſome boys, who were playing on the houſe-top, and one of the boys fell down, and preſently died. Upon which the other boys all running away, the Lord Jeſus was left alone on the houſe-top. And the boy's relations came to him and ſaid to the Lord Jeſus, *Thou didſt throw our ſon down from the houſe-top.* But he denying it, they cried out, *Our ſon is dead, and this is he who killed him.* The Lord Jeſus replied to them, *Do not charge me with a crime, of which you are not able to convict me, but let us go aſk the boy himſelf, who will bring the truth to light.* Then the Lord Jeſus going down ſtood over the head of the dead boy, and ſaid with a loud voice, Zeinunus, Zeinunus, *who threw thee down from the houſe-top?* Then the dead boy anſwered, *Thou didſt not throw me down, but ſuch a one did.* And when the Lord Jeſus bad thoſe who ſtood by take notice of his words, all who were preſent praiſed God on account of that miracle.

XLV. Juſſerat aliquando diva Domina Maria Domi-

XLV. On a certain time the Lady St. Mary had commanded

num Jeſum abire, et aquam ipſi ex puteo afferre. Cum ergo petitum aquam abiiſſet, hydria, jam impleta, cum ſurſum attolleretur, fracta eſt: expandens vero Dominus Jeſus mantile ſuum, illo collectam aquam ad matrem ſuam deferebat; quæ ſtupens rem totam miram, omnia tamen quæ viderat recondebat, et conſervabat in corde ſuo.

manded the Lord Jeſus to fetch her ſome water out of the well; and when he had gone to fetch the water, the pitcher, when it was brought up full, brake; but Jeſus ſpreading his mantle gathered up the water again, and brought it in that to his mother; who, being aſtoniſhed at this wonderful thing, laid up this, and all the other things which ſhe had ſeen, in her memory.

XLVI. Rurſus alio die Dominus Jeſus ad rivum aquæ verſabatur cum pueris, eduxerantque per ſulcos aquam ex rivo illo, piſcinulas ſibi conſtruentes; feceratque Dominus Jeſus duodecim paſſeres, eoſque circa piſcinam ſuam, ad ſingula latera ternos, inſtruxerat. Erat autem dies Sabbathi, et accedens filius Hanani Judæi, eoſque conſpiciens talia molientes, Itane, inquit, die Sabbathi figuras ex luto fingitis? Et propere accurrens piſcinas eorum deſtruebat. Cum vero Dominus Jeſus manus ſuas ſuper paſſeres, quos finxerat, complosiſſet, avolabant illi pipientes. Deinde filio Hanani ad Jeſu quoque piſcinam acce-

XLVI. Again on another day the Lord Jeſus was with ſome boys by a river, and they drew water out of the river by little channels, and made little fiſh-pools. But the Lord Jeſus had made twelve ſparrows, and placed them about his pool on each ſide, three on a ſide. But it was the ſabbath-day, and the ſon of Hanani a Jew came by, and ſaw them making theſe things, and ſaid, *Do ye thus make figures of clay on the ſabbath?* And he ran to them, and broke down their fiſh-pools. But when the Lord Jeſus clapped his hands over the ſparrows which he had made, they fled away chirping. At length the ſon of Hanani coming to the fiſh-

dente, ut illam deſtrueret, evanuit aqua ejus, dixitque illi Dominus Jeſus: Quemadmodum evanuit aqua iſta, ſic tua quoque vita evaneſcet, et extemplo puer iſte exaruit.

pool of Jeſus to deſtroy it, the water vaniſhed away, and the Lord Jeſus ſaid to him, *In like manner as this water has vaniſhed, ſo ſhall thy life vaniſh*; and preſently the boy died.

XLVII. Alio tempore, cum veſperi Dominus Jeſus cum Joſepho domum reverteretur, obviam habuit puerum, qui curſu rapido concitatus, impellebat ipſum, ut caderet. Cui Dominus Jeſus; Quemadmodum me impuliſti, ita cades, neque ſurges; eademque hora corruit puer et exſpiravit.

XLVII. Another time, when the Lord Jeſus was coming home in the evening with Joſeph, he met a boy, who ran ſo hard againſt him, that he threw him down; to whom the Lord Jeſus ſaid, *As thou haſt thrown me down, ſo ſhalt thou fall, nor ever riſe.* And that moment the boy fell down, and died.

XLVIII. Erat porro Hieroſolymis quidam Zacchæus nomine, qui juventutem erudiebat. Dicebat hic Joſepho, Quare, O Joſephe, non mittis ad me Jeſum, ut literas diſcat? Annuebat illi Joſephus, et ad divam Mariam hoc referebat. Ad magiſtrum itaque illum deducebant; qui ſimulatque eum conſpexerat, alphabetum ipſi conſcripſit, utque Aleph diceret præcepit; et cum dixiſſet Aleph, magiſter ipſum Beth pronunciare jubebat. Cui Dominus Jeſus; Dic mihi prius ſignificationem li-

XLVIII. There was alſo at Jeruſalem one named Zaccheus, who was a ſchool-maſter; he ſaid to Joſeph, *Joſeph, why doſt thou not ſend Jeſus to me, that he may learn his letters?* Joſeph agreed, and told St. Mary: ſo they brought him to that maſter; who, as ſoon as he ſaw him, wrote out an alphabet for him, and he bad him ſay *Aleph*; and when he had ſaid *Aleph*, the maſter bad him pronounce *Beth*. Then the Lord Jeſus ſaid to him, *Tell me firſt the meaning of the letter* Aleph, *and then I will*

teræ Aleph, et tum Beth pronunciabo. Cumque magiſter verbera ipſi intentaret, exponebat illi Dominus Jeſus ſignificationes literarum Aleph et Beth; item quænam literarum figuræ eſſent rectæ, quænam obliquæ, quænam duplicatæ; quæ punctis inſignitæ, quæ iiſdem carentes; quare una litera aliam præcederet; aliaque plurima enarrare cœpit, et elucidare, quæ magiſter ipſe nec unquam audiverat, nec in libro ullo legerat. Dixit porro magiſtro Dominus Jeſus, Attende, ut dicam tibi; cœpitque clare et diſtincte recitare, Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, uſque ad finem alphabeti. Quod miratus magiſter, Hunc, inquit, puerum ante Noachum natum eſſe exiſtimo; converſuſque ad Joſephum, Adduxiſti, ait, ad me erudiendum puerum, magiſtris omnibus doctiorem. Divæ quoque Mariæ inquit, Filio huic tuo nulla doctrina opus eſt.

I will pronounce Beth. And when the maſter threatened to whip him, the Lord Jeſus explained to him the meaning of the letters *Aleph* and *Beth*; alſo which were the ſtraight figures of the letters, which the oblique, and what letters had double figures; which had points, and which had none; why one letter went before another; and many other things he began to tell him, and explain; of which the maſter himſelf had never heard, nor read in any book. The Lord Jeſus farther ſaid to the maſter, *Take notice how I ſay to thee*; then he began clearly and diſtinctly to ſay *Aleph*, *Beth*, *Gimel*, *Daleth*, and ſo on to the end of the alphabet. At this the maſter was ſo ſurpriſed, that he ſaid, *I believe this boy was born before Noah*; and turning to Joſeph, he ſaid, *Thou haſt brought a boy to me to be taught, who is more learned than any maſter.* He ſaid alſo to St. Mary, *This your ſon has no need of any learning.*

XLIX. Ad alium deinde magiſtrum doctiorem eum deduxerunt, qui ut eum conſpexit, dic Aleph, inquit. Cumque dixiſſet Aleph, ma-

XLIX. They brought him then to a more learned maſter, who, when he ſaw him, ſaid, ſay *Aleph*; and when he had ſaid *Aleph*, the

giſter ipſum Beth pronunciare jubebat. Cui reſpondens Dominus Jeſus, Dic mihi, inquit, prius ſignificationem literæ Aleph, et tunc Beth pronunciabo. Hic cum ſublata manu eum verberaret magiſter, confeſtim manus ipſius exaruit, et mortuus eſt. Tunc dicebat Joſephus divæ Mariæ, Ab hoc tempore non ſinemus eum domo exire; quoniam quiſquis ipſi adverſatur, morte plectitur.

maſter bad him pronounce *Beth*; to which the Lord Jeſus replied, *Tell me firſt the meaning of the letter* Aleph, *and then I will pronounce* Beth. But this maſter, when he lift up his hand to whip him, had his hand preſently withered, and he died. Then ſaid Joſeph to St. Mary, *Henceforth we will not allow him to go out of the houſe; for every one who diſpleaſes him is killed.*

L. Et cum factus eſſet annorum duodecim, duxerunt eum Hieroſolymas ad feſtum; finito autem feſto, ipſi quidem revertebantur, ſed Dominus Jeſus retro manebat in templo inter doctores et ſeniores, et eruditos ex filiis Iſraelis; quos de ſcientiis varia interrogabat, et vicissim eis reſpondebat. Dicebat enim illis, Meſſias cujus eſt filius? Reſpondebant illi, Filius Davidis. Quare ergo, inquit, in ſpiritu vocat illum Dominum ſuum? quando dicit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, ſede ad dextram meam, ut hoſtes tuos veſtigiis pedum tuorum ſubjiciam. Tum interrogabat eum princeps quidam magiſtrorum, Legiſtine libros? Et libros, inquit Dominus

L. And when he was twelve years old, they brought him to Jeruſalem to the feaſt; and when the feaſt was over, they returned, but the Lord Jeſus continued behind in the temple among the doctors and elders, and learned men of Iſrael; to whom he propoſed ſeveral queſtions of learning, and alſo gave them anſwers: for he ſaid to them, *Whoſe ſon is the Meſſiah?* They anſwered, *The ſon of David: Why then*, ſaid he, *does he in the ſpirit call him Lord? when he ſaith*, The Lord ſaid to my Lord, ſit thou at my right hand, till I have made thine enemies thy footſtool. Then a certain principal Rabbi aſked him, *Haſt thou read books?* Jeſus anſwered,

(He

Jeſus, et ea quæ in libris continentur; et explicabat libros, et Legem, et præcepta, et ſtatuta, et myſteria quæ in libris Prophetarum continentur, res, quas nullius creaturæ intellectus percepit. Dicebat ergo magiſter iſte, Ego hactenus talem ſcientiam nec vidi, neque audivi! quis putas puer iſte erit?

(He had read) both books, and the things which were contained in books. And he explained to them the books of the Law, and precepts, and ſtatutes, and the myſteries which are contained in the books of the Prophets; things which the mind of no creature could reach. Then ſaid that Rabbi, *I never yet have ſeen or heard of ſuch knowledge! what do you think that boy will be?*

LI. Cumque adeſſet ibidem philoſophus Aſtronomiæ peritus, rogaretque Dominum Jeſum, num aſtronomiæ ſtuduiſſet? Reſpondebat ipſi Dominus Jeſus, exponebatque numerum ſphærarum, et corporum cœleſtium; eorumque naturas et operationes, oppoſitionem, aſpectum triquetrum, quadratum et ſextilem; progreſſionem eorundem et retrogradationem; computum denique et prognoſticationem; aliaque, quæ nullius unquam hominis ratio perveſtigavit.

LI. When a certain Aſtronomer, who was preſent, aſked the Lord Jeſus, *Whether he had ſtudied Aſtronomy?* The Lord Jeſus replied, and *told him the number of the ſpheres and heavenly bodies, as alſo their triangular, ſquare, and ſextile aſpect; their progreſſive and retrograde motion; their ſize and ſeveral prognoſtications;* and other things, which the reaſon of man had never diſcovered.

LII. Aderat quoque inter illos philoſophus, medicinæ et naturalis ſcientiæ peritiſſimus; qui cum rogaſſet Dominum Jeſum, An medicinæ ſtuduiſſet? Reſpondens ille [illegible]it ipſi phyſica et meta-

LII. There was alſo among them a philoſopher well ſkilled in phyſick and natural philoſophy, who aſked the Lord Jeſus, *Whether he had ſtudied phyſick?* He replied, and *explained to him phyſicks and*

phyſica, hyperphyſica et hypophyſica; virtutes quoque corporis et humores, eorundemque effectus; numerum item membrorum et oſſium, venarum, arteriarum, et nervorum; temperamenta etiam, calidum et ſiccum, frigidum et humidum, quæque ex hiſce orirentur; quænam eſſet operatio animæ in corpus; ejuſque ſenſationes et virtutes; facultates loquendi, iraſcendi, appetendi; denique congregationem et diſſipationem; aliaque, quæ nullius creaturæ intellectus unquam penetravit. Tunc ſurgebat philoſophus iſte, et Dominum Jeſum adorabat; et, O Domine Jeſu, inquit, ab hoc tempore ero diſcipulus tuus et ſervus.

and metaphyſicks, alſo thoſe things which were above and below the power of nature; the powers alſo of the body, its humours and their effects; alſo the number of its members, and bones, veins, arteries, and nerves; the ſeveral conſtitutions of body, hot and dry, cold and moiſt, and the tendencies of them; how the ſoul operated upon the body; what its various ſenſations and faculties were; the faculty of ſpeaking, anger, deſire; and laſtly, the manner of its compoſition and diſſolution; and other things, which the underſtanding of no creature had ever reached. Then that philoſopher aroſe, and worſhipped the Lord Jeſus, and ſaid, *O Lord Jeſus, from henceforth I will be thy diſciple and ſervant.*

LIII. Dum hæc et alia inter ſeſe loquebantur, aderat Domina diva Maria, poſtquam ipſum quærens triduum cum Joſepho circumiviſſet: videns ergo eum inter doctores ſedentem, perque vices ipſos rogantem et reſpondentem, dicebat illi, Mi fili, quare ita feciſti nobis? Ecce ego et pater tuus te magno cum

LIII. While they were diſcourſing on theſe and ſuch like things, the Lady St. Mary came in, having been three days walking about with Joſeph, ſeeking for him. And when ſhe ſaw him ſitting among the doctors, and in his turn propoſing queſtions to them, and giving anſwers, ſhe ſaid to him, *My ſon, why haſt thou done thus by us? Behold, I and thy father have*

been

labore quæſivimus. At ille, Quare, inquit, me quærebatis? An neſciebatis, decere me, ut in domo patris mei verſer? Sed ipſi non intelligebant verbà quæ cum ipſis loquebatur. Tunc doctores iſti rogabant Mariam, Hiccine ipſius eſſet filius? et annuente ipſa, O te felicem, aiebant, Maria, quæ hunc talem peperiſti. Revertebatur autem cum eis Nazaretham, et omnibus rebus morem ipſis gerebat. Et mater ejus conſervabat omnia verba iſta in corde ſuo. Dominus vero Jeſus proficiebat ſtatura, et ſapientia, et gratia apud Deum et homines.

been at much pains in ſeeking thee. He replied, *Why did ye ſeek me? Did ye not know that I ought to be employed in my father's houſe?* But they underſtood not the words which he ſaid to them. Then the doctors aſked Mary, *Whether this were her ſon?* And when ſhe ſaid, *He was*, they ſaid, *O happy Mary, who haſt born ſuch a ſon.* Then he returned with them to Nazareth, and obeyed them in all things: and his mother kept all theſe ſayings in her mind; and the Lord Jeſus grew in ſtature, and wiſdom, and favour with God and Man.

LIV. Atque ab hoc die miracula, arcana, et ſecreta ſua occulere cœpit, et Legi operam dare; donec annum trigeſimum compleret; quando Pater publice illum ad Jordanem declaravit, hac cælitus voce demiſſa, Hic eſt filius meus dilectus, in quo acquieſco; præſente Spiritu Sancto in forma columbæ candidæ.

LIV. But from this time he began to conceal his miracles and ſecret works, and gave himſelf to the ſtudy of the Law, till he arrived to the end of his thirtieth year; at which time the father publickly owned him at Jordan, ſending down this voice from heaven, *This is my beloved ſon, in whom I am well pleaſed*; the Holy Ghoſt being alſo preſent in the form of a dove.

LV. Hic eſt quem ſuppliciter adoramus, quoniam eſſentiam nobis et vitam dedit, et

LV. This is he whom we worſhip with all reverence, becauſe he gave us our life and

ex uteris matrum noſtrarum nos eduxit; qui corpus humanum propter nos aſſumpſit, noſque redemit, ut complecteretur nos æterna miſericordia, et gratiam ſuam ex liberalitate et beneficentia, ex generoſitate et benevolentia nobis exhiberet. Ipſi ſit gloria, et laus, et potentia, et imperium, ab hoc tempore in ſempiterna ſæcula. Amen.

and being, and brought us from our mother's womb; who, for our ſakes, took a human body, and hath redeemed us, that ſo he might embrace us with everlaſting mercy, and ſhew his free, large, bountiful grace and goodneſs to us. To him be glory and praiſe, and power, and dominion, from henceforth and for evermore. Amen.

Explicit Evangelium Infantiæ totum, auxilio Dei ſupremi, ſecundum ea quæ in archetypo invenimus.

The end of the whole Goſpel of the Infancy, *by the aſſiſtance of the ſupreme God, according to what we found in the original.*

CHAP. XXIII.

A Goſpel of our Saviour's Infancy under the Name of Thomas.

THIS Goſpel, or fragment of a Goſpel, is of the ſame tenour and deſign with the former, and is publiſhed here for the ſame reaſons. I tranſcribed it out of the learned Cotelerius's Notes on the *Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles*, l. vi. c. 17. p. 348. who printed it out of a manuſcript in the French King's Library, Numb. 2279.

Numb.

Numb. VIII.

Λόγος εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ μεγαλεῖα τῦ Κυρίυ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησῦ Χριςῦ.

An Account of the Actions and Miracles of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, in his Infancy.

Cap. I.

ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ἡγησάμην ἐγὼ Θωμᾶς ὁ Ἰσραηλίτης, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀδελφοῖς γνωρίσαι τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ μεγαλεῖα τῦ Χριςῦ, ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς Ἰησῦς Χριςὸς γεννηθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡμῶν, ἐν τῇ Βηθλεὲμ, ἐξισάμενος· ὧν ἡ ἀρχή ἐςιν αὕτη.

Chap. I.

I Thomas an Iſraelite, judged it neceſſary to make known to our brethren among the Gentiles, the actions and miracles of Chriſt in his childhood, which our Lord and God Jeſus Chriſt wrought after his birth in Bethlehem in our country, at which I myſelf was aſtoniſhed; the beginning of which, was as followeth.

Cap. II.

Τὸ γὰρ παιδίον Ἰησῦς πενταετὴς γενόμενος· βροχῆς δὲ γενομένης, καὶ παυσάσης τῆς βροχῆς, ὁ Ἰησῦς ἔπαιζεν ἐπὶ διοδεύσει τινὸς ῥύακος, καὶ τὰ παραῤῥέοντα ὕδατα συνήγαγετο εἰς λάκκυς, μεθ' ἑτέρων παίδων τῶν Ἑβραίων· καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὕδατα παραχρῆμα ἐγένοντο καθαρὰ καὶ ὑπήκουτα· λόγῳ δὲ μόνῳ ἐπάτεξεν αὐτὰ, καὶ πάντως ὑπετάσσοντο αὐτῷ· ἐπάραντος

Chap. II.

When the child Jeſus was five years of age, and there had been a ſhower of rain, which was now over, Jeſus was playing with other Hebrew boys by a running ſtream; and the water running over the banks, ſtood in little lakes; but the waters inſtantly became clear and uſeful again; he having ſmote them only by his word, they readily obeyed him. Then he took from the bank of the ſtream

ſome

δὲ ἐκ τῆς χείλεως αὐτῶν πηλὸν τρυφερὸν, ἔπλασεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ στρουθία τὸν ἀριθμὸν ιϐ'. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ παιδία παίζοντα σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἰδὼν δέ τις Ἰουδαῖος ἃ ἐποίησεν Ἰησοῦς ἐν σαββάτῳ πλάττων τὸν πηλὸν, ἀπῆλθεν εὐθέως, καὶ ἀπήγγειλε τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωσὴφ, λέγων· Ἰδοὺ τὸ παιδίον σε παίζον ἐπὶ τὰς ῥύακας, καὶ ἦρε πηλὸν, καὶ ἔπλασεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ στρουθία ιϐ', καὶ βεβηλεῖ τὸ σάββατον. Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰωσὴφ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ ἰδὼν, ἀνέκραξεν αὐτὸν, λέγων· Διατί ταῦτα ποιεῖς ἐν σαββάτῳ, ὃ οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖν; Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς συγκροτήσας τὰς παλάμας αὐτοῦ, ἀνέκραξε τοῖς στρουθίοις, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὑπάγετε, πετάσθητε, καὶ μέμνησθέ μου ζῶντες· καὶ πετασθέντων τῶν στρουθίων ἐξῆλθον κράζοντα. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐθαμβήθησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες διηγήσαντο τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ὅπερ εἶδον σημεῖον, ὃ ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

some ſoft clay, and formed out of it twelve ſparrows; and there were other boys playing with him. But a certain Jew ſeeing the things which he was doing (viz. his forming clay into the figures of ſparrows) on the ſabbath day, went preſently away, and told his father Joſeph, and ſaid, *Behold, thy boy is playing by the river ſide, and has taken clay, and formed it into twelve ſparrows, and profaneth the ſabbath.* Then Joſeph came to the place where he was, and when he ſaw him, called to him, and ſaid, *Why doeſt thou that which it is not lawful to do on the ſabbath day?* Then Jeſus clapping together the palms of his hands, called to the ſparrows, and ſaid to them, *Go, fly away; and while ye live remember me.* So the ſparrows fled away, making a noiſe. The Jews ſeeing this, were aſtoniſhed, and went away, and told their chief perſons what a ſtrange miracle they had ſeen wrought by Jeſus.

Cap. III.

Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Ἄννα τοῦ γραμματέως ἦν ἑστὼς ἐκεῖ μετὰ Ἰωσὴφ, καὶ λαβὼν κλάδον

Chap. III.

Beſides this, the ſon of Anna the ſcribe was ſtanding there with Joſeph, and took a

bough

ἰτέας, ἐξέχεε τὰ ὕδατα, ἃ συνήγαγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Ἰδὼν δὲ τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς τὸ γενόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀνόητε, τί ἠδίκησάν σε οἱ λάκκοι, καὶ ἐξέχεας τὰ ὕδατα; ἰδὲ νῦν καὶ σὺ ὡς ξύλον ἀποξηρανθήσῃ, καὶ ἐ μὴ ἐνέγκῃς φύλλα, ἔτε κλάδους, ἔτε καρπόν· καὶ εὐθέως ἐξηράνθη ὅλος. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δὲ γονεῖς τοῦ ξηρανθέντος ἐβάσασαν φέροντες αὐτὸν θρηνοῦντες τὴν νεότητα αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἤγοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσὴφ, καὶ ἐνεκάλεν αὐτὸν, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις παιδίον ἐργαζόμενον τοιαῦτα; Εἶτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς παρακληθεὶς παρὰ πάντων, ἰάτρευσεν αὐτὸν, ἐάσαντός τι μέλος εἶναι ἀργὸν ὀλίγον, εἰς τὸ προσέχειν αὐτούς.

bough of a willow tree, and ſcattered the waters which Jeſus had gathered (into lakes.) But the boy Jeſus ſeeing what he had done, became angry, and ſaid to him, *Thou fool, what harm did the lakes do thee, that thou ſhouldeſt ſcatter the water? Behold, now thou ſhalt wither as a tree, and ſhalt not bring forth either leaves, or branches, or fruit.* And immediately he became withered all over. Then Jeſus went away home. But the parents of the boy who was withered, lamenting the misfortune of his youth, took and carried him to Joſeph, accuſing him, and ſaid, *Why doſt thou keep a ſon who is guilty of ſuch actions?* Then Jeſus at the requeſt of all (who were preſent) did heal him, leaving only ſome ſmall member to continue withered, that they might take warning.

Cap. IV.

Πάλιν δέ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς κώμης, καὶ παιδίον τρέχον διερράγη εἰς τὸν ὦμον αὐτοῦ· καὶ πικρανθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· οὐκ ἀπελεύσῃ τὴν ὁδόν σου. Καὶ παραχρῆμα πεσὼν ἀπέθανεν. Ἰδόντες δέ τινες τὸ γενόμενον εἶπον·

Chap. IV.

Another time Jeſus went forth into the ſtreet, and a boy running by, ruſhed upon his ſhoulder; at which Jeſus being angry, ſaid to him, *Thou ſhalt go no farther*; and he inſtantly fell down dead: which when ſome perſons ſaw, they ſaid, *Where was this*

πόθεν τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον ἐγεννήθη, ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ ἔργον ἐστὶν ἕτοιμον; Καὶ προσελθόντες οἱ γονεῖς τοῦ τεθνεῶτος τῷ Ἰωσὴφ, κατεμέμφοντο λέγοντες· σὺ τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον ἔχων, οὐ δύνασαι μεθ' ἡμῶν οἰκεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν· ἢ δίδασκε τὸ παιδίον σε αὐτὸς εὐλογεῖν, καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθαι, ἢ ἔξελθε σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ὧδε· τὰ γὰρ παιδία ἡμῶν θανάσιμοι.

this boy born, that every thing which he ſays preſently cometh to paſs? Then the parents of the dead boy going to Joſeph, complained, ſaying, *You are not fit to live with us, in our city, having ſuch a boy as that: either teach him that he bleſs, and not curſe, or elſe depart hence with him, for he kills our children.*

Cap. V.

Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰωσὴφ τὸ παιδίον κατ' ἰδίαν, ἐνεθύμει αὐτὸ λέγων· ἵνα τί τοιαῦτα κατεργάζῃ, καὶ πάσχουσιν ἔτως, καὶ μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ διώκουσιν; Εἶπε δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι τὰ ῥήματά σε ταῦτα οὐκ εἰσὶν σὰ, ἀλλὰ διά σε σιγήσω· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οἱ εἰρηκότες σοι ταῦτα οἴσουσι τὴν κόλασιν τὴν αἰώνιον. Καὶ εὐθέως οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐτυφλώθησαν. Καὶ οἱ ἰδόντες ἐφοβήθησαν πάντες σφόδρα, καὶ ἠπόρουν, καὶ ἔλεγον περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα ὃ λέγει, εἴτε καλὸν, εἴτε κακὸν, ἔργον γίνεται· καὶ ἐθαύμαζον. Ἰδόντες δὲ ὅτι τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐγερθεὶς ὁ

Chap. V.

Then Joſeph calling the boy [Jeſus] by himſelf, inſtructed him, ſaying, *Why doeſt thou ſuch things to injure the people ſo, that they hate us and perſecute us?* But Jeſus replied, *I know that what thou ſayeſt is not of thyſelf, but for thy ſake I will ſay nothing; but they who have ſaid theſe things to thee, ſhall ſuffer everlaſting puniſhment.* And immediately they who had accuſed him, became blind, and all they who ſaw it were exceedingly afraid and confounded, and ſaid concerning him, *Whatſoever he ſaith, whether good or bad, immediately cometh to paſs:* and they were amazed. And when they ſaw this action of Chriſt,

Joſeph

Ἰωσὴφ ἐπελάβετο αὐτῦ τὸ ὠτίον, καὶ ἔτιλεν αὐτό· τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἀρκετόν σοι ἐστὶ, ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκειν αὐτὲς, καὶ μάλιστα ὡ σοφῶς ἔπραξας. Οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σός εἰμι; μή με λύπει.

Joſeph aroſe, and plucked him by the ear, at which the boy was angry, and ſaid to him, *Be eaſy; for if they ſeek for us, they ſhall not find us: thou haſt done very imprudently. Doſt thou not know that I am thine? Trouble me no more.*

CAP. VI.

Καθηγητὴς δέ τις ὀνόματι Ζακχαῖος ἐτύγχανεν ἐν μέρει τινὶ ἥκουσε τῦ Ἰησῦ ταῦτα λαλῦντος τῷ πατρὶ[a] αὐτῦ, καὶ ἐθαύμασε σφόδρα, ὅτι παιδίον ὢν τοιαῦτα φθέγγεται. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, προσήγγισε τῷ Ἰωσὴφ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι παιδίον φρόνιμον ἔχεις, καὶ νῦν ἔχει· δεῦρο ἂν παράδος μοι αὐτὸ, ὅπως μάθῃ γράμματα. Καθίσαντος δὲ αὐτῦ τῦ διδάξαι γράμματα τῷ Ἰησῦ, ἤρξατο τὸ πρῶτον στοιχεῖον τὸ Ἄλεφ· ὁ δὲ Ἰησῦς λέγει τὸ δεύτερον στοιχεῖον Μπὲθ, Γκίμελ· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ στοιχεῖα ἕως τέλυς· καὶ ἀναπτύξας βιβλίον, τὰς προφήτας ἐδίδασκε τὸν καθηγητήν. Αὐτὸς δὲ

CHAP. VI.

A certain ſchoolmaſter, named Zacchæus, ſtanding in a certain place, heard Jeſus ſpeaking theſe things to his father; and he was much ſurpriſed, that being a child he ſhould ſpeak ſuch things; and after a few days he came to Joſeph, and ſaid, *Thou haſt a wiſe and ſenſible child, ſend him to me, that he may learn to read.* When he ſat down to teach the letters to Jeſus, he began with the firſt letter *Aleph*; but Jeſus pronounced the ſecond letter *Mpeth (Beth), Cghimel (Gimel)*, and ſaid over all the letters to him to the end. Then opening a book, he taught his maſter the prophets: but he

[a] So I chooſe to read it, inſtead of τῷ πατρὶς αὐτῦ, as it is in Cotelerius, which makes the ſenſe very imperfect.

αἰσχυνθεὶς ἠπόρησεν, ὅτι ἐκ οἴδε, πόθεν αὐτὸς οἶδε τὰ γράμματα· καὶ ἐγερθεὶς ἀνεχώρησεν οἴκαδε, θαυμάζων ἐξισάμενος τὸ παράδοξον.

was aſhamed, and was at a loſs to conceive how he came to know the letters. And he aroſe and went home, wonderfully ſurpriſed at ſo ſtrange a thing.

Cap. VII.

Πορευομένε δὲ τε Ἰησε, εἶδέ τι ἐργαςήριον, καί τινα νεανίσκον [a] βάπτοντα εἰς λέβητας ἱμάτια, καὶ τζόχας τινὰς διαφόρες φαιὰς, τὸ καθῆκαν ἐκτελῶν, κατὰ τὴν τε ἑνὸς ἑκάςε βέλησιν. Εἰσελθὼν ἓν τὸ παιδίον Ἰησες ἵνα ποιῇντα τὸν νεανίαν, λαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν προσκειμένων ὑφασμάτων ****

Chap. VII.

As Jeſus was paſſing by a certain ſhop, he ſaw a young man dipping (or dying) ſome cloths and ſtockings in a furnace, of a ſad colour, doing them according to every perſon's particular order; the boy Jeſus going to the young man who was doing this, took alſo ſome of the cloths ****

CHAP. XXIV.

The two preceding Goſpels ſeem to have been originally the ſame. The antient Goſpel of Thomas different from thoſe of the Infancy of Chriſt. The Goſpels of Chriſt's Infancy received by the Gnoſticks in the ſecond century: known to Mahomet and the Compilers of the Alcoran. Mahometan Traditions concerning Chriſt's Infancy.

I. *THE two preceding Goſpels* (viz. that publiſhed by Cotelerius, and that publiſhed by Mr. Sike) *ſeem to have been originally the ſame, or to have been formed out of the ſame original.* It is evident they are now very different, each con-

[a] So undoubtedly we ſhould read, inſtead of βάπτων, as it is in Cotelerius.

taining

taining many relations which are not in the other; but it is nevertheleſs very probable they both are the product of ſome one antient Goſpel, which went through very many alterations, interpolations, &c. To ſupport this, I obſerve,

That there are ſeveral relations in both, which cannot with any reaſon be doubted to have been the ſame. For inſtance, the ſtory of Chriſt's *forming the twelve ſparrows on the Sabbath-day out of mud, a certain Jew's being offended, Chriſt's clapping his hands, and the ſparrows flying away*, in Cotelerius's Goſpel, Ch. II. is related with very little alteration in Mr. Sike's, Ch. XLVI. compared with XXXVI. So is that ſtory, Cotel. Ch. IV. with Sike's XLVII. *The ſtory of Chriſt's learning his alphabet of a ſchoolmaſter named Zacchæus*, in Cotelerius's Goſpel, Ch. VI. is related with little difference in Mr. Sike's, XLVIII, XLIX. So alſo the *account of Chriſt's going into the dyer's ſhop*, of which we have a part in Cotelerius's Goſpel, Ch. VII. is related at large in Mr. Sike's, Ch. XXXVII. From hence it is evident, near half that Goſpel which Cotelerius publiſhed, is contained in Mr. Sike's; which, if it be impartially conſidered, as alſo that the former of theſe is only a fragment or imperfect part of a more large Goſpel, and therefore might contain, as very probably it did, many other things which are in Mr. Sike's; it ſeems to have as much probability as the nature of the thing will allow, that they both were either *originally one and the ſame, or proceeded from one and the ſame original.*

II. The *Goſpel under the name of* Thomas *the Apoſtle*, ſo frequently mentioned by the antients, *was a book different from that*, intitled, *Concerning the Infancy of our Saviour.* This obſervation is neceſſary to be made here, not only becauſe in that Goſpel which is publiſhed by Cotelerius, the author pretends to have been Thomas the Apoſtle, but becauſe without it there is much danger of confuſion in treating on this ſubject. Mr. Fabritius, in his large collections relating to this Goſpel, has with much labour amaſſed together the teſtimonies of the antients and moderns concerning the *Goſpel of Thomas*, and prefixed them to theſe two Goſpels of the *Infancy*

of our Saviour; but in ſuch a manner, as muſt needs involve the reader in the utmoſt perplexity: to avoid this, I have made the preſent obſervation, viz. that the antient Goſpel of Thomas was *very different* from the Goſpel of the Infancy of our Saviour. This appears, becauſe

1. *The antient Chriſtian writers have mentioned theſe as two different and diſtinct books.* In Pope Gelaſius's Decree we read, *Evangelium nomine Thomæ Apocryphum, The Goſpel under the name of Thomas is Apocryphal*; and a little after, *Liber de Infantia Salvatoris Apocryphus, The book of the Infancy of our Saviour is Apocryphal.* In a ſmall tract of Timothy, a Preſbyter of Conſtantinople [a], we find, among the other books forged by the Manichees, recited as a diſtinct one, Τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν Εὐαγγέλιον, *The Goſpel according to* Thomas; and a little after, Τὰ παιδικὰ λεγόμενα τῷ Κυρίῳ ἃ συνέταξαν οἱ αὐτοὶ, θέλοντες δόκησιν ἀποφῆναι τὴν σάρκωσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὐκ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ; *The accounts of our Lord's infancy, which the Manichees forged, with deſign to repreſent Chriſt not as having been really incarnate, but only in appearance ſo.* This Timothy is ſuppoſed by Dr. Cave [b] to have lived about the year of Chriſt DCX.

2. *The Goſpel of Thomas, mentioned by Cyril of Jeruſalem, and ſeveral of the antients after him, was compoſed by Thomas, one of the three diſciples of Manes, the father of the Manichees* [c] (i. e. in the latter end of the third century, about the time of Aurelius Probus, or Diocleſian); *but the books of our Saviour's Infancy were extant in the time of Irenæus, and the forgery of the Gnoſticks in the beginning of the ſecond century.* This is clear from the noted chapter in Irenæus, adv. Hæreſ. (viz. c. xvii. l. 1.) which, as far as it relates to my purpoſe, I ſhall preſently produce at length.

I muſt indeed confeſs, that there was a Goſpel under the name of *Thomas*, extant before this compoſed by the diſciple of Manes, as appears by that place of Origen, which I have had occaſion ſo often to cite in the ſecond part of the former

[a] Fabric. Cod. Apocr. t. 1. p. 239.
[b] Hiſt. Liter. Vol. I. p. 447.
[c] See the former Volume, Part II. Ch. XL. No. LXV. and particularly the teſtimony of Cyril there.

volume

volume (viz. Homil. in Luc. i.). But there is not the leaſt ground to conclude, either from Origen or any one of the Chriſtian writers, that the Goſpel under the name of that Apoſtle had any reference, or treated at all about the affairs and actions of our Saviour's infancy.

From all this I infer, that I have not here any occaſion to concern myſelf with the Goſpel of Thomas; but concluding it to be a loſt book, muſt judge it ſufficient to refer the reader to its proper place among ſuch books (viz. Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XL. Num. LXV.) My buſineſs now is with the treatiſes of our Saviour's Infancy; and relating to thoſe, I obſerve, farther,

III. *Some of thoſe called Chriſtians in the beginning of the ſecond century, publiſhed and received ſome book, or books, in which were contained the memorable actions of our Saviour in his infancy, or the hiſtory of Chriſt before he entered upon his publick miniſtry.* The Chriſtians I mean were the Marcoſians, a branch of the noted ſect called Gnoſticks; and as to the fact, we are aſſured by Irenæus [a], who ſaith,

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν, ἃς αὐτοὶ ἔπλασαν, παρεισφέρουσιν εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀνοήτων, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας μὴ ἐπισταμένων γράμματα. Προσπαραλαμβάνουσι δὲ εἰς τοῦτο κἀκεῖνο τὸ ῥᾳδιούργημα, ὡς τοῦ Κυρίου (παιδὸς ὄντος καὶ γράμματα μανθάνοντος [b]) καὶ τοῦ διδασκάλου φήσαντος, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν,

Beſides, they produce an infinite multitude of Apocryphal and ſpurious Scriptures which they have forged, with which they make the unthinking, and thoſe who know not the true Scriptures, aſtoniſhed. They have alſo added this falſe ſtory, *That our Lord (when he was a child, and learning his alphabet) of his ſchoolmaſter, when he ſaid to him as is uſual,*

[a] Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 1. c. 17.

[b] The Greek in that parenthesis I took out of the margin, it not being in the Greek of Irenæus, which is preſerved in Epiphanius, Hæreſ. 34. §. 18. but ſupplied by the editor out of the Old Latin Tranſlation.

εἰπὲ Ἄλφα, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ Ἄλφα· πάλιν τε τὸ Βῆτα τὸν διδασκάλε κελεύσαντος εἰπεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Κύριον· Σύ μοι πρότερον εἰπὲ τί ἐστι τὸ Ἄλφα, καὶ τότε σοὶ ἐρῶ τί ἐστι τὸ Βῆτα. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐξηγοῦνται, ὡς αὐτῷ μόνῳ τὸ ἄγνωστον ἐπισταμένῳ, ὃ ἐφανέρωσεν ἐν τῷ Ἄλφα.

ſay A, anſwered *A*; *again, when the maſter bid him ſay* B, the Lord ſaid to him, *Do you firſt tell me what* A *is, and then I will tell you what* B *is.* And this they ſo expound, as if he alone underſtood the myſtery which he revealed in the letter *A.*

I know not that any of the antient Chriſtians beſides the Gnoſticks did receive theſe books as genuine, or indeed that any one beſides Irenæus has made mention of them within the firſt four centuries after Chriſt.

IV. *The Goſpel of the Infancy of our Saviour was known to Mahomet, or thoſe who aſſiſted him in compiling the Alcoran.* I add *thoſe who aſſiſted him*; becauſe it is certain that Mahomet himſelf could neither write nor read, as he confeſſes twice in the ſame chapter of the Alcoran (viz. Ch. VII. intitled, *Of Priſons*, p. 165.); and I have in the former Volume (Append. p. 462, &c.) ſhewn who his aſſiſtants were. *Theſe*, I ſay, *knew the Goſpel of the Infancy of our Saviour.* I have already proved in the Appendix now cited, that many, or moſt of thoſe things which are in the Alcoran, relating to Chriſt and Chriſtianity (which I have alſo there produced) *were taken out of ſome Apocryphal or ſpurious writings*, and particularly inſtanced in ſome taken out of the Goſpel of the Infancy. Since the writing of that volume, I find the learned Hinkelmannus has aſſerted in his *Preface to his Arabick edition of the Alcoran*, that Mahomet and his aſſiſtants made uſe of this Goſpel in many places of the Alcoran. *In hunc infelici ſuo et aliorum fato cum adjutoribus ſuis incidit Impoſtor Mahomedes, et paſſim, præcipue capite tertio, multa ex eodem in Corenum ſuum tranſcripſit magno ſuo opprobrio, et novæ religionis detrimento*; i. e. *The impoſtor Mahomet, by his unlucky fate, and his diſciples,*

ples, met with this book (of the Infancy of Chriſt), *and has in many places, eſpecially in the third chapter, tranſcribed many things out of it into his Alcoran, to his own ſhame and the injury of his new religion.* If my ſearches into the Alcoran do not deceive me, this learned editor is miſtaken, and, inſtead of *many places*, there are but *two only* to be found there, in which the compilers have tranſcribed out of this Goſpel. I queſtion not but he confounded the *Goſpel of the Birth of Mary*, or, which is the ſame thing, the *Protevangelion of James*, with the *Goſpel of the Infancy*: for whereas he cites the third chapter of the Alcoran, and ſaith much of it was tranſcribed out of the *Goſpel of the Infancy*, he is miſtaken, the contents of that chapter being manifeſtly taken more out of the *Goſpel of the Birth of Mary*, Ch. II. or the *Protevangelion of James*, Ch. IV. Notwithſtanding this, as I have above obſerved [a], there are two things in the Alcoran manifeſtly taken out of the *Goſpel of the Infancy*, as that Ch. III. and Ch. V. intitled, *Of the Table* (in my collection out of the Alcoran, Num. II. and Num. VII. Vol. I. p. 451, and 455.) *Concerning Chriſt's ſpeaking in his cradle*, which is in ſo many words in the *Goſpel of the Infancy*, publiſhed by Mr. Sike, Ch. I. and the *ſtory of Chriſt's making a bird out of mud or ſlime*, in the laſt-cited places of the Alcoran, which is in both the Goſpels above produced, viz. that of Cotelerius, Ch. II. and that of Mr. Sike, Ch. XXXVI. and XLVI.

It will not be improper to add here, that though the generality of the Mahometans know little or nothing concerning Chriſt beſides what is contained in the Alcoran, yet there have been among ſome of them *ſome traditions relating to Chriſt's infancy which are not there*; ſome of which, as they are collected by Mr. Fabritius in ſeveral places, I ſhall here lay together, particularly,

1. That which Mr. Sike [c] relates out of La Broſſe's Perſic Lexicon; *It is affirmed*, ſays he, *in an Apocryphal book of the Perſians, that our Saviour practiſed the dyer's trade, and*

[a] See Vol. I. p. 464. It is alſo obſerved by Cotelerius, Annot. in Conſtit. Apoſtolic. l. 6. c. 17.

[b] In Notis ad Evang. Infant. p. 55.

that at once dying in the ſame liquor, he made ſeveral pieces of cloth of the different colours which he had a mind; on which account the dyers in Perſia honour him as their patron, and call a dye-houſe the Shop of Chriſt. Let the reader remember here, that we have a ſtory of our Saviour's dying cloth in both the preceding Goſpels of his Infancy, viz. in that of Cotelerius, Chap. VII. and that of Mr. Sike, Chap. XXXVII. and that in this place Chriſt is ſaid to have dyed ſeveral cloths of different colours in the ſame furnace and liquor.

2. Sir John Chardin, in his Travels to Perſia [a], tells us, that *the legends of the Perſians contain not only that which is found concerning Chriſt in the Goſpels, but alſo the fables which are in the legends of the Oriental Chriſtians, and particularly in an Armenian legend, intitled,* The Goſpel of the Infancy, *which is nothing but a heap of fabulous miracles*; among others, *that Jeſus Chriſt ſeeing Joſeph under very great concern that he had ſawed a board of cedar too ſhort,* ſaid to him, *Why art thou ſo much concerned? Give me the board to hold at one end, and do thou pull the other; and ſo he made it longer.—That having been ſent to ſchool to learn his A, B, C; when the maſter would have made him ſay* A, *he ſtopped him, and ſaid to the maſter,* Tell me firſt why the firſt letter of the alphabet is made thus: *upon which the maſter calling him a little prattler, he anſwered,* I will not ſay A, till you have told me why the firſt letter is thus made. *The maſter being then angry, Jeſus ſaid to him,* I will tell you it myſelf: the firſt letter of the alphabet is formed of three perpendicular lines upon one line going acroſs them (*the Armenian* A *is made ſo, almoſt like an* m *turned upſide down,* viz. *thus,* III) to ſhew us, that the beginning of all things is one Being in three Perſons.

Here I would alſo obſerve to the reader, that, if I miſtake not, the *foundation of both theſe ſtories is in the preceding Goſpels.* The firſt, concerning the *piece of wood, which Joſeph had ſawed too ſhort, being made longer by Joſeph's pulling at one end, and Chriſt's pulling at the other,* ſeems to me manifeſtly taken from the Goſpel publiſhed by Mr. Sike, Ch. XXXVIII,

[a] Apud Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. tom. 3. p. 418, 419.

XXXIX,

XXXIX, where we read, that when *Joſeph went abroad to work as a carpenter, and wanted any piece of wood to be made longer or ſhorter, Jeſus, whom he took along with him, would ſtretch out his hand, and it became according to his wiſh*; and particularly, when he had made the King's throne too ſhort, and was in great diſtreſs, *Jeſus bad him take one ſide, and himſelf took the other, and by pulling it thus, they brought it to its proper length.*

The other ſtory, viz. that concerning *Chriſt's learning his alphabet, and refuſing to ſay on till his maſter had told him the meaning of the letter*, is plainly founded upon, and almoſt the ſame with that in both the preceding Goſpels, viz. in that of Mr. Sike, Ch. XLVIII, XLIX. and that of Cotelerius, Ch. VI.

3. Like to the laſt is that other Mahometan tradition *concerning Chriſt in his infancy*, which Mr. Hilſcher has related [a], viz. that when Chriſt's ſchoolmaſter had, according to the ordinary cuſtom ſaid before him, *In the name of the moſt Merciful*, Jeſus aſked him, *What was the meaning of the three letters* B, S, M, *in the word Beſmi* [b]*?* And when the maſter did not know, he told him, B *ſignified Bahah Allah* (viz. the Majeſty of God), S *ſignified Sannah Allah* (viz. the Highneſs of God), M *ſignified Molcoho* (viz. the Kingdom of God). This Mr. Hilſcher cites from Meracci, a famous commentator on the Alcoran; and there is no queſtion but it is of the ſame original with the preceding.

From all this it is evident *the Mahometans were acquainted with the Goſpel of Chriſt's Infancy*; and very probably the more ſo, becauſe Mahomet had referred to it, or cited out of it in his Alcoran. The notion commonly prevailing among them is, that *the true Goſpel is not among the Chriſtians now*,

[a] Schedinſm. de Studiis Chriſti ἄτιρ γραφῆς, inter Miſcellan. Lipſ. T. V. p. 23, &c. apud Fabrit. Cod. Apoc. N. T. tom. 3. p. 424, and p. 427.

[b] The Arabick word بسم *Beſmi*, ſignifies *In the Name*; and the firſt words of the chapters in the Alcoran begin, *In the name of God moſt gracious and merciful.*

but

but was taken up by Chriſt to heaven with him[a]; and *duquel il n'eſt reſté que ce qui en eſt cité dans l'Alcoran*, viz. *of which* (ſays Mr. Herbelot) *they ſuppoſe nothing left but what is cited in the Alcoran*[b]: and accordingly in an Arabick Treatiſe, intitled *Kaſchf al Dhonoun*, Mr. Herbelot tells us[c], that the "Muſſulmans diſent que l'Evangile qui commence par *Biſ-* "*milah*, &c. c'eſt-à-dire, *Au nom du Pere, et du Fils, et du* "*Saint Eſprit*, n'eſt pas celui que Dieu a envoyé à Jeſu "Chriſt; car celui-ci, diſent-ils, commence par *Biſmilah*, "&c. *Au nom de Dieu clément et miſéricordieux*, et ne contient "que des Enſeignemens; au lieu que le premier n'eſt qu'une "Hiſtoire de ſa Vie, écrite par quatre de ſes Diſciples; i. e. "*That the Muſſulmans ſay, that the Goſpel which begins with* "*the word* Biſmilah, *&c.* viz. In the name of the Father, and "the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, *is not that Goſpel which God* "*ſent by Jeſus Chriſt; for that, ſay they, begins* Biſmilah, *&c.* "viz. In the name of God moſt gracious and merciful, *and* "*contains nothing but the Doctrines of Chriſt; inſtead of* "*which, the former is nothing but a Hiſtory of his Life, written* "*by four of his Diſciples.*" Mr. Fabritius, in a note on this place of Mr. Herbelot, ſays, [d] *Intelligitur Evangelium Infantiæ, quod ex Arabico vertit Henricus Sike*, viz. *That the Arabick author meant* the Goſpel of the Infancy, *tranſlated by Mr. Sike*, when he ſpeaks of a Goſpel which begins thus, *In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.* But in this he is moſt manifeſtly miſtaken; becauſe, according to the author, this Goſpel contained an account of the Life of Chriſt, written by four of his Diſciples, which is not in the *Goſpel of the Infancy*, although it begins with thoſe words; which it was very uſual for authors or tranſcribers to prefix or ſubjoin to their books.

[a] See the paſſage out of Chardin's Travels, above, Vol. I. Append. vers. fin.

[b] Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 315.

[c] Loc. denuo cit.

[d] Cod. Apoc. N. T. tom. 3 p. 372.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Goſpels of Chriſt's Infancy are ſpurious and Apocryphal: not received by the antient Chriſtians: the Deſign of them falſe. Chriſt wrought no Miracles in his Infancy: this proved from the Silence of the Scriptures and Fathers: from the expreſs Declaration of Scripture, viz. John ii. 11. *That text critically diſcuſſed. Intimations in Scripture, that our Saviour wrought no Miracles in his Infancy: poſitive Aſſertions of the Fathers* (viz. *Epiphanius, Nonnus, Chryſoſtom, and Theophylact*) *to the ſame Purpoſe.*

V. *THE Goſpels of our Saviour's Infancy are Apocryphal:* For,

ARG. I. *They were not acknowledged as authentick by any of the antient Chriſtians,* who are to be our judges in theſe matters. Prop. III.

They are not mentioned in any of the antient catalogues of ſacred books, and therefore are to be eſteemed Apocryphal by Prop. IV. Not cited in any of the antient Chriſtian writings, and ſo Apocryphal by Prop. V. Not read in their Churches, and ſo Apocryphal by Prop. VI.

ARG. II. *Theſe Goſpels are Apocryphal, becauſe the whole contexture of them is falſe, or contrary to certainly known truth.* Prop. VIII.

The contexture and deſign of theſe Goſpels is to relate a large ſeries of miracles and wonderful actions, wrought by our Saviour during his infancy, or before he entered upon his publick miniſtry; but it is certain by the moſt inconteſtable evidence, that *our Saviour wrought no ſuch miraculous actions, nor indeed any one miracle during the whole of his infant ſtate, or before he was about thirty years old.* For the proof of this I ſhall urge,

1. The univerſal and perfect ſilence of the Scriptures of the New

New Teſtament, as to any ſuch actions wrought by Chriſt in his infancy.

2. The univerſal and perfect ſilence of all the firſt Chriſtian writers.

3. The poſitive declaration and intimation of Scripture to the contrary.

4. The poſitive aſſertion of ſeveral Fathers to the contrary.

1. *The univerſal and perfect ſilence of the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, as to any miraculous actions wrought by our Saviour in his infancy,* is no inconſiderable proof *that none were wrought by him.* For had there been any ſuch multitudes of miracles wrought by our Saviour, as theſe Goſpels pretend, it is not poſſible to ſuppoſe his own diſciples and companions ſhould have been ſo entirely unacquainted with them, as not to have known any one of them. It cannot be with any reaſon imagined, but that they who had the greateſt intimacy with him, and his mother too, would have ſometime heard ſomewhat concerning the many ſtrange and ſurpriſing miracles, which theſe Goſpels aſcribe to him in his infant ſtate; eſpecially conſidering that they were ſo particularly informed as to the circumſtances of his wondrous conception and birth. Now had they known them, the ſame reaſons which influenced them to publiſh his other miracles, would have influenced them alſo to publiſh theſe; which as they have not done, nor ſaid any thing of this ſort, except his diſputing with the doctors, Luke ii. 47. I think it reaſonable to conclude that our Saviour wrought none.

2. The ſame may be fairly concluded *from the univerſal and perfect ſilence of all the firſt Chriſtian writers in this matter.* Had our Lord wrought ſuch numbers of mighty works in his infancy, it is prepoſterous to imagine, that in a century or two they ſhould be quite buried and forgot. Can it be thought none of them would have been remembered, and tranſmitted down through an age or two? none of them be found out by the zealous Chriſtians of thoſe times, who were ſo ſtudious

to

to know whatſoever related to Jeſus Chriſt? And if they were then known, it is no leſs prepoſterous to imagine, that no footſteps, no intimation of them ſhould be found in any of the Chriſtian writings. But it is certain, that if we ſearch all the firſt records and monuments of Chriſtianity, we ſhall not find any one inſtance, except that forgery expreſsly charged upon the Gnoſticks (about his learning the alphabet) by Irenæus adv. Hæreſ. l. 1. c. 17.

Though they continually urge our Saviour's miracles, done in his publick miniſtry, to ſupport their new religion againſt the objections of the Heathens, yet they never make any appeal to any done in his infancy; which I think would at leaſt have been as ſerviceable, if not more ſerviceable to their purpoſe, than the former. Yea, and though it was particularly objected againſt Chriſt by Celſus [a], and others, that *he was a magician, and learned his magical arts of the Egyptians, among whom he was brought up*, yet even on this occaſion we find no mention of the miracles which he wrought in Egypt; whereas nothing would have been a more demonſtrative anſwer to them, than to have inſtanced in thoſe miracles which he wrought there; and to have ſhewn, that as they could not poſſibly have been performed by any art of magick, ſo they were performed in his infancy when he was incapable to learn any thing, and when it was impoſſible he ſhould have learnt thoſe arts [b].

3. It is yet more evident, that Chriſt wrought no miracles in his infancy, *from the expreſs declaration and intimations of Scripture to the contrary.*

(1.) The expreſs declaration I refer to, is that in St. John's Goſpel, ch. ii. v. 11. where we read, *This beginning of miracles did Jeſus in Cana of Galilee, and manifeſted forth his glory; and his Diſciples believed on him.* Before I come di-

[a] Vid. Orig. cont. Celſ. l. 1. p. 30. et l. 8. p. 384. et Spencer. Annot. in lib. 1. p. 7.

[b] See the former Volume, Part II. Ch. XIV. p. 191, 192. And beſides the places there cited, in which the Heathens charge Chriſt as a magician, out of Euſebius, Arnobius, and Auſtin, ſee Lactant. l. 5. c. 3. Auguſt. de Conſenſ. Evang. l. 1. c. 8, 9, 10, 14. and Elmenhorſt's Notes on the place of Arnobius there cited.

rectly

rectly to the proof which I intend from this text, I must premise, that though it may seem contrary to the methods of strict reasoning, to call and make use of St. John's Gospel *as Scripture*, before I have (which is to be done in the next part) proved it to be Canonical; yet, considering all collateral circumstances, it can be no way unfair to suppose him a true historian, and not mistaken in a plain matter of fact, which is all I desire or suppose here; and, this premised, I say, *this text absolutely overthrows the Gospels of the Infancy*, and proves, *that our Saviour wrought no miracles before the time of his entrance upon his publick ministry*, viz. when he was about thirty years old; for St. John's words are not capable of any other construction, than that *the miracle which Christ then wrought at Cana in Galilee*, viz. his turning water into wine, *was the first miracle which he wrought*, Ταύτην ἐποίησε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων, i. e. as it is well translated by the old Syriack interpreter, ܗܳܕܶܐ ܗܝ ܐܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܝܫܘܥ viz. *This was the first sign which Jesus wrought*. And indeed, as Grotius on the text well observes, *Ante auspicationem muneris signa supervacua fuissent*, miracles had been superfluous, or to no purpose, before he entered upon his publick ministry.

I confess, there is another gloss upon the text; and I find some would have it, that the words only mean, that *this was the first miracle which Christ wrought* in that place, viz. in Cana; *but that he had wrought other miracles before elsewhere*. This opinion is mentioned by Beza [a], Chemnitius [b], Dr. Collins [c], and others; but this is contrary to the plain contexture of the words; and if they meant thus, why does the Evangelist add, *he thereby manifested his glory*, as though he now first began by miracles to appear glorious? Besides, it is incredible that the Apostle should call this his first miracle in Cana; because neither he, nor any of the other Evangelists tell us of any other miracles which he did there.

I find also another objection, which is taken from ver. 3.

[a] Annot. in loc.

[b] Harmon. Evangel. tom. 1. l. 2. cap. 20. p. 97.

[c] English Annotations on the place.

where

where, when the Virgin perceived wine wanting, ſhe ſays, *They have no wine*, and ver. 5. where ſhe ſays to the ſervant, *Whatſoever he ſaith unto you, do it*; from whence they conclude, *ſhe expected a miracle, and was confident that Chriſt would work one to ſupply the want*; and that ſhe was thus perſuaded, becauſe *ſhe had ſeen him work miracles before*, and, as they imagine, *that ſhe had ſeen him on ſome occaſion in an extraordinary manner ſupply the neceſſities and indigences of the family, when he lived private with Joſeph.* This opinion I find mentioned by Chemnitius [a], Dr. Lightfoot [b], Dr. Whitby [c], but eſpouſed by Le Clerc [d].

" Elle lui demandóit qu'il ſuppléât par un miracle ce qui " manquoit à ces gens là, comme Eliè avoit autrefois aug- " menté l'huile de la veuve de Sarepta. Pour faire cette de- " mande à Jeſus Chriſt, il falloit que la Sainte Vierge eût été " temoin de quelque miracle fait en particulier par ſon Fils; " car on voit par le v. 11. qu'il n'en avoit encore point fait " en public: viz. *She requeſted of Chriſt that he would ſupply* " *what was wanting by a miracle, as Elijah had heretofore in-* " *creaſed the widow of Sarepta's oil. In making this requeſt to* " *Jeſus Chriſt, it muſt be implied, that the holy Virgin had be-* " *fore ſeen ſome miracle wrought by her ſon in private; for it* " *appears by* v. 11. *that he had not yet wrought any in pub-* " *lick.*" To the ſame purpoſe Dr. Collins on ver. 3. *Though Chriſt had done no publick miracle, yet what the Virgin might have ſeen of him in thirty years, while he lived at home with her, we cannot tell.*

To which I anſwer, that if our Saviour wrought *no publick miracle*, it makes not againſt what I contend for, nor at all for the credit of *the Goſpel of the Infancy*, the miracles which are related there being *ſufficiently publick.* But the truth is, there is no foundation for the opinion, becauſe ſhe might well aſk this queſtion upon her certain knowledge that he was the Son of God, and the Meſſiah, though ſhe had never ſeen him

[a] Lib. cit. p. 100.

[b] Second part of the Harmony of the Evangeliſts on John ii. 3. p. 109.

[c] Annot. on John ii. 11.

[d] See his French Teſtament, and his Notes on John ii. 3. and 11.

do

do any miracle; but beſides, ſhe had lately had ſufficient intimation that he now would work miracles, and manifeſt his glory by John's teſtimony, and the Spirit's deſcending upon him, and from what he had ſaid but the day before, John i. 51. *From henceforth ye ſhall ſee the heavens opened, and the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending upon the ſon of man.* "In this "he plainly told his Diſciples (ſays Doctor Lightfoot[a]) there "preſent (and there is very good ground to ſuppoſe her there "in the company too), that they ſhould ſee [ἀπ' ἄρτι] from "that time ſome divine and heavenly manifeſtation of him— "and that he would now begin to ſhew himſelf, in his act-"ings and working of wonders, agreeable and ſuitable to one "that had heaven and angels at his will and attendance. "Upon this it is that ſhe builds her requeſt, &c."

Upon the whole then I think it is very evident, that our Saviour wrought no miracle before this in Cana, of *turning the water into wine*, in the beginning of his publick miniſtry; and conſequently, that all thoſe ſtories in the Goſpels of Chriſt's Infancy are falſe and ſpurious, and therefore the Goſpels themſelves Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

I ſhall only obſerve farther here, that in ſearching among the criticks on the preceding text, I have obſerved two of them, who not only explain it as I have done, but *apply it to the ſame purpoſe*, viz. Eſtius and Chemnitius, who hence conclude the ſpuriouſneſs of the accounts of our Saviour's Infancy; whoſe judgments I cannot here omit.

The firſt (viz. Eſtius, on John ii. 3.) ſpeaks to this purpoſe: "It is a queſtion (ſays he) whether Mary ever ſaw her "ſon work a miracle before this time, when he turned water "into wine. One would be apt to think ſhe had, becauſe "ſhe ſo confidently requeſts him to work a miracle, as though "it were ſomewhat uſual to her. But on the contrary, the "Evangeliſt declares *Chriſt to have wrought his firſt miracle "now; for the book of the* Infancy of our Saviour, *in which "are related certain miracles wrought by Chriſt, has been re-"jected by the Church as Apocryphal.* So that we are to con-

[a] Loc. jam cit.

"clude

" clude, that Chriſt never wrought any miracle, which was " ſeen, before this time: and as to the Virgin's petition, it " proceeded from her great faith in her ſon, as the Son of " God, according as the Angel had told her [a]."

Again on theſe words, ver. 11. *This beginning of miracles did Jeſus*, he notes, *Mendax igitur eſt liber de Infantia Salvatoris*, viz. *That the book of our Saviour's Infancy appears from hence to be lying and falſe.*

The learned Chemnitius [b] expreſſes himſelf more largely to the following purpoſe: " Some ſuppoſe our Saviour " wrought miracles before this in Cana; but Chryſoſtom " has very juſtly diſproved this opinion, and *refuted the* " *groundleſs ſtaries of our Saviour's Infancy*; for the Evange- " liſt ſays, that by this miracle *Chriſt began to manifeſt his* " *glory, ſo that his Diſciples believed on him:* but the miracles " of our *Saviour's Infancy*, if he had wrought any, would " have been more wonderful and famous, as being wrought " by a boy, than thoſe which he wrought afterwards; ſo that " his glory would have been before manifeſted to Iſrael; al- " though the Baptiſt ſays, *he was ſent to manifeſt it*, John i. " 31."

The antient editor of Jerome's works uſes the ſame argument againſt the book of Chriſt's Infancy, viz. that *Chriſt wrought no miracle before this in Cana*; and thinks the argument ſo good, as for that reaſon to omit inſerting it among Jerome's works; though he ſays he found it in a MS. among Jerome's works, as tranſlated by him. See Par. II. Tract. VI. Epiſt. 82. Fol. 140. after the Epiſtle of Jerome to Chromatius and Heliodorus.

(2.) As it is evident from the expreſs declaration of Scripture, that Chriſt wrought no miracle in his infancy; ſo *there are ſeveral intimations in the ſacred writings*, from whence the ſame may be fairly deduced; for inſtance,

1.) Mark iii. 21. we read, that when our *Lord's friends*, οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ, i. e. *his kinſmen*, or as the Syriack interpreter

[a] In difficilior. loc. Script. in Evang. Joann. c. ii.

[b] Harmon. Evang. tom. 1. l. 2. c. 26. p. 97.

justly paraphrases it, ܘܫܡܥܘ ܐܚܘܗܝ *his brethren heard of it*, (viz. his miracles which he had wrought, and the reports concerning him) *they went out to lay hold on him*; *for they said*, ὅτι ἐξέστη, *he is beside himself*; ܕܢܦܩ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ i. e. *that he is gone out of himself*, or *out of his senses*, as the Syriack interpreter translates it very agreeably to the original and common meaning of the Greek word.

Now hence I argue, that our Saviour had wrought no miracles in his infancy, or before this time of entering upon his public ministry; for if he had, his own relations and family would not, could not have been so surprised, as to go about to take him up *as a mad-man*, *or one out of his senses*. If miracles had been as commonly wrought by Christ during his minority as these Gospels of the Infancy pretend, they would not have thought it at all strange, or looked upon him as *a possessed person*. I know, indeed, there are some learned men, who, unwilling that our Lord should go under such a charge, or his relations be guilty of such a crime in charging him, have given the word ἐξέστη another turn, and would persuade us that it signifies *Christ's fainting*, *or falling into a swoon*, through the heat, weariness of his spirits, the press of the multitude, his want of food, &c. The first author of this interpretation was the learned Casaubon, in one of his *Exercitations upon Baronius's Annals* [a], who was led to it by a persuasion that *the Arabick translator took it in this sense*. He is followed in his interpretation by Grotius, Le Clerc, and Dr. Whitby, in their Annotations on the place. But however pious the interpretation may be in its design, it cannot be just; and though it be charitable towards our Lord's relations to clear them of such a charge; yet I cannot but say with Lud. de Dieu [b], that *I know no reason why we should be so charitable towards them*, *when it is certain they were not so to our Saviour*, *but envied him*, *and did not believe on him* (see John vii. 3, 4, 5.), nor credit the truth of his doctrine and miracles.

[a] Exercit. xiv. Ann. xxxii. N. 29.

[b] Comment in loc.

Besides,

Beſides, De Dieu has proved, that Caſaubon miſtook the Arabick tranſlation, which really means the ſame which I have above ſaid, viz. that *they imagined him mad, and out of his ſenſes.*

2.) *The deſign and end of John the Baptiſt's miſſion ſeem clearly to intimate, that Chriſt had wrought no miracles before his entrance upon his public miniſtry.* John was ſent to be Chriſt's forerunner, to give ſome dark intimations of Chriſt's coming, and the deſign of it, and at length to *manifeſt him* (as himſelf phraſes it, John i. 31.) *to Iſrael.* But now, if our Lord had wrought ſo many miracles *in his infancy* as theſe Goſpels pretend, there would have been little occaſion for John to have revealed him, ſeeing he and his glory muſt have been ſufficiently manifeſt before.

3.) Had Chriſt wrought miracles *in his infancy*, ſo many and ſo great as theſe Goſpels pretend, how could John have been ſo ignorant of him, and ſo unacquainted with him, as he ſays he was till the time of his baptiſm (ſee John i. 31, &c.), eſpecially ſeeing that the *Goſpel of the Infancy* relates many miracles done by Chriſt, and ſuch as were publickly known in and about the places where John was?

4.) It is not agreeable to the Scripture-accounts of Chriſt to ſuppoſe he wrought miracles *in his infancy*; becauſe the deſign of miracles being (as it is plain from Scripture) to confirm doctrine, our Lord not having yet preached any new doctrine, miracles would have been ſuperfluous and needleſs. *Ante auſpicationem muneris ſigna ſupervacua fuiſſent*; *miracles were to no purpoſe before he began his miniſtry* [a].

Thus from the ſilence of Scripture, and the firſt Chriſtian writers, from the expreſs teſtimony and ſeveral intimations in Scripture, I have endeavoured to ſhew that our Lord wrought no miracles during his infancy; and conſequently, that the Goſpels of his Infancy are ſpurious and Apocryphal.

4. The ſame will be farther evident from the *expreſs teſtimony of antient Chriſtian writers.* To this purpoſe there is a

[a] Grot. in loc.

known paſſage in Epiphanius [a], viz. *That Chriſt wrought his firſt miracle in Cana of Galilee, the third day after he began to preach; for Chriſt is not ſaid to have been at the marriage before his temptation; nor did he work any miracles, or preach any ſermons before that time, except ſome things which ſome ſay he did at play when he was a child. And indeed it was fit ſome things ſhould be done by him in his childhood, that there might not be any foundation for the aſſertions of thoſe hereticks, who ſay, that Chriſt* (or the divine and extraordinary nature) *did not come upon him till he was baptized in Jordan, in the form of a dove* [b]. And a little after [c], *He wrought his firſt miracle in Cana of Galilee, not before his baptiſm, as I have often ſaid*, &c. There is indeed ſome difficulty in theſe words of Epiphanius; but unleſs we will ſuppoſe him to contradict himſelf, we muſt conclude that he looked upon the miracles of Chriſt's infancy to be fables; and though he ſays it was neceſſary ſome things ſhould be done in his infancy, it is plain by what follows, that he peculiarly reſpected our Lord's diſcourſe with the doctors in the Temple at twelve years of age, recorded Luke ii. 46.

Next to Epiphanius I could inſtance in Nonnus, who lived in or near the ſame time, whoſe paraphraſe on thoſe words John ii. 11. is thus,

[a] Hæreſ. 51. Alogor. §. 20. Τοῦτο πρῶτον σημεῖον πεποίηκε τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας· οὔτε γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ἐν γάμῳ φάσκει τὸν Χριστὸν ἠκέναι· οὐ γὰρ ὅλως τι τῶν θεσπεσιῶν καὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος πρὸ τοῦ πειρασμοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς εἰργάσατο, εἰ μή τι ἃ ᾄδεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν παιδὶ πεποιηκέναι, ὡς ἐν παιγνίῳ, ὡς τινὲς φάσκουσι. Καὶ ἔδει τῷ μὲν ὄντι (παιδὶ) καὶ παιδαρικὰ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἵνα μὴ πρόφασις γένηται Αἱρέσεσι, ταῖς λεγούσαις, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἦλθε Χριστὸς εἰς αὐτὸν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ περιστερά.

[b] He means the followers of Cerinthus, whoſe opinion was, that Jeſus was not born of a Virgin, but in the ordinary way begotten by Joſeph, and born of Mary as other children, and conſequently was a mere man; but at the time of his baptiſm, Chriſt (i. e. the Holy Ghoſt) deſcended upon him in the form of a dove, by which he wrought his miracles; at length, at his ſuffering, Chriſt, or that which came from above, left Jeſus. See Iren. adverſ. Hæreſ. l. 1. c. 25. and Epiph. Hæreſ. 28. §. 1.

[c] Hæreſ. 51. §. 21.

Πρωτοφανὶς

Πρωτοφανὲς τόδε θαῦμα φιλακρήτῳ παρὰ πασῷ
Ἰησοῦς ἐτέλεσσεν, ὅπη Κανααῖον ἀκέει
Ἔνδιον αἰπυδμητὸν ἀκερσεκόμων Γαλιλαίων.

The ſubſtance of which is, that Chriſt wrought his firſt miracle at the marriage in Cana of Galilee.

Chryſoſtom [a] is more large on the head; and not only aſſerts, that *Chriſt had wrought no miracle before that in Cana of Galilee, but cenſures the Virgin of too great vanity and forwardneſs, in deſiring Chriſt to work a miracle, when as yet ſhe had never ſeen him work one*; and in another place expreſsly calls thoſe miracles which are aſcribed to Chriſt's infancy, *forgeries and lies* [b].

Theophylact has, according to his cuſtom, tranſcribed Chryſoſtom on this place, and adds ſeveral reaſons, by which he endeavours to make it certain that Chriſt wrought no miracle in his infancy, or before his baptiſm [c].

To conclude then: if there be no intimation in Scripture, no intimation in the primitive writers of Chriſtianity, that Chriſt wrought any miracles in his infancy; if on the other hand it be poſitively aſſerted in Scripture, and the firſt Chriſtian writers, that he did not; it is inconteſtable proof, that *theſe Goſpels of Chriſt's Infancy are ſpurious and Apocryphal* by Prop. VIII.

[a] Homil. 20. in Joann. ii. apud Sixt. Senenſ. Biblioth. Sanct. l. 6. Annot. 185. p. 504. et Annot. 58. p. 453.
[b] Homil. 16. in Joann.
[c] Enarrat. in Joann. ii.

CHAP. XXVI.

Other Arguments to prove the Goſpels of Chriſt's Infancy Apocryphal. They contain many trifling Stories: a Catalogue of them. They contain many falſe Things: a Catalogue of thoſe.

ARG. III. *THE multitude of idle and ſilly ſtories, trifling and ludicrous relations,* which are contained in theſe Goſpels, are a moſt clear and demonſtrative proof that they are ſpurious and Apocryphal, by Prop. IX.

To collect the trifling ſtories here related, would be in a manner to tranſcribe the whole Goſpels again, there being indeed ſcarce any thing in either of them (except ſome few things borrowed from our received Goſpels) which does not appear evidently romantick and fabulous; however, for the more clear proof of this matter, I ſhall produce the following inſtances.

A Catalogue of trifling and idle Stories in the Goſpels of Chriſt's Infancy.

1. CHRIST's ſpeaking in his cradle, and kindly informing his mother that he was her ſon. In Mr. Sike's Goſpel, Ch. I.
2. An old woman takes Chriſt's foreſkin, or navel-ſtring, preſerves it in the alabaſter-box, out of which oil was poured on Chriſt's head by Mary, (Mark xiv. 3, &c.) Ch. V.
3. Mary gives the women one of Chriſt's ſwaddling-clothes, which, thrown in the fire, does not burn. Ch. VIII.
4. The girth of the ſaddle breaks, and the great idol in Egypt falls down upon Chriſt's coming there. Ch. X.
5. A ſecond miracle wrought by the ſwaddling-clothes of Chriſt, viz. ſeveral devils caſt out of a boy's mouth in the ſhape of ſerpents and crows. Ch. XI.

6. Robbers

6. Robbers hear a noiſe like that of a king and army when Chriſt approached, and fly away. Ch. XIII.
7. A girl cured of a leproſy by water which had waſhed Chriſt's body. Ch. XVII.
8. Another cured of a leproſy by the ſame water. Ch. XVIII.
9. A man made able to know his wife, who was bewitched and could not. Ch. XIX.
10. A young man by witchcraft turned into a mule; Chriſt is put upon the mule's back, and he becomes a man again. Ch. XX, XXI.
11. An idolatrous city turned into heaps of ſand at Chriſt's approach. Ch. XXIII.
12. Chriſt makes a well to waſh his clothes in a ſycamore-tree; and from Chriſt's ſweat proceeds a balſam. Ch. XXIV.
13. The water that waſhed Chriſt's body cures a ſick boy. Ch. XXVII.
14. Another boy cured of the ſame diſtemper by the ſame water. Ch. XXVIII.
15. A third miracle (viz. a ſick boy cured) performed by Chriſt's ſwaddling-clothes. (See Num. 3. and 5). The ſame boy unhurt in a hot oven and the bottom of a well. Ch. XXIX.
16. Bartholomew cured by lying in Chriſt's bed. Ch. XXX.
17. A third miracle (viz. a woman's leproſy cured) performed by the water that waſhed Chriſt's body. Ch. XXXI. See Num. 13, 14.
18. A fourth miracle (viz. a girl cured of a leproſy) by the water which waſhed Chriſt's body. Ch. XXXII. See Num. 13, 14, 17, above in this catalogue.
19. A fourth miracle performed by Chriſt's ſwaddling-clothes, viz. fire and hot coals ſhot out of the ſwaddling-clothes, and drove out the Devil in the ſhape of a dragon. Ch. XXXIII, XXXIV. See No. 3, 5, and 15, in this catalogue.
20. Judas, who betrayed Chriſt when a boy, poſſeſſed by a Devil, ſtrives to bite Chriſt, and hurt his right ſide, and

made Chriſt cry, upon which the Devil went out in the likeneſs of a mad dog. Ch. XXXV.

21. Chriſt at play with the boys, makes the figures of animals out of clay, at length gives them life, &c. Ch. XXXVI. See the other Goſpel, Ch. II.

22. Chriſt at play with the boys, goes into a dyer's ſhop, puts all the pieces of cloth into one furnace, and brings them out of various colours. Ch. XXXVII. See the other Goſpel, Ch. VII.

23. Chriſt works with Joſeph at his carpenter's trade; makes his work to be of juſt dimenſions by ſpeaking. Ch. XXXVIII. Makes a king's throne, which Joſeph had made too ſhort, long enough, by his pulling at one end and Joſeph at the other. Ch. XXXIX.

24. Chriſt angry with ſome boys for running from him at play, turns them into kids three years old, who were in a furnace; afterwards changes them into boys again. Ch. XL.

25. Chriſt is made king, and crowned by the boys. Ch. XLI.

26. Chriſt leaves his play, to make a ſerpent, which had ſtung a boy, ſuck the poiſon out again. Ch. XLII.

27. Chriſt at play with the boys on the top of a houſe, one of them fell down and died; Chriſt brings him to life. Ch. XLIV.

28. Chriſt ſent out by his mother to fetch water, breaks the pot and loſes the water, but gathers and brings it in his mantle. Ch. XLV.

29. Chriſt and other boys at play on the Sabbath-day, makes little fiſh-pools by the river ſide; adorns the ſides of them with ſparrows formed out of clay; turns theſe into living birds; is reproved by a Jew for violating the Sabbath, and ſtrikes him dead. Ch. XLVI.

30. Chriſt kills a boy who ran againſt him in the ſtreet, Ch. XLVII. See the other Goſpel, Ch. IV.

31. Chriſt learns his A, B, C; his maſter threatens to whip him; he tells him ſtrange things. Ch. XLVIII. See the other Goſpel, Ch. VI.

32. Chriſt

32. Chriſt is ſent to another maſter; his maſter lifting up his hand to whip him, his hand withers, and he dies. His father and mother reſolve to keep him at home. Ch. XLIX.

Theſe are ſome of the idle and incredible ſtories or fables of the preceding Goſpels; ſilly enough, without any farther proof, to evidence the books to be written either by men deſtitute of honeſty or ſenſe, or both; and conſequently not to be the work of St. Thomas, or any one of the Apoſtles, but *ſpurious and Apocryphal* by Prop. IX.

ARG. IV. *The Goſpels of our Saviour's Infancy are Apocryphal,* becauſe *there are many things which are falſe and contrary to certainly known truth.*

I have in a preceding argument (viz. Arg. II.) endeavoured to ſhew the whole contexture and deſign of theſe books to be falſe, becauſe our Saviour wrought no miracles in his infancy: what I purpoſe here is to ſhew ſome *particular inſtances of falſehood in them*; and though indeed the books contain nothing elſe, except a few things out of our Goſpels, yet it will not be improper to ſingle out a few inſtances of ſuch as are moſt apparent and notorious.

A Catalogue of Falſehoods in the Goſpels of Chriſt's Infancy.

1. THE Virgin is related to have brought forth our Saviour *in a cave before ſhe came to Bethlehem*, being not able to hold out thither. Ch. II. and III. But this is *contrary to known fact*, it being *propheſied by* Micah, (Ch. v. 2.) *aſſerted by* Matthew, (Ch. ii. 1, &c.) *and* Luke, (Ch. ii. 4, 6, &c.) that *our Saviour was born in Bethlehem.* The ſame falſehood I have above obſerved in the *Protevangelion* of James, where ſee more of this matter, Ch. XV. of this volume.

2. Zoradaſcht, or Zoroaſter, is *ſaid* (Ch. VII.) *to have predicted the wiſe men's coming from the Eaſt to Jeruſalem to worſhip Chriſt*; but I ſuppoſe, no one can have faith enough to

to believe this, who conſiders, that Zoroaſter was no more, at beſt, than a magician, and lived about two thouſand years before this time[a], and, as Suidas ſays[b], *five hundred years before the Trojan war.* Beſides, the plain reaſon why Zoroaſter is here introduced propheſying of the magicians, ſeems plainly to have been this, that he was reckoned to have been the firſt author or inventor of magick[c].

3. The reaſon aſſigned (Ch. XII.) of Joſeph leaving Egypt, is *his fear of the Egyptians*; but the true reaſon was, becauſe the ends of his going thither were anſwered, viz. *Herod was dead, and he was told by an angel, that he might now venture ſafely to his own country*, Matt. ii. 19, &c.

4. The Virgin is ſaid (Ch. XIV.) to have wrought a miracle, and cured a demoniack, which it does not appear ſhe had power to do.

5. Ch. XXXIX. we read, that *the King of Jeruſalem ſent for Joſeph to make his throne for him* (though by the way it is ſtrange he ſhould, when we read in the very words before, Ch. XXXVIII. *that Joſeph was but a very indifferent carpenter*), but it is certain *there was at that time no king in Jeruſalem.* For if we ſuppoſe our Saviour then to be ten years of age, (which is but reaſonable, ſeeing we find him in his eighth year Ch. XXXVI.) and take in the two years which Joſeph ſpent in making the throne, this will fall out three after the baniſhment of Archelaus, who was the laſt king of the Jews; for Archelaus reigned only nine years, and began his reign the ſame year, or the next year after Chriſt was born, viz. upon the death of Herod the Great, which is evident from Joſephus[d].

6. It is falſe in theſe Goſpels, that *they make Jeſus Chriſt to*

[a] At that time our beſt Chronologers place him. Helvicus, A. M. 2060. Iſaacſon, A. M. 1810. Mr. Tallents, 1900.

[b] Ad voc. Ζωροάστης.

[c] Vid. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

[d] Antiq. Jud. l. 17. a c. 8. ad finem libri. Mr. Fabritius remarks here, that there was no king in Jeruſalem at this time, and refers for proof to John xix. 15. where the Jews at our Saviour's trial ſay, *they had no King but Cæſar.* But every one muſt ſee this is no proof that they had no king three and twenty years before, viz. in our Saviour's Infancy.

have

have been revengeful, and a murderer, even upon ſlight provocations, or indeed none at all. Such as that Ch. XXIX. when *he killed the Jew who reproved him for breaking the ſabbath*; that Ch. XXX. when *he killed a boy who in haſte happened to run againſt him in the ſtreet*, which is in the other Goſpel alſo, Ch. III. That alſo Ch. XLIX. where *he killed his maſter for going about to ſtrike him, becauſe he would not ſay his leſſon.*

Theſe are things ſo notoriouſly falſe, becauſe contrary to the deſign, (1.) *Of our Saviour's miracles*, which were all for the benefit of mankind; (2.) *Of his doctrine*, which was againſt revenge, and to promote charity and love; and ſo contrary (3.) *To his prudence*, who by ſuch methods would have rendered himſelf incapable of either converſing or preaching; eſpecially thoſe doctrines of ſelf-denial, ſuffering and forgiving injuries, which he ſo much did. Now from all this it muſt manifeſtly appear, that *the Goſpels of our Saviour's Infancy are ſpurious and Apocryphal*, viz. *becauſe they contain ſo many things contrary to certainly known truth*, by Prop. VIII.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Goſpels of Chriſt's Infancy proved Apocryphal, becauſe they contain Things later than the Time in which they pretend to be written; ſuch as the prodigious Reſpect to the Virgin Mary, which was not in the Church till the Fourth or Fifth Century; and the preſerving of Reliques, unknown to the Primitive Chriſtians. The Original of Reliques. A Digreſſion concerning Reliques. Dr. Mill's and Mr. La Croſe's Opinion about the Original of theſe Goſpels: A Conjecture of their true Original.

ARG. V. THE Goſpels of our Saviour's Infancy are ſpurious and Apocryphal, becauſe they contain ſeveral things *which happened long after that time in which they pretend there to be written*, by Prop. X.

To

To clear this, we must remember, that these Gospels have claimed Apostolick authority, and been published under the names of St. Thomas, St. Peter, and St. Matthew, as I have above said. Now there are several things here inconsistent with the Apostolick age, and much later than that time. To omit all other instances, I shall make choice of two, which appear to me most evident and demonstrative proof of the matter.

1. The first is, that *prodigious respect which through the whole Gospel* (viz. of Mr. Sike) *is paid to the Virgin Mary.* Sometimes she is made to *work miracles herself*, (see Ch. XIV.) *almost always is made the instrument or means of working it*, and *the person applied to*, and *receiving the praise of the work*, while Joseph stands by as an unconcerned spectator, and is never mentioned. But what is most considerable, is, that *she is canonized*, and called always (not only by the author of the Gospel, but by those who were perfect strangers to her before in Egypt, and elsewhere) *diva Maria*, and *diva sancta Maria*; which I know not how better to translate, than in the language of her worshippers, *the Lady St. Mary.* And old Simeon in his prayer, which is here, Chap. VI. and recorded Luke ii. 28, &c. is introduced as *stretching out his hands towards her, as though he worshipped her.* But of all this the first ages were ignorant; nor in the *first centuries after Christ do we find any thing of this prodigious deference to the Virgin:* this was an invention of later ages, and was not heard of in the Church, *till the fourth or fifth century*, nor so common as this book supposes, till some centuries after. I remember indeed that Epiphanius, among the heresies of his time, mentions one which he entitles, *Of the Collyridians*, which he mentions in *a letter sent by him to the churches of Arabia* [a], and afterwards [b], as *a distinct Heresy.* "There were some "silly women who went from Thrace to Arabia, and spread "their doctrine in the upper parts of Scythia, and proceeded "(says the Father) to that degree of madness, as ἀντὶ Θεοῦ ταύ-"την παρεισάγειν ἐσπουδακότας καὶ σπουδάζοντας, καὶ ἐν ἐμβροντήσει τινὶ

[a] Hæres. 78. §. 1. et 23.

[b] Hæres. 79.

"καὶ

" καὶ φρενοβλαβείᾳ φερομένους [a]; viz. *To endeavour to obtrude the* " *Virgin upon us as a goddeſs, with a zeal and fury like mad* " *perſons.* Accordingly they were wont to keep meetings, " and by the devil's inſtinct having adorned a table, and ſpread " a cloth on it, at an appointed time they ſet bread (κολλυρίδα " τινὰ, a ſort of fine manchet, cracknels, or wafers, from which " word they had their name *Collyridiani*) upon it for ſome " days, and then made *a ſacrifice of it to the Virgin, and the* " *honour of her name.*" This is the firſt I know of any worſhip, or any thing like it, paid to the Virgin, and is well bantered and expoſed by Epiphanius, out of whom I ſhall obſerve no more now, than that he calls it a new fable, πόθεν δὲ πάλιν ἡμῖν ὁ καινὸς μῦθος οὗτος εἰσήγηται [b]; *Whence aroſe this new fable?* and ſays, *It was a hereſy peculiar only to theſe women.* After this, I find no mention in antiquity of ſuch regards to the Virgin for a long time. *Nondum Marianus cultus, nondum templa ſtructa* τῇ Θεοτόκῳ, *qualia ſane ſequenti ævo Juſtinianus ex Procopio; nondum preces,* Ave Maria, Salve Regina, Roſaria, &c. *nondum feſta in honorem Virginis, nec ullum ex ſeptem illis feſtis Virgini dicatis, quorum primum* (v. g. *feſtum* Ὑπαπάντης, *ſeu occurſus vel purificationis) refertur a Thomaſſino ad tempora Juſtiniani ex Theophane et Anaſtaſio: nondum miracula illi adſcripta,* &c. They are the words of the learned Chriſtian antiquary Mr. Spanheim [c], ſpeaking of the fifth

[a] See the Epiſtle now cited. Hæreſ. 78. §. 23.

[b] Hæreſ. 79. §. 4.

[c] Hiſt. Chriſt. Secul. V. p. 972. The Papiſts indeed pretend to prove, that there were temples long before the fifth century, built and dedicated to the honour of the Virgin; concerning which I have met with a remarkable place in *Durant. de Ritib. Eccleſ. Cathol.* l. 1. c. 2. whoſe words I thought it worth while to tranſlate here. " Buterus " Vaſæus, in his Spaniſh Chronicle, " and many others, relate, that the " Virgin Mary appeared to St. " James in the city of Saragoſſa " in Spain, and that there the firſt " temple was built to the Virgin, " and is called commonly in Spa- " niſh, *Nueſtra Senora del Pilat.* " Calixtus, the ſeventeenth Pope " from Peter [*According to Euſebius's Catalogue he is the fiftieth from Peter. See the Catalogue collected by Valeſius out of Euſebius. This Pope lived about the year* 215.] " built the temple of the Virgin " called Tranſtyberinum (viz. on " the other ſide the Tyber) in the " ſame place where ſtood a tavern " which flowed with oil during the " whole day on which Chriſt was " born. See Damaſ. Vit. Pontif. " Oroſ. l. 6. c. 18. 20. Paul. Dia- " con. and others. The Temple " built

fifth century: "There was not yet any worſhip of the Vir-
"gin Mary, no temples built and dedicated to her, as by
"Juſtinian (according to Procopius) there was in the ſixth
"century; there were as yet no prayers to her, no *Ave Ma-*
"*ria's*, no *Salve Regina's*, no *Roſaries*, &c. no feaſts as yet
"appointed for the honour of the Virgin, nor one of the ſeven
"feaſts dedicated to the Virgin, the firſt of which (viz. that
"of purification) is from Theophanes and Anaſtaſius referred
"to the time of Juſtinian by Thomaſſin; no miracles as yet
"aſcribed to her, &c." The ſame is largely proved by the learned Chemnitius [a], and many others of the Reformed writers againſt the popiſh doctrine of the invocation of Saints. Now hence it follows, *the Goſpel of Chriſt's Infancy muſt be ſpurious and Apocryphal*, as containing thoſe compellations of the Virgin which were not known, and that reſpect which was not thought of, till the fourth or fifth century, or afterwards. It is Apocryphal therefore by Prop. X. *and could not be the compoſure of Thomas, Matthew, Peter, or any Apoſtle.*

2. The other inſtance of ſomething in this Goſpel, which is later than the time of the Apoſtles, and which proves it ſpurious, is that which we read Ch. V. viz. *The old woman's taking Chriſt's foreſkin when he was circumciſed, putting it in an alabaſter box of oil of ſpikenard; giving it her ſon, who was a druggiſt, and charging him not to ſell that ointment, though he ſhould be offered three hundred pence for it.* This ſmells ſo much of later ages, that one would be apt to imagine at firſt thought, that the book was the compoſure of ſome idle monk, or Popiſh prieſt; as Eraſmus [b] tells us, *ſome perſon in his time wrote a book of Chriſt's playing with the boys in Egypt, which*

"built by the antient Argonautæ
"(viz. the companions of Jaſon in
"fetching the golden fleece, ſuch
"as Caſtor, Pollux, Hercules, &c.
"in all twenty two, about 1200
"years before our Saviour) was
"foretold by the Delphick Oracle,
"that it would be conſecrated to
"Mary. So Cedrenus and Proco-
"pius Martyr. The Virgin Pul-
"cheria, called alio Auguſta, built
"three temples to the honour of
"the Virgin Mary. Nicephor.
"l. 14, c. 34. Among theſe, that in
"the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople
"was the chief. Glycas Annal.
"par. 4. and Procopius is miſtaken,
"in ſaying it was built by Juſti-
"nian, &c."

[a] Exam. Concil. Trid. Par. 3. p. 221, & p. 322, &c.

[b] In Adagio, cui titulus *Alcinoi Apologus.*

was

was larger than the Bible. But to come to the argument: the author of the Goſpel ſays, *Chriſt's fore-ſkin was kept in a box of oil, or ointment, by the old woman*; though of this he is not ſure; for he adds, *Others ſay it was his navel-ſtring which ſhe took and preſerved*; which by the way is enough to exclude it from the Canon; for *authors pretending to inſpiration ſhould not by any means be in any doubt or uncertainty about their facts which they relate.* But however, we will ſuppoſe him to be in the right, and that it was Chriſt's fore-ſkin which was preſerved (though by the way, again I obſerve, that both the fore-ſkin and the navel-ſtring are to be ſeen, and commonly ſhewn to the miſerable deluded people at Rome[a], among the other ridiculous reliques which are of ſo much uſe to the prieſts); yet the buſineſs of *preſerving reliques* was a thing unheard of in the early ages of Chriſtianity: the primitive Chriſtians knew other ways more ſerviceable to promote the intereſt of religion, than by ſuch vile deluſions of the people; and the miniſters of the Goſpel at that time found other methods of procuring maintenance, than by ſuch baſe impoſtures. I dare venture to affirm, that *for the firſt three centuries after Chriſt, there was nothing of this ridiculous ſuperſtition in the Chriſtian world, nor the leaſt intimations of it in Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, or indeed any writer of thoſe times. Pontificii igitur ſuæ venerationis Reliquiarum verum aut firmum patrocinium ex probatis hiſtoriis antiquitatis primitivæ Eccleſiæ per annos trecentos et amplius, nullum habere poſſunt*, ſays Chemnitius, one of our beſt writers againſt the Papiſts, who had with great care and diligence enquired into this matter; and proves, *that for* 300 *years and upwards they have no foundation for regarding reliques in any of the genuine records of Chriſtianity*[b]. In the following pages that excellent author gives a very learned and accurate account both of the *time and occaſion* of the firſt reſpect ſhewn to reliques, viz. that Conſtantine, who always endeavoured to recommend Chriſt-

[a] The fore-ſkin is ſhewn in St. John's, and the navel-ſtring in St. Mary's; as alſo the ſtone on which Chriſt was circumciſed, in St. James's. See Fabrit. Cod. Apoc. N. T. t. 1. p. 171.

[b] Exam. Concil. Trident. Par. 4. p. 12, 13, &c.

janity

ianity to the Heathens, obſerving with what pomp the bodies of thoſe, who were great men among them, were tranſlated from the obſcure places where they had been buried, to more ſplendid and honorable places, thought proper to pay the ſame reſpect to the bodies of the Apoſtles, Saints, and ſuch who had been eminent among the Chriſtians; and accordingly did begin to tranſlate the reliques of ſaints and martyrs from obſcure places to Conſtantinople. In this he was followed by many devout perſons; miracles were often wrought, or ſuppoſed to be wrought by the bones; and then more ſtrict ſearch was made after them. In ſhort, men generally entertained a prodigious veneration for them; among which were Auſtin, Jerome, Chryſoſtom; and they thought the reliques and bones were the protection of their cities where they lay: hence they became deſired by many; perſons made long pilgrimages to ſee them, and it became a beneficial trade to ſell them. And ſuch was the foundation of the Popiſh ſuperſtition and veneration for reliques; whence it appears they could not be much regarded till about the year of Chriſt 350, or 400. Mr. Spanheim alſo places their original about the ſame time [a]. Now hence I argue, that the Goſpel of our Saviour's Infancy is Apocryphal; for if there was no cuſtom in the primitive Church of preſerving and regarding reliques, and it appears, as above, that this Goſpel mentions ſuch a cuſtom; it follows, that it was compoſed either in the fifth century, or in the latter end of the fourth, and conſequently that it is ſpurious and Apocryphal by Prop. IX.

I know, indeed, that the Papiſts would perſuade us, that the cuſtom of worſhipping reliques is of much greater antiquity. They would deduce it from Scripture, the moſt antient Fathers, and Councils; which are juſtly conſidered by Chemnitius in the place cited, and need no other refuting. Inſtead of that, I ſhall chooſe to entertain the reader in the cloſe of this head, with a few things out of Durant's celebrated *Account of the Rites and Cuſtoms of the Catholick, or Roman Church* [b].

[a] Hiſt. Chriſt. Secul. IV. p. 865. & Secul. V. p. 972, 973.

[b] De Ritib. Eccl. Cathol. l. 1. c. 25. p. 272, &c.

After

After having cited ſeveral antient books to eſtabliſh the Popiſh practice in this matter, he cites out of Chryſoſtom, "*That the* "*garments of deceaſed ſaints drive away devils.*" Out of Baſil; "*He who toucheth a martyr's bones, ſhall become in ſome* "*meaſure partaker of his holineſs, by reaſon of the virtue that* "*reſts upon the body. Theſe,* ſays he, *are bulwarks to our* "*country, and defend us from our adverſaries.*" Out of Gregory Nyſſene; "*If any one happen to touch the duſt of a martyr* "*or his reliques, he will then find how deſirable a thing it was* "*to do ſo, and the reward of his prayers.*" Out of Gregory Nazianzen; "*The martyrs have feaſts and honours appointed* "*for them; by them devils are drove away, diſeaſes are cured,* "*whoſe bodies are able to do as much as their holy ſouls, if they* "*be touched and honoured; nay, even a drop of their blood, or* "*the leaſt ſign or mark of their ſuffering, will do the ſame as* "*the whole body.*" Out of Auſtin; "*The bodies of the ſaints,* "*and eſpecially the reliques of the martyrs, are to be truly ho-* "*noured as Chriſt's members.*" The ſame Father, lib. 22. c. 8. et in Serm. de Stephano, tom. 10. ſpeaks of "*mighty miracles* "*wrought by St. Stephen's reliques, and of a perſon cured of a* "*palſy by a ſmall parcel of duſt that came out of Chriſt's grave.*" Out of the ſame (*Confeſſ.* l. 9. c. 7.) "*That the bones and re-* "*liques of the martyrs Prothaſius and Gervaſe caſt out many* "*devils, as the devils themſelves confeſſed.*" Out of Jerome; "*The devil roared at the reliques of Andrew, Luke, and Ti-* "*mothy; that the reliques of St. Babyla ſtopt the devil's mouth* "*at the Delphick Oracle, and overthrew Apollo's Temple.*" Out of Chryſoſtom; "*The Saints' reliques torment the devils* "*——Let us go to their tombs, worſhip and touch their reliques* "*with great faith, that we may obtain a bleſſing.*" Out of Gregory Nazianzen, "*St. Cyprian's duſt is almighty, as they* "*found who have tried it, and told us of its miracles.*" "*Baſil* "*extols Peter and Paul's chains; Chryſoſtom, Auſtin, and* "*Gregory ſpeak of St. James's epiſcopal chain, kept by his ſuc-* "*ceſſor at Jeruſalem; Peter's key honoured by Gregory; Am-* "*broſe prefers the nails that faſtened Agricola to the croſs, above* "*any treaſures.*" In a word, he proves (as he thinks) from many Fathers, and nine or ten Councils, that *the greateſt*

honour is due to the bones and aſhes of ſaints. From all this we ſee, how in the fifth century and afterwards, men grew exceeding fond of reliques. It is not my buſineſs here to confute the opinion; nor ſhall I add any more; only having made this ſhort digreſſion, ſhall relate one ſtory of reliques, which I find in the place of Chemnitius laſt cited, p. 20. as told by one whom he calls Andreas Abbas Amelunxhornenſis, that *one of our Engliſh Kings, named Edward, being troubled with the tooth-ach, ordered the teeth of Apollonia to be ſent to him, which were kept in all the churches of his kingdom among the reliques, and that he had, out of the churches of England alone, ſo many of theſe teeth of Apollonia, which were kept as reliques, that ſeveral large tubs would not contain them.*

I might here, if it were needful, add ſeveral other arguments by which the ſpuriouſneſs of theſe Goſpels would appear; ſuch as, *That the temper and diſpoſition of the author is different from any one of our Lord's diſciples* (Prop. XIII.). *That ſeveral parts of it are borrowed and jumbled together out of our Goſpels*, as will be evident to every one (Prop. XIV.). *That it is not in the Syriack Verſion* (Prop. XV.). But omitting all theſe, I ſhall conclude my diſcourſe on theſe Goſpels with ſome account of what ſeems to me moſt probable concerning *their original as to author and time.* In this matter I have not met with the opinion of any, except our countryman Dr. Mill and Mr. La Croſe.

The former is of opinion, that *it was a compoſure of the Ebionites, and intimated to be ſo in the Epiſtle under the name of Jerome to Chromatius and Heliodorus, and prefixed, together with the* Protevangelion *of James, before their Hebrew Goſpel of Matthew*; *Proleg. in N. T.* §. 275, 276. And in another place, viz. §. 329. that *the Valentinians tranſlated ſeveral things out of the book of Chriſt's Infancy into their Goſpel*; and §. 336. *that it was interpolated, and revived the addition of ſeveral idle ſtories by Leucius Charinus, as is intimated in the fore-cited Epiſtle to Chromatius and Heliodorus.*

Mr. La Croſe, in a letter dated at Berlin, the fourth of the Ides of December, 1718[a], ſuppoſes it *written by ſome perſon*

[a] Apud Fabric. Cod. Apoc. N. T. tom. 3. p. 421.

who

who was a Neſtorian; becauſe in a Synod called Diamperana, held by Alexius de Menezes, Archbiſhop of Goa, in the dioceſe of Angamala, in the mountainous country of Malabar, in the year of Chriſt 1559, *he found it thus condemned:* "The book "which is intitled, *Of the Infancy of our Saviour, or the* "*Hiſtory of our Lady*, already condemned by the antient "ſaints, becauſe it contains many blaſphemies and hereſies, "and many fabulous ſtories without foundation, &c." Inſtances of which are produced in that Synod, the ſame as are in Mr. Sike's Goſpel; and it is there ſaid, that *it was commonly read among the Neſtorians in Malabar.* His other reaſon is founded upon a trifling criticiſm not worth regarding. I will not here enter into a particular diſcuſſion of theſe two opinions, but propoſe what I judge moſt probable, and make ſuch reflections upon them as may be to my purpoſe.

1. *The firſt book of Chriſt's Infancy, and the ſtories thereof, were forged by the Gnoſticks in the beginning of the ſecond century.* This is plain from Irenæus, l. 1. c. 17. (ſee the preface above), who expreſsly ſaith, that *theſe Hereticks were the authors or inventors of theſe idle ſtories.* Dr. Mill's conjecture is therefore groundleſs, who ſuppoſes that the Gnoſticks borrowed them out of a book of Chriſt's Infancy written by the Ebionites; nor does the Epiſtle to Chromatius and Heliodorus intimate any ſuch thing.

2. *The book of the Infancy of our Saviour ſeems to have been joined to, or as a ſecond part of the Goſpel of Mary*; *or*, which is the ſame, *of the Protevangelion of James.* This I gather from theſe reaſons:

1.) *Becauſe they are ſpoke of as one book* in the Epiſtle of Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome, and in his anſwer to them[a]. Their letter begins; *We have found in ſome Apocryphal books an account of the Virgin Queen Mary, as alſo the birth and infancy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in which we obſerve many things contrary to our faith——Armenius and Virinus tell us, that your holineſs hath found a volume in Hebrew,*

[a] I have publiſhed the three letters out of Jerome's works above, before *the Protevangelion of James.*

written with the Evangeliſt Matthew's own hand, in which is deſcribed the infant-ſtate of the Virgin Mother and our Saviour. In Jerome's anſwer, after he had ſpoke concerning his tranſlating it out of Hebrew, as they deſired; he concludes, that *he hoped he ſhould receive the benefit of their prayers, who by means of his labour ſhould come to the knowledge of the Infancy of our Saviour.* By this one would imagine, that Jerome (or whoever was the author of the Epiſtle) had in one volume, *the Goſpel of Mary* and *the Goſpel of the Infancy*, joined together; eſpecially ſeeing in the laſt paragraph he ſeems to mention the hiſtory of Chriſt's Infancy by itſelf, as what was the moſt conſiderable part of the book which he had tranſlated. And though there be not in *the Goſpel of Mary*, which follows theſe Epiſtles in Jerome's work, any thing of Chriſt's Infancy, yet it might formerly have been, and left out by ſome ſcribe afterwards.

2.) *Becauſe the compilers of the Alcoran having joined together, in a continued ſeries of hiſtory, part of the Goſpel of Mary or Protevangelion, and part of the Goſpel of Chriſt's Infancy* (Alcoran, ch. 3. p. 97, 98. See the former Volume, Append. p. 464.); this is not ſo likely to have happened, unleſs theſe hiſtories had been ſome way or other joined together. What I have here conjectured concerning the book of Chriſt's Infancy being joined to the Goſpel of Mary, I ſince find fully proved by that which the old editor of Jerome's works, after the Prologue to the Goſpel of Mary, or letter to Chromatius and Heliodorus (above, Ch. XIV.) ſays, that he would not print *Librum ipſum de Infantia, licet in quodam exemplari repererim, qui aniles quaſdam fabulas continet—quia Evangelicæ auctoritati in Cana Galileæ initium ſignorum Salvatoris fuiſſe teſtanti repugnare videtur; the book of the Infancy, though he found it in a MS. becauſe of its idle ſtories, and its not agreeing with the Goſpel, which ſaith, Chriſt wrought his firſt miracle in Cana of Galilee.* Now hence it follows, the Goſpel of the Infancy was joined to the Goſpel of Mary in his copy; viz. becauſe the preface to the Epiſtle of Jerome, to which the editor ſubjoins this, is the very ſame which in another

another part of Jerome's works is prefixed to the Goſpel of Mary, as above, Ch. XIV.

3.) Becauſe Cotelerius, in a note after that Goſpel of the Infancy of our Saviour, which I have above tranſcribed out of his notes on the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles, l. 6. c. 16. tells us, that *beſides that Goſpel, there is in the French King's Library a manuſcript*, (Num. 2276.) *which begins thus*, "The beginning of the hiſtory of Joachim and Anna, and "concerning the birth of the bleſſed mother of God, the per- "petual Virgin Mary, and *concerning the Infancy of our Sa-* "*viour*; I James, the ſon of Joſeph, &c." and at the end of the book is written, *Explicit liber de Infantia Salvatoris*; *Thus ends the book of our Saviour's Infancy.* From whence it is evident theſe were formerly joined as one book.

3. Hence I gather, that Seleucus, or Leucius Charinus (who is the ſame) *was ſo far concerned in altering and interpolating the Goſpel of the Infancy, as to be eſteemed its author.* For whereas the author of the Epiſtle to Chromatius ſays, *that Leucius was the author of the book which he tranſlated*, viz. of the Birth of Mary and the Infancy of Chriſt, and *theſe two were the ſame*; it follows, that this notorious compiler of Apocryphal books was concerned in the forgery of the Goſpels which I am now upon, or ſome conſiderable part of them. And herein Dr. Mill appears to have conjectured right. And,

4. Whereas I have above obſerved ſome things in this Goſpel later than the time of Leucius Charinus, i. e. later than the end of the third century, which was the time in which he lived[a]; theſe, I ſuppoſe, *were added either by the Neſtorians, or ſome later Chriſtians in Aſia*, whom Mr. La Croſe ſuppoſes to have been the firſt authors of the work.

[a] This is proved, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XXI. p. 245, &c.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Goſpel of Nicodemus, or the Acts of Pilate; taken out of the Orthodoxographa, Vol. I. Tom. 2. p. 643.

Numb. IX.

Nicodemi Diſcipuli, de Magiſtri et Salvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti Paſſione et Reſurrectione, Evangelium.

The Goſpel of Nicodemus the Diſciple, concerning the Sufferings and Reſurrection of our Maſter and Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt.

CAP. I.

ANNAS enim et Caiphas, et Summas, et Datam, Gamaliel, Judas, Levi, Nepthalim, Alexander, et Cyrus, et reliqui Judæi veniunt ad Pilatum propter Jeſum, accuſantes eum de multis accuſationibus malis, et dicentes; Jeſum novimus, Joſeph fabri filium, de Maria natum; et dicit ſe eſſe filium Dei et Regem; et non ſolum hoc dicit, ſed Sabbatum et paternam legem noſtram vult diſſolvere. Dicit Pilatus; Quid eſt quod ait? et quæ vult diſſolvere? Dicunt ei

CHAP. I.

FOR Annas and Caiphas, and Summas, and Datam, Gamaliel, Judas, Levi, Nepthalim, Alexander, Cyrus, and other Jews went to Pilate about Jeſus, accuſing him with many bad crimes, and ſaid, *We are aſſured that Jeſus is the ſon of Joſeph the carpenter* [a], *and born of Mary, and that he declares himſelf the Son of God, and a King* [b]; *and not only ſo, but attempts the diſſolution of the ſabbath* [c], *and the laws of our fathers.* Pilate replied; *What is it which he declares? and what is it which he attempts diſſolving?* The Jews told him,

[a] Matt. viii 55. & John vi. 42. John v. 17, 18. Mark xv. 2.

[c] Matt. xii. 2, &c. Luke xiii. 14 John v. 18.

We

Judæi; Legem habemus in Sabbato non curare; iſte autem claudos et ſurdos, paralyticos, cæcos, et leproſos, et dæmoniacos curavit de malis actibus. Dicit ei Pilatus; Quomodo de malis actibus? Dicunt ei; Maleficus eſt, et in principe dæmoniorum ejicit dæmonia, et omnia ei ſubjecta ſunt. Pilatus dicit; Iſtud non eſt in ſpiritu immundo ejicere dæmonia, ſed in virtute Dei. Dicunt et Judæi Pilato; Rogamus magnitudinem veſtram, ut eum jubeatis aſtare ante veſtrum tribunal, et audite eum. Advocans autem Pilatus curſorem, dicit ei; Qua ratione adducetur Chriſtus? Exiens vero curſor, et agnoſcens eum, adoravit, et faſciale involutorium, quod ferebat in manu ſua, expandit in terra, dicens, Domine, ſuper hoc ambula; ingredere, quia præſes te vocat. Videntes autem Judæi quod fecit curſor, exclamaverunt ad Pilatum, dicentes, Quare ſub voce præconis non juſſiſti eum in-

We have a law which forbids doing cures on the ſabbath-day [a]; *but he cures both the lame and the deaf, thoſe afflicted with the palſy, the blind, and lepers, and demoniacs* (on that day) *by wicked methods* [b]. Pilate replied, *How* (can he do this) *by wicked methods?* They anſwered, *He is a conjurer, and caſts out devils by the prince of the devils* [c]; *and* (ſo) *all things become ſubject to him.* Then ſaid Pilate, *Caſting out devils ſeems not to be the work of an unclean ſpirit, but to proceed from the power of God.* The Jews replied to Pilate, *We entreat your highneſs to ſummon him to appear before your tribunal, and hear him yourſelf.* Then Pilate called a meſſenger, and ſaid to him, *By what means will Chriſt be brought hither?* Then went the meſſenger forth, and knowing Chriſt, worſhipped him; and having ſpread the cloak which he had in his hand upon the ground, he ſaid, *Lord, walk upon this, and go in, for the governor calls thee.* When the Jews perceived what the meſſenger had done, they exclaimed (againſt him) to Pilate, and ſaid, *Why did not you give*

[a] Exod. xx. 8, &c.
[b] Matt. iv. 24. & xi. 5.
[c] Matt. ix. 34. & xii. 24, &c.

troire, et non per curſorem? Curſor enim videns eum adoravit illum, et faſciale, quod tenebat in manu, expandit ante eum in terra, et dixit ei, Domine, vocat te præſes. Advocans autem Pilatus curſorem, dixit, Quare hoc feciſti? Dixit ei curſor, Quando miſiſti me de Ieroſolyma ad Alexandrum, vidi Jeſum ſedentem ſuper aſinam humilem, et pueri Hebræorum clamabant *Oſanna*, ramos tenentes in manibus ſuis; alii autem ſternebant veſtimenta ſua in via, dicentes, *Salva nos qui es in cœlis*; *Benedictus qui venis in nomine Domini.* Clamaverunt ergo adverſus curſorem Judæi, dicentes, Pueri quidem Hebræorum Hebraice clamabant; tu autem quum ſis Græcus, quomodo linguam Hebræam noſti? Dicit eis curſor, Interrogavi quendam Judæorum, et dixi ei, Quid eſt quod clamant pueri Hebraice? et iſte mihi diſcernit, dicens, *Oſanna* enim clamant, quod interpretatur, *O Domine, ſalvum me fac*, ſeu

him his ſummons by a beadle, and not by a meſſenger? For the meſſenger, when he ſaw him, worſhipped him, and ſpread the cloak which he had in his hand upon the ground before him, and ſaid to him, Lord, the governor calls thee. Then Pilate called the meſſenger, and ſaid, *Why haſt thou done thus?* The meſſenger replied, *When thou ſenteſt me from Jeruſalem to Alexander, I ſaw Jeſus ſitting in a mean figure upon a ſhe-aſs, and the children of the Hebrews cried out* Oſanna, *holding boughs of trees in their hands; others ſpread their garments in the way, and ſaid,* Save us, thou who art in heaven; bleſſed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord[a]. Then the Jews cried out againſt the meſſenger, (and ſaid) *The children of the Hebrews made their acclamations in the Hebrew language; and how couldeſt thou, who art a Greek, underſtand the Hebrew?* The meſſenger anſwered them and ſaid, *I aſked one of the Jews, and ſaid,* What is this which the children do cry out in the Hebrew language? and he explained it to me, ſaying, They cry out *Oſanna*, which being interpreted, is, *O Lord, ſave me*; or, *O*

[a] Matt. xxi. 8, 9, &c.

Lord,

Domine, ſalva. Dicit eis Pilatus, Vos autem cur atteſtamini voces quas pueri dixerunt? Quid peccavit curſor? et ipſi tacuerunt. Dixit curſori præſes, Exi, et quovis ordine introduc eum. Exiens vero curſor, fecit ſicut et priori ſchemate, et dicit ad eum, Domine, ingredere, quoniam vocat te præſes. Ingreſſus autem Jeſus ad ſigniferos, qui ſigna ferebant, curvata ſunt capita eorum, et adoraverunt Jeſum. Hinc Judæi magis clamabant adverſus ſigniferos. Pilatus vero dicit ad Judæos, Non laudatis quod ex ſe curvata ſunt capita ſignorum, et adoraverunt Jeſum; ſed quomodo clamatis ad ſigniferos, quia ipſi ſe curvaverunt et adoraverunt? Dixerunt illi Pilato, Nos vidimus, quoniam inclinaverunt ſe ſigniferi, et adoraverunt Jeſum. Advocans vero ſigniferos præſes dixit eis, Quare ſic feciſtis? Dicunt ſigniferi Pilato, Nos viri Pagani ſumus, et templorum ſervi; quomodo habuimus adorare eum? Etenim nos tenentes ſigna curvaverunt ſe, et adoraverunt eum.

Lord, ſave. Pilate then ſaid to them, *Why do you yourſelves teſtify to the words ſpoken by the children?* (viz. by your ſilence.) *In what has the meſſenger done amiſs?* And they were ſilent. Then the governor ſaid unto the meſſenger, *Go forth, and endeavour by any means to bring him in.* But the meſſenger went forth, and did as before; and ſaid, *Lord, come in, for the governor calleth thee.* And as Jeſus was going in by the enſigns, who carried the ſtandards, the tops of them bowed down and worſhipped Jeſus. Whereupon the Jews exclaimed more vehemently againſt the enſigns. But Pilate ſaid to the Jews, *I know it is not pleaſing to you that the tops of the ſtandards did of themſelves bow, and worſhip Jeſus; but why do ye exclaim againſt the enſigns, as if they had bowed and worſhipped?* They replied to Pilate, *We ſaw the enſigns themſelves bowing and worſhipping Jeſus.* Then the governor called the enſigns, and ſaid unto them, *Why did you do thus?* The enſigns ſaid to Pilate, *We are all Pagans, and worſhip* (the gods) *in temples; and how ſhould we think any thing about worſhipping him? We only held the ſtandards in our hands, and they bowed themſelves and worſhipped him.*

Dicit Pilatus ad Archiſynagogos, Eligite vos viros potentes, et ipſi contineant ſigna, et videamus ſi ex ſe curventur. Aſpicientes autem ſeniores Judæorum viros duodecim fortiſſimos potenteſque ſenes, fecerunt continere ſigna, et ſteterunt ante conſpectum præſidis. Dicit Pilatus curſori, Ejice Jeſum foras, et intromitte eum iterum qualivis ordine: et exivit foras prætorium Jeſus, et curſor. Et advocans Pilatus ſigniferos, qui tenebant ſigna priores, jurans eis per ſalutem Cæſaris, quia ſi non ſic ferant ſigna ingrediente Jeſu, præcidam capita veſtra. Et juſſit præſes ingredi Jeſum ſecundo; et fecit curſor eodem ſchemate ſicut et prius, et multum deprecatus eſt Jeſum, ut ſuperaſcenderet et ambularet ſuper faſciale ſuum; et ſuperambulavit et ingreſſus eſt. Introeunte autem Jeſu curvaverunt ſe ſigna, et adoraverunt eum.

him. Then ſaid Pilate to the rulers of the ſynagogue, *Do ye yourſelves chooſe ſome ſtrong men, and let them hold the ſtandards, and we ſhall ſee whether they will then bend of themſelves.* So the elders of the Jews ſought out twelve of the moſt ſtrong and able old men, and made them hold the ſtandards; and they ſtood in the preſence of the governors. Then Pilate ſaid to the meſſenger, *Take Jeſus out, and by ſome means bring him in again.* And Jeſus and the meſſenger went out of the hall. And Pilate called the enſigns who before had born the ſtandards, and ſwore to them, that if they had not born the ſtandards in that manner when Jeſus (before) entered in, he would cut off their heads. Then the governor commanded Jeſus to come in again; and the meſſenger did as he had done before, and very much entreated Jeſus that he would go upon his cloak, and walk on it; and he did walk upon it, and went in. And when Jeſus went in, the ſtandards bowed themſelves (as before) and worſhipped him.

II. Videns autem Pilatus, timor apprehendit eum, et cœpit exturgere de ſede ſua.

II. But when Pilate ſaw this, he was afraid, and was about to riſe from his ſeat.

But

Cogitante autem eo exſurgere de ſede ſua, matrona ipſius Pilati procul poſita, miſit ad eum, dicens, Nihil tibi et juſto illi; multa enim paſſa ſum in viſu propter eum hac nocte. Audientes autem hæc Judæi, dixerunt Pilato, Nunquid non diximus tibi quoniam maleficus eſt? Ecce, ſomnium immiſit ad uxorem tuam. Pilatus vero advocans Jeſum, dixit, Num audiſti quod iſti adverſum te teſtantur, et nihil dicis? Jeſus reſpondit ei, Si non haberent poteſtatem loquendi, non loquerentur; ſed quoniam unuſquiſque poteſtatem habet oris ſui, loqui bona et mala, ipſi videbunt. Reſpondentes autem ſeniores Judæorum, dicunt ad Jeſum, Quid nos videbimus? Nos primum de te vidimus, quod ex fornicatione natus es; ſecundo, quod pro nativitate tua in Bethlehem infantes interfecti ſunt; tertio, quod pater tuus, et mater tua Maria, fugerunt in Egyptum, eo quod non haberent fiduciam in populo. Dicunt quidam de aſtantibus benigne ex Judæis, Nos non dicimus eum eſſe natum ex

But while he thought to riſe, his own wife, who ſtood at a diſtance, ſent to him, ſaying, *Have thou nothing to do with that juſt man; for I have ſuffered much concerning him in a viſion this night*[a]. When the Jews heard this, they ſaid to Pilate, *Did we not ſay unto thee*, He is a conjurer? Behold, he hath cauſed thy wife to dream. Pilate then calling Jeſus, ſaid, *Haſt thou heard what they teſtify againſt thee, and makeſt no anſwer?* Jeſus replied, *If they had not a power of ſpeaking, they could not have ſpoke; but becauſe every one has the command of his own tongue, to ſpeak both good and bad, let them look to it.* But the elders of the Jews anſwered, and ſaid to Jeſus, *What ſhall we look to? In the firſt place, we know this concerning thee, that thou waſt born through fornication; ſecondly, that upon the account of thy birth, the infants were ſlain in Bethlehem; thirdly, that thy father and mother Mary fled into Egypt, becauſe they could not truſt* (their own) *people.* Some of the Jews who ſtood by, ſpake more favourably; *We cannot ſay that he was born through forni-*

[a] Matt. xxvii. 19.

cation;

fornicatione; ſed ſcimus quoniam deſponſata erat mater ejus Maria Joſeph, et non eſt natus ex fornicatione. Dicit Pilatus ad Judæos, qui dixerant eum eſſe natum de fornicatione, Hic ſermo veſter non eſt verus, quoniam deſponſatio facta eſt, ſicut ipſi dicunt qui ſunt de gente veſtra. Dicunt Pilato Annas et Caiphas, Omnis multitudo audienda eſt, quæ clamat quoniam ex fornicatione natus eſt, et maleficus eſt. Iſti autem qui negant eum eſſe natum ex fornicatione, proſelyti ſunt et diſcipuli ejus. Pilatus autem dixit ad Annam et Caipham, Qui ſunt proſelyti? Dicunt, Illi Paganorum filii ſunt, et non facti ſunt Judæi. Dicunt Eleazar, et Aſterius, et Antonius, et Jacobus, Caras et Samuel, Iſaac et Phinees, Criſpus et Agrippa, Annas et Judas, Nos proſelyti non ſumus, ſed filii Judæorum, et veritatem loquimur, et in deſponſalicio Mariæ interfuimus. Alloquens vero Pilatus duodecim viros qui hæc dixerunt, dicit eis, Adjuro vos per ſalutem Cæſaris, ſi non eſt natus ex fornicatione, aut ſi vera

cation; but we know that his mother Mary was betrothed to Joſeph, and ſo he was not born through fornication. Then ſaid Pilate to the Jews who affirmed him to be born through fornication, *This your account is not true, ſeeing there was a betrothment, as they teſtify who are of your own nation.* Annas and Caiphas ſpake to Pilate, *All this multitude of people is to be regarded, who cry out, that he was born through fornication, and is a conjurer; but they who deny him to be born through fornication, are his proſelytes and diſciples.* Pilate replied to Annas and Caiphas, *Who are proſelytes?* They anſwer, *They are thoſe who are the children of Pagans, and are not become Jews* (but followers of him). Then replied Eleazar, and Aſterius, and Antonius, and James, Caras and Samuel, Iſaac and Phinees, Criſpus and Agrippa, Annas and Judas, *We are not proſelytes, but children of Jews, and ſpeak the truth, and were preſent when Mary was betrothed.* Then Pilate addreſſing himſelf to the twelve men who ſpake this, ſaid to them, *I conjure you by the life of Cæſar, that ye faithfully declare whether he was born through fornication, and thoſe things*

be

ſunt quæ dixiſtis. Dicunt illi Pilato, Legem habemus non jurare, quia peccatum eſt: ipſi jurent per ſalutem Cæſaris, quoniam non eſt ſicut diximus, et rei ſumus mortis. Dicunt Annas et Caiphas ad Pilatum, Iſti duodecim non credent quia ſcimus eum natum de ſtupro, et maleficum eſſe, et dicit ſeipſum eſſe filium Dei, et Regem; quod non credimus, et audire pertimeſcimus. Jubens ergo Pilatus omnem populum exire foras, abſque duodecim viris qui dixerunt, quoniam non eſt ex fornicatione natus; ſed et Jeſum juſſit ſegregare remote, et dicit eis, Qua ratione volunt Judæi Jeſum occidere? Dicunt ei illi, Zelum habent, quoniam Sabbato curat. Dixit Pilatus, De bono opere volunt eum occidere? Dicunt illi, Etiam, Domine.

be true which ye have related. They anſwered Pilate, *We have a law, whereby we are forbid to ſwear, it being a ſin: let them ſwear by the life of Cæſar that it is not as we have ſaid, and we will be contented to be put to death.* Then ſaid Annas and Caiphas to Pilate, *Thoſe twelve men will not believe that we know him to be baſely born, and to be a conjurer, although he pretends that he is the Son of God, and a king* [a]; *which we are ſo far from believing, that we tremble to hear.* Then Pilate commanded every one to go out (except the twelve men who ſaid he was not born through fornication), and Jeſus to withdraw to a diſtance, and ſaid to them, *Why have the Jews a mind to kill Jeſus?* They anſwered him, *They are angry becauſe he wrought cures on the ſabbath-day.* Pilate ſaid, *Will they kill him for a good work* [b]*?* They ſay unto him, *Yes, Sir.*

III. Pilatus vero repletus ira exivit prætorium, et dixit Judæis, Teſtem habeo ſolum, quia nec ullam culpam invenio

III. Then Pilate, filled with anger, went out of the hall, and ſaid to the Jews, *I call the whole world to witneſs that I find no fault in that*

[a] John v. 17, 18. Mark xv. 2.

[b] John x. 32.

man.

in ipſo homine. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Si non eſſet maleficus, non tibi eum tradidiſſemus. Dixit eis Pilatus, Tollite eum vos, et ſecundum legem veſtram judicate eum. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Nobis licet occidere neminem. Dicit Pilatus Judæis, Vobis ergo dicit *Non occidas*, ſed non mihi. Et ingreſſus eſt iterum prætorium, et vocavit ſolum Jeſum, et dixit ad eum, Tu es Rex Judæorum? Et reſpondens Jeſus dixit Pilato, A te hoc ſolum dicis, an alii tibi dixerunt de me? Reſpondens Pilatus, dixit ad Jeſum, Nunquid ego Judæus ſum? Gens et principes ſacerdotum tradiderunt te mihi: Quid feciſti? Reſpondens Jeſus, dixit, Regnum meum non eſt de hoc mundo: ſi ex hoc mundo eſſet regnum meum, miniſtri mei reſiſterent, et non traditus eſſem Judæis; nunc vero regnum meum non eſt hinc. Dixit Pilatus, Ergo Rex es tu? Reſpondit Jeſus, Tu dicis quia Rex ſum ego. Iterum dicit Jeſus Pilato, Ego in hoc natus ſum, et ad hoc *man*[a]. The Jews replied to Pilate, *If he had not been a wicked perſon, we had not brought him before thee.* Pilate ſaid to them, *Do ye take him, and try him by your law.* Then the Jews ſaid, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* Pilate ſaid to the Jews, *The command therefore,* Thou ſhalt not kill[b], *belongs to you, but not to me.* And he went again into the hall, and called Jeſus by himſelf, and ſaid to him, *Art thou the king of the Jews?* And Jeſus anſwering, ſaid to Pilate, *Doſt thou ſpeak this of thyſelf, or did the Jews tell it thee concerning me?* Pilate anſwering, ſaid to Jeſus, *Am I a Jew? The whole nation and rulers of the Jews have delivered thee up to me. What haſt thou done?* Jeſus anſwering, ſaid, *My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my ſervants fight, and I ſhould not have been delivered to the Jews; but now my kingdom is not from hence.* Pilate ſaid, *Art thou a king then?* Jeſus anſwered, *Thou ſayeſt that I am a king: to this end was I born, and for this end came I*

[a] John xviii. 31, &c.

[b] Exod. xx. 13.

into

natus ſum, et ad hoc veni, ut teſtimonium perhibeam veritati, et omnis qui eſt ex veritate, audit meam vocem. Dicit ei Pilatus, Quid eſt veritas? Dicit Jeſus, Veritas de cœlo eſt. Dicit Pilatus, In terris ergo veritas non eſt. Dicit Jeſus Pilato, Intende veritatem eſſe in terra inter illos, qui, dum poteſtatem habent judicandi, veritate utuntur, et judicia recte faciunt.

into the world; and for this purpoſe I came, that I ſhould bear witneſs to the truth; and every one who is of the truth, heareth my voice. Pilate ſaith to him, *What is truth?* Jeſus ſaid, *Truth is from heaven.* Pilate ſaid, *Therefore truth is not on earth.* Jeſus ſaith to Pilate, *Believe that truth is on earth among thoſe, who when they have the power of judgment, are governed by truth, and form right judgment.*

IV. Relinquens ergo Pilatus Jeſum in prætorio, exiit foras ad Judæos, et dixit ad eos, Ego nec unam culpam invenio in Jeſum. Dicunt illi Judæi, Ergo ipſe dixit, poſſum diſſolvere templum Dei, et in triduo reædificare illud. Dixit eis Pilatus, Quale templum eſt hoc de quo dicit? Dicunt ei Judæi, Quod ædificavit Salomon in quadraginta ſex annis, ipſe dixit deſtruere, et in triduo ædificare. Et iterum dicit eis Pilatus, Innocens ſum ego a ſanguine hominis iſtius; vos videritis. Dicunt ei Judæi, Sanguis ejus ſuper nos et ſuper filios noſ-

IV. Then Pilate left Jeſus in the hall, and went out to the Jews, and ſaid, *I find not any one fault in Jeſus.* The Jews ſay unto him, *But he ſaid, I can deſtroy the temple of God, and in three days build it up again.* Pilate ſaith unto them, [a]*What ſort of temple is that of which he ſpeaketh?* The Jews ſay unto him, *That which Salomon was forty ſix years in building*[b], *he ſaid he would deſtroy, and in three days build up.* Pilate ſaid to them again, *I am innocent from the blood of that man; do ye look to it*[c]. The Jews ſay to him, *His blood be upon us and our children.* Then

[a] Matt. xxvi. 61. [b] John ii. 20. [c] Mat. xxvii. 24.

Pilate

tros. Advocans autem Pilatus Seniores et Scribas, Sacerdotes et Levitas, dicit eis ſecrete, Nolite ſic facere; nihil in veſtra accuſatione dignum morte inveni, de curatione infirmorum et violatione Sabbati. Dicunt Sacerdotes et Levitæ Pilato, Per ſalutem Cæſaris, ſi quis blaſphemaverit, dignus eſt morte; hic autem adverſus Dominum blaſphemavit. Juſſit vero præſes exire Judæos iterum prætorium; et advocans Jeſum, dixit ei, Quid faciam tibi? Reſpondit ei Jeſus, Sicut dictum eſt. Dixit ei Pilatus, Quomodo eſt dictum? Dixit ei Jeſus, Moſes et Prophetæ præconizati ſunt de paſſione mea et reſurrectione. Audientes hæc Judæi, exacerbati ſunt, et dicunt Pilato, Quid amplius vis blaſphemiam iſtius audire? Dicit Pilatus eis, Si iſta verba blaſphemia vobis videtur, tollite eum vos, et producite ad veſtram ſynagogam, et ſecundum legem veſtram judicate eum. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Lex noſtra continet, ut ſi homo homini peccaverit, dignus ſit

Pilate calling together the Elders and Scribes, Prieſts and Levites, ſaith to them privately, *Do not act thus; I have found nothing in your charge* (againſt him) *concerning his curing ſick perſons, and breaking the Sabbath, worthy of death.* The Prieſts and Levites replied to Pilate, *By the life of Cæſar, if any one be a blaſphemer, he is worthy of death*[a]; *but this man hath blaſphemed againſt the Lord.* Then the governor again commanded the Jews to depart out of the hall; and calling Jeſus, ſaid to him, *What ſhall I do with thee?* Jeſus anſwered him, (Do) *according as it is written.* Pilate ſaid to him, *How is it written?* Jeſus ſaith to him, *Moſes and the Prophets have propheſied concerning my ſuffering and reſurrection.* The Jews hearing this, were provoked, and ſaid to Pilate, *Why wilt thou any longer hear the blaſphemy of that man?* Pilate ſaith to them, *If theſe words ſeem to you blaſphemy, do ye take him, bring him to your court, and try him according to your law.* The Jews reply to Pilate, *Our law ſaith, that if one man injure another,*

[a] Lev. xxiv. 16.

he

accipere unam minus quadraginta; ſi vero in Dominum blaſphemaverit hujuſmodi, lapidari. Dicit eis Pilatus, Si iſte ſermo blaſphemia eſt, vos judicate eum ſecundum veſtram legem. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Lex noſtra mandat nobis, non occidere quenquam: nos volumus ut crucifigatur, quia dignus eſt morte crucis. Dicit eis Pilatus, Non eſt bonum ut crucifigatur; ſed tantum corripite eum, et dimittite. Intuitus vero præſes in populo et circumſtante populo Judæorum, vidit plurimos Judæos lachrymantes, et dixit ad principes ſacerdotum Judæorum, Non omnis multitudo deſiderat eum mori. Dicunt ſeniores Judæorum ad Pilatum, Ideo venimus nos et tota multitudo huc, ut moriatur. Dicit Pilatus ad eos, Quare morietur? Dicunt illi, Quia dicit ſeipſum filium Dei eſſe, et Regem.

he ſhall be obliged to receive nine and thirty ſtripes; but if after this manner he ſhall blaſpheme againſt the Lord, he ſhall be ſtoned. Pilate ſaith unto them, *If that ſpeech of his was blaſphemy, do ye try him according to your law.* The Jews ſay to Pilate, *Our Law commands us not to put any one to death*[a]*: we deſire that he may be crucified, becauſe he deſerves the death of the croſs.* Pilate ſaith to them, *It is not fit he ſhould be crucified; let him be only whipped and ſent away*[b]. But when the governor looked upon the people that were preſent and the Jews, he ſaw many of the Jews in tears, and ſaid to the chief prieſts of the Jews, *All the people do not deſire his death.* The elders of the Jews anſwered to Pilate, *We and all the people came hither for this very purpoſe, that he ſhould die.* Pilate ſaith to them, *Why ſhould he die?* They ſaid to them, *Becauſe he declares himſelf to be the Son of God, and a King.*

V. Nicodemus autem quidam vir Judæus ſtetit ante præſidem, et dixit, Rogo te, miſericors judex, ut digneris

V. But Nicodemus, a certain Jew, ſtood before the governor, and ſaid, *I entreat thee, O righteous judge, that*

[a] Exod. xx. 13.

[b] Luke xxiii. 16.

paucos meos audire ſermones. Dixit Pilatus ei, Dic. Nicodemus dixit, Ego dixi Senioribus Judæorum, et Scribis, et Sacerdotibus, et Levitis, et omni multitudini Judæorum in ſynagoga; Quid quæritis cum homine iſto? Homo iſte multa ſigna facit bona et glorioſa, qualia nullus fecit in terra homo, nec faciet: dimittite illum, et nolite ei malum facere: ſi ex Deo eſt, ſtabunt ſigna ejus; ſi vero ex hominibus, diſſolventur. Quia et Moſes a Deo in Ægyptum miſſus fecit ſigna, quæ dixit illi facere Deus ante Pharaonem regem Ægypti. Erant ibi magi Jannes et Jambres, feceruntque et ipſi per incantationes ſuas ſigna quæ fecerat Moſes, ſed non per omnia. Et ſigna, quæ fecerunt magi, non erant ex Deo, ſicut noſtis vos Scribæ et Phariſæi; perierunt ipſi, qui fecerunt, et omnes qui crediderunt eis. Et nunc dimittite hominem hunc; quia ſigna, de quibus

thou wouldeſt favour me with the liberty of ſpeaking a few words. Pilate ſaid to him, *Speak on.* Nicodemus ſaid, *I ſpake to the elders of the Jews, and the Scribes, and Prieſts, and Levites, and all the multitude of the Jews, in their aſſembly; What is it ye would do with this man? He is a man who hath wrought many uſeful and glorious miracles, ſuch as no man on earth ever wrought before, nor will ever work*[a]. *Let him go, and do him no harm: if he cometh from God, his miracles* (his miraculous cures) *will continue; but if from men, they will come to nought*[b]. *Thus Moſes, when he was ſent by God into Egypt, wrought the miracles which God commanded him, before Pharaoh king of Egypt; and though the magicians of that country, Jannes and Jambres*[c], *wrought by their magick the ſame miracles which Moſes did, yet they could not work all which he did*[d]*: and the miracles, which the magicians wrought, were not of God, as ye know, O Scribes and Phariſees; but they who wrought them periſhed, and all who believed them*[e]. *And now let this man go; becauſe the very mi-*

[a] John iii. 2.
[b] Acts v. 38.
[c] Theſe are mentioned alſo as the names of the magicians, 2 Tim. iii. 8.
[d] Exod. viii. 18, &c.
[e] Acts v. 35. An alluſion to Gamaliel's ſpeech.

racles

eum accuſatis, ex Deo ſunt, et non eſt dignus morte. Dicunt Judæi Nicodemo, Tu diſcipulus ejus factus es, et verbum pro ipſo facis? Dixit ad eos Nicodemus, Nunquid et præſes diſcipulus ejus factus eſt, et verbum pro ipſo facit? Nunquid non conſtituit eum Cæſar ſuper dignitatem iſtam? Erant autem Judæi trementes, quum hæc audirent; et ſtridebant ſuper Nicodemum, et dicebant ei, Veritatem ipſius accipias, et poſſeſſionem cum Chriſto habeas! Dixit Nicodemus, Amen; accipiam ſicut dixiſtis.

racles for which ye accuſe him, are from God; and he is not worthy of death. The Jews then ſaid to Nicodemus, *Art thou become his diſciple, and making ſpeeches in his favour?* Nicodemus ſaid to them, *Is the governor become his diſciple alſo, and does he make ſpeeches for him? Did not Cæſar place him in that high poſt?* When the Jews heard this, they trembled, and gnaſhed their teeth at Nicodemus, and ſaid to him, *Mayeſt thou receive his doctrine for truth, and have thy lot with Chriſt!* Nicodemus replied, *Amen*; *I will receive* (his doctrine, and my lot with him) *as ye have ſaid.*

VI. Ex Judæis quidam alius autem exiliens, rogabat præſidem, ut vellet audire verbum. Dicit præſes, Quicquid vis dicere, dic. Ego per triginta octo annos jacui Ieroſolymis juxta probaticam piſcinam, patiens magnam infirmitatem, expectans ſanitatem quæ fiebat in adventu Angeli, qui turbabat aquam ſecundum tempus; et qui prior deſcendiſſet in aquam poſt commotionem aquæ, ſanus fiebat ab omni infirmitate. Et inve-

VI. Then another certain Jew roſe up, and deſired leave of the governor to hear him a few words. And the governor ſaid, *Speak what thou haſt a mind.* (He ſaid) *I lay for thirty-eight years by the ſheep-pool at Jeruſalem, labouring under a great infirmity, and waiting for a cure which ſhould be wrought by the coming of an angel, who at a certain time troubled the water; and whoſoever firſt after the troubling of the water ſtepped in, was made whole of whatſoever diſeaſe he had.*

niens ibi me Jeſus languidum, dixit ad me, Vis ſanus fieri? Et reſpondi ego, Domine, non habeo hominem, ut, quum turbata fuerit aqua, mittat me in piſcinam. Et dixit mihi, Surge, et tolle grabatum tuum, et ambula. Et ſoſpes factus, ſtatim tuli grabatum meum, et ambulavi. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Domine Præſes, interroga eum, qualis fuerit dies in qua languidus ſanatus eſt. Dixit languidus ſanatus, Sabbatum. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Nonne ſic docuimus, quia in Sabbato curat, et in principe dæmoniorum ejicit dæmonia? Et alius quidam Judæus exiens, dixit, Cæcus eram, voces audiebam, et neminem videre poteram; et quum tranſiſſet Jeſus, audivi turbam prætereuntem, et interrogavi quid eſſet: et dixerunt mihi, quia Jeſus tranſiret. Et clamavi, dicens, Jeſu, fili David, miſerere mei. Et ſtans juſſit me adduci ad ſe, et dixit mihi, Quid vis? Et dixi, Domine, ut videam. Et dixit mihi, Reſpice; et confeſtim vidi, et ſecutus ſum

And when Jeſus ſaw me languiſhing there, he ſaid to me, Wilt thou be made whole? *And I anſwered,* Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool. *And he ſaid unto me,* Riſe, take up thy bed, and walk. *And I was immediately made whole, and took up my bed, and walked*[a]. The Jews then ſaid to Pilate, *Our Lord Governor, pray aſk him what day it was on which he was cured of his infirmity.* The infirm perſon replied, *It was on the Sabbath.* The Jews ſaid to Pilate, *Did we not ſay that he wrought his cures on the Sabbath, and caſt out devils by the prince of devils?* Then another certain [b] Jew came forth, and ſaid, *I was blind, could hear ſounds, but could not ſee any one; and as Jeſus was going along, I heard the multitude paſſing by, and I aſked what was there? They told me that Jeſus was paſſing by: then I cried out, ſaying,* Jeſus, Son of David, have mercy upon me. *And he ſtood ſtill, and commanded that I ſhould be brought to him, and ſaid to me,* What wilt thou? *I ſaid,* Lord, that I may receive my ſight. *He ſaid to me,* Receive thy ſight; *and preſently I*

[a] John v. 1, 2, &c.

[b] Mark x. 46.

ſaw,

eum gaudens et gratias agens. Et alius Judæus exiens, dixit, Leprosus eram, et mundavit me solo verbo, dicens, Volo, mundare; et illico mundatus sum a lepra. Et alius Judæus exiens, dixit, Curvus eram, et erexit me verbo.

saw, and followed him, rejoicing and giving thanks. Another Jew also came forth, and said, [a] *I was a leper, and he cured me by his word only, saying,* I will, be thou clean; *and presently I was cleansed from my leprosy.* And another Jew came forth, and said, *I was crooked, and he made me straight by his word* [b].

VII. Et mulier quædam, Veronica nomine, dixit, Sanguine fluens eram ab annis duodecim, et tetigi fimbriam vestimenti ejus, et statim fluxus sanguinis mei stetit. Dicunt Judæi, Legem habemus, mulierem ad testimonium non venire. Et quidam Judæus post alia dixit, Vidi Jesum vocari ad nuptias cum discipulis suis, et vinum deficere in Cana Galilææ; et quum defeciſſet vinum, præcepit ministris, ut implerent sex hydrias, quæ ibi erant, aqua, et impleverunt usque ad summum; et benedixit eis, et convertit aquam in vinum, et biberunt omnes gentes, admirantes super hoc signum. Et

VII. And a certain woman named Veronica, said [c], *I was afflicted with an issue of blood twelve years, and I touched the hem of his garment, and presently the issue of my blood stopped.* The Jews then said, *We have a law, that a woman shall not be allowed as an evidence.* And, after other things, another Jew said, [d] *I saw Jesus invited to a wedding with his disciples, and there was a want of wine in Cana of Galilee; and when the wine was all drank, he commanded the servants that they should fill six pots which were there with water, and they filled them up to the brim, and he blessed them, and turned the water into wine; and all the people drank, being surprized at this miracle.* And another

[a] Matt. viii. 2, &c.
[b] Luke xiii. 11, &c.
[c] Matt. ix. 20, &c. See concerning this woman called Veronica, and the statue which she erected to the honour of Christ, who wrought this miracle, above in this Part, Ch. IV. and Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 18.
[d] John ii. 1, &c.

alius Judæus ſtetit in medio, et dixit, Ego vidi Jeſum in Capharnaum docentem in ſynagoga; et in ſynagoga erat quidam homo habens dæmonium; et clamavit, dicens, Sine me; quid nobis et tibi, Jeſu Nazarene? Veniſti perdere nos? Scio quia tu es Sanctus Dei. Et increpavit illum Jeſus, et dixit illi, Obmuteſce, ſpiritus immunde, et exi de homine; et ſtatim exivit de iſto, nihilque illi nocuit. Et hæc quidam Phariſæus dixit, Ego vidi quod multa turba venit ad Jeſum a Galilæa et Judæa, et maritima, et multis regionibus circa Jordanem, et multi infirmi veniebant ad eum, et ſanabat omnes. Et audivi ſpiritus immundos clamantes et dicentes, Tu es filius Dei. Et vehementer comminabatur eis Jeſus, ne illum manifeſtarent.

Jew ſtood forth, and ſaid, [a] *I ſaw Jeſus teaching in the ſynagogue at Capernaum; and there was in the ſynagogue a certain man who had a devil; and he cried out, ſaying,* Let me alone; what have we to do with thee, Jeſus of Nazareth? Art thou come to deſtroy us? I know that thou art the Holy One of God. *And Jeſus rebuked him, ſaying,* Hold thy peace, unclean ſpirit, and come out of the man; *and preſently he came out of him, and did not at all hurt him.* The following things were alſo ſaid by a Phariſee; *I ſaw that a great company came to Jeſus from Galilee and Judea, and the ſea-coaſt, and many countries about Jordan; and many infirm perſons came to him, and he healed them all* [b]. *And I heard the unclean ſpirits crying out, and ſaying,* [c] Thou art the Son of God. *And Jeſus ſtrictly charged them, that they ſhould not make him known.*

VIII. Poſt hæc quidam nomine Centurio dixit, Ego in Capharnaum vidi Jeſum, et rogavi eum dicens, Domine, puer meus jacet para-

VIII. After this another perſon, whoſe name was Centurio, ſaid, [d] *I ſaw Jeſus in Capernaum, and I intreated him, ſaying,* Lord, my ſervant

[a] Luke iv. 33, &c.
[b] Matt. v. 23.
[c] Mark iii. 11.
[d] Matt. viii. 5, &c.

lieth

lyticus in domo. Et dixit mihi Jeſus, Ego veniam et curabo eum. Et ego dixi, Domine, non ſum dignus ut intres ſub tectum meum; ſed tantum dic verbum, et ſanabitur puer meus. Et dixit mihi Jeſus, Vade, et ſicut credidiſti, fiat tibi. Et ſanatus eſt puer ex illa hora. Deinde quidam regulus dixit, Habebam filium in Capharnaum qui moriebatur; et cum audiſſem Jeſum advenire in Galilæam, abii, et rogavi eum, ut deſcenderet in domum meam, et ſanaret filium meum; incipiebat enim mori. Et dixit mihi, Vade, filius tuus vivit; et ſanatus eſt filius meus ex illa hora. Et alii quidem multi ex Judæis, et viri et mulieres, clamaverunt dicentes, Vere filius Dei eſt iſte, qui ſolo verbo omnia ſanat, et dæmonia ei per omnia ſubjiciuntur. Dicunt quidam ex ipſis, Non eſt hæc poteſtas niſi a Deo. Dixit Pilatus Judæis, Quare vobis docentibus dæmonia non ſubjiciuntur? Dicunt quidam ex ipſis, Non eſt hæc poteſtas niſi a Deo, ut dæmonia ſubjiciantur. Alii autem dixe-

lieth at home ſick of the palſy. *And Jeſus ſaid to me*, I will come and cure him. *But I ſaid*, Lord, I am not worthy that thou ſhouldeſt come under my roof; but only ſpeak the word, and my ſervant ſhall be healed. *And Jeſus ſaid unto me*, Go thy way; and as thou haſt believed, ſo be it done unto thee. *And my ſervant was healed from that ſame hour.* Then a certain nobleman ſaid, *I had a ſon in Capernaum, who lay at the point of death; and when I heard that Jeſus was come into Galilee, I went and beſought him that he would come down to my houſe, and heal my ſon, for he was at the point of death. He ſaid to me*, Go thy way, thy ſon liveth. *And my ſon was cured from that hour.* Beſides theſe, alſo many others of the Jews, both men and women, cried out and ſaid, *He is truly the Son of God, who cures all diſeaſes only by his word, and to whom the devils are altogether ſubject.* Some of them farther ſaid, *This power can proceed from none but God.* Pilate ſaid to the Jews, *Why are not the devils ſubject to your doctors?* Some of them ſaid, *The power of ſubjecting devils cannot proceed but from God.* But others ſaid to Pilate,

runt Pilato, Quia Lazarum mortuum ſuſcitavit poſt quatriduum de monumento. Audiens hæc præſes, tremefactus, dixit ad multitudinem Judæorum, Quid vobis proderit, quod effundatis ſanguinem innocentem?

That he had [a] *raiſed Lazarus from the dead, after he had been four days in his grave.* The governor hearing this, trembling ſaid to the multitude of the Jews, *What will it profit you to ſhed innocent blood?*

IX. Et convocans Pilatus Nicodemum et quindecim viros, qui dixerunt quoniam non eſt natus ex fornicatione, dicit ad eos, Quid faciam, quoniam ſeditio fit in populo? Dicunt ei illi, Neſcimus, ipſi videant qui ſeditionem commovent. Iterum Pilatus convocans multitudinem, dixit eis, Scitis, quia vobis conſuetudo eſt per diem azymorum, ut dimittam vobis unum vinctum: habeo unum inſignem vinctum homicidam, qui dicitur Barabbas, et Jeſum qui dicitur Chriſtus, in quo nullam cauſam mortis invenio: Quem ergo vultis ex his duobus dimitti? Clamaverunt autem omnes, dicentes, Barabbam dimitte nobis. Dicit eis Pilatus, Quid ergo faciam de Jeſu qui dicitur

IX. Then Pilate having called together Nicodemus, and the fifteen men who ſaid that Jeſus was not born through fornication, ſaid to them, *What ſhall I do, ſeeing there is like to be a tumult among the people* [b]. They ſay unto him, *We know not; let them look to it, who raiſe the tumult.* Pilate then called the multitude again, and ſaid to them, *Ye know that ye have a cuſtom, that I ſhould releaſe to you one priſoner at the feaſt of the paſſover: I have a noted priſoner, a murderer, who is called Barabbas, and Jeſus who is called Chriſt, in whom I find nothing that deſerves death: which of them therefore have you a mind that I ſhould releaſe to you?* [c] They all cry out, and ſay, *Releaſe to us Barabbas.* Pilate ſaith to them, *What then ſhall I do with Jeſus who is called*

[a] John xi. 1, &c. [b] Matt. xxvii. 24. [c] Mat. xxvii. 21, &c.

Chriſt?

Chriſtus? Dicunt ei omnes, Crucifigatur. Iterum clamant dicentes Pilato, Non es Cæſaris amicus, ſi hunc dimittis, quia dixit ſe filium Dei eſſe et Regem. An forte vis hunc eſſe, et non Cæſarem? Tunc repletus furore Pilatus, dixit ad eos, Semper gens veſtra ſeditioſa fuit, et qui profuerunt, contrarii eis fuiſtis. Reſponderunt Judæi, Qui ſunt qui fuerunt pro nobis? Dicit eis Pilatus, Deus veſter, qui eruit vos de dura ſervitute Ægyptiorum, et tranſduxit per mare rubrum, ſicut per aridam; et in eremo cibavit vos manna et carne coturnicum, et aquam de petra produxit, et legem de cœlo vobis dedit: et in omnibus irritaſtis Deum veſtrum, et quæſiviſtis vobis vitulum facere conflatilem, et adoraſtis, et immolaſtis, et dixiſtis, *Iſti ſunt Dii tui, Iſrael, qui te eduxerunt de terra Ægypti.* Et voluit Deus veſter diſperdere vos, et deprecatus eſt Moſes pro vobis, ut non moreremini, et audivit Deus veſter eum, et tranſtulit peccatum veſtrum.

Chriſt? They all anſwer, *Let him be crucified.* Again they cry out and ſay to Pilate, *You are not the friend of Cæſar, if you releaſe this man*[a]; *for he hath declared that he is the Son of God, and a King. But are you inclined that he ſhould be king, and not Cæſar?* Then Pilate filled with anger ſaid to them, *Your nation hath always been ſeditious, and you are always againſt thoſe who have been ſerviceable to you.* The Jews replied, *Who are thoſe who have been ſerviceable to us?* Pilate anſwered them, *Your God who delivered you from the hard bondage of the Egyptians, and brought you over the Red ſea as though it had been dry land, and fed you in the wilderneſs with manna and the fleſh of quails, and brought water out of the rock, and gave you a law from heaven; ye provoked him all ways, and deſired for yourſelves a molten calf, and worſhipped it, and ſacrificed to it, and ſaid,* Theſe are thy Gods, O Iſrael, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt! *On account of which your God was inclined to deſtroy you; but Moſes interceded for you, and your God heard him, and for-*

[a] John xix. 12.

gave

Deinde exacerbati voluiſtis occidere Prophetas veſtros Moſen et Aaron, quando fugerunt in tabernaculum, et ſemper contra Deum et ejus Prophetas murmuraſtis. Et exſurgens de tribunali, voluit exire foras. Clamaverunt autem omnes Judæi, Regem ſcimus eſſe Cæſarem, non Jeſum: nam quando hic natus eſt, tunc Magi venerunt, et ei munera obtulerunt; quod quum audiſſet Herodes, turbatus eſt valde, et voluit occidere eum. Quod quum cognoviſſet pater ejus, fugit in Ægyptum cum matre ſua Maria. Herodes, quum audiſſet eum eſſe natum, voluit eum occidere; et mittens occidit omnes pueros, qui erant in Bethlehem et in omnibus finibus ejus, a bimatu et infra. Audiens Pilatus hæc verba, timuit; et ſilentio facto in populo, qui clamabat, dixit ad Jeſum, Ergo Rex es tu? Dicunt ad Pilatum omnes Judæi, Iſte eſt, quem Herodes quærebat occidere. Accipiens autem Pilatus aquam, lavit manus ſuas coram populo,

gave your iniquity. Afterwards ye were enraged againſt, and would have killed your Prophets, Moſes and Aaron, when they fled to the tabernacle, and ye were always murmuring againſt God and his Prophets. And ariſing from his judgment-ſeat, he would have gone out; but the Jews all cried out, *We acknowledge Cæſar to be King, and not Jeſus. Whereas this perſon, as ſoon as he was born, the wiſe men came and offered gifts unto him; which when Herod heard, he was exceedingly troubled, and would have killed him. When his father knew this, he fled with him and his mother Mary into Egypt. Herod, when he heard he was born, would have ſlain him; and accordingly ſent and ſlew all the children which were in Bethlehem, and in all the coaſts thereof, from two years old and under*[a]. When Pilate heard this account, he was afraid; and commanding ſilence among the people, who made a noiſe, he ſaid to Jeſus, *Art thou therefore a king?* All the Jews replied to Pilate, *He is the very perſon whom Herod ſought to have ſlain.* Then Pilate taking water, waſhed his hands before the people,

[a] Matt. ii.

and

dicens, Innocens ego ſum a ſanguine juſti hujus; vos videritis. Et reſponderunt Judæi, dicentes, Sanguis ejus ſuper nos et ſuper filios noſtros. Tunc juſſit Pilatus adduci Jeſum ante ſe, et proſecutus eſt eum his verbis; Genus tuum comprobavit te ut Regem; propter quod, ego Herodes præcipio flagellari te ſecundum ſtatuta priorum principum; et in principio te alligari, et in cruce ſuſpendi in eo loco ubi tentus es, et duos malignos tecum, quorum nomina ſunt hæc, Dimas et Geſtas.

and ſaid, *I am innocent of the blood of this juſt perſon; look ye to it* [a]. The Jews anſwered and ſaid, *His blood be upon us and our children.* Then Pilate commanded Jeſus to be brought before him, and ſpake to him in the following words; *Thy own nation hath charged thee as making thyſelf a king; wherefore I Herod ſentence thee to be whipped according to the laws of former governors; and that thou be firſt bound, then hanged upon a croſs in that place where thou art now a priſoner; and alſo two criminals with thee, whoſe names are Dimas and Geſtas.*

X. Et exivit Jeſus de prætorio, et duo latrones cum eo; et quum perveniſſent ad locum qui dicitur Golgotha, exſpoliaverunt eum veſtimento ſuo, et præcingunt eum linteo, et coronam de ſpinis imponunt ſuper caput ejus, et dant arundinem in manu ejus. Similiter et duos latrones ſuſpendunt cum eo, Dimam a dextris, et Geſtam a ſiniſtris ejus. Jeſus vero dixit, *Pater mi, parce illis, quia neſciunt*

X. Then Jeſus went out of the hall, and the two thieves with him; and when they came to the place which is called Golgotha [b], they ſtript him of his raiment, and girt him about with a linen cloth, and put a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand. And in like manner did they to the two thieves who were crucified with him, Dimas on his right hand, and Geſtas on his left. But Jeſus ſaid, *My father, forgive them; for they know not*

[a] Matt. xxvii. 24, &c.

[b] Matt. xxvii. 33.

what

quid faciunt. Et diviſerunt veſtimenta ejus, ſuper veſtem ejus mittentes ſortem. Et ſteterunt populi, et irridebant eum principes ſacerdotum et ſeniores Judæorum, dicentes, Alios ſalvos fecit, nunc ſeipſum ſalvum faciat, ſi poteſt; ſi filius Dei eſt, nunc deſcendat de cruce. Deludebant eum ergo milites, et accipientes acetum et fel, offerebant ei bibere, et dicebant ad illum, Si tu es Rex Judæorum, libera temetipſum. Accipiens autem Longinus miles lanceam, aperuit latus ejus, et continuo exivit ſanguis et aqua. Scripſit autem Pilatus titulum ſuper crucem, literis Hebraicis, et Latinis, et Græcis, continentem hæc, *Hic eſt Rex Judæorum.* Unus autem de duobus latronibus, qui crucifixi erant cum Jeſu, nomine Geſtas, dixit ad Jeſum, Si tu es Chriſtus, libera teipſum et nos. Reſpondens autem latro, qui a dextris ejus ſuſpenſus erat, nomine Dimas, increpavit eum, et dixit, Non times tu Deum, qui in hoc judicio es ex damnatis? Nos autem digne et juſte, ſecun-

what they do. And they divided his garments, and upon his veſture they caſt lots. The people in the mean time ſtood by, and the chief prieſts and elders of the Jews mocked him, ſaying, *He ſaved others, let him now ſave himſelf if he can; if he be the Son of God, let him now come down from the croſs.* The ſoldiers alſo mocked him, and taking vinegar and gall, offered it to him to drink, and ſaid to him, *If thou art king of the Jews, deliver thyſelf.* Then Longinus, a certain ſoldier, taking a ſpear[a], pierced his ſide, and preſently there came forth blood and water. And Pilate wrote the title upon the croſs in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek letters, viz. *This is the king of the Jews*[b]. But one of the two thieves who were crucified with Jeſus, whoſe name was Geſtas, ſaid to Jeſus, *If thou art the Chriſt, deliver thyſelf and us.* But the thief who was crucified on his right hand, whoſe name was Dimas, anſwering, rebuked him, and ſaid, *Doſt not thou fear God, who art condemned to this puniſhment? We indeed receive rightly and*

[a] John xix. 34.

[b] John xix. 19.

juſtly

dum ea quæ fecimus, recepimus mercedem: hic autem Jesus, quid mali fecit? Et post hæc suspirans dixit ad Jesum, Memento mei, Domine, dum veneris in regnum tuum. Respondit autem Jesus, dixit ad illum, Amen dico tibi, quia hodie mecum eris in Paradiso.

XI. Erat autem hora quasi sexta, et tenebræ factæ sunt super universam terram usque ad horam nonam. Sole autem obscurante, ecce velum templi scissum est a summo usque deorsum, et petræ scissæ sunt, et monumenta aperta sunt, et multa corpora sanctorum, qui dormierunt, surrexerunt. Et circa horam nonam exclamavit Jesus voce magna, dicens, *Heli, Heli, Lama zabathani?* quod est interpretatum, Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me? Et post hæc dicit Jesus, Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum; et hæc dicens, emisit spiritum. Videns autem Centurio quia Jesus sic clamans emisisset spiritum, glorificavit Deum, et dixit, *justly the demerit of our actions; but this Jesus, what evil hath he done?* After this groaning, he said to Jesus, *Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.* Jesus answering, said to him, *Verily I say unto thee, that this day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.*

XI. And it was about the sixth hour[a], and darkness was upon the face of the whole earth until the ninth hour. And while the sun was eclipsed, behold the vail of the temple was rent from the top to the bottom; and the rocks also were rent, and the graves opened, and many bodies of saints, which slept, arose. And about the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying, *Heli, Heli, lama zabathani?* which, being interpreted, is, *My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?* And after these things, Jesus said, *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit*; and having said this, he gave up the ghost. But when the centurion saw that Jesus thus crying out gave up the ghost, he glorified God, and said,

[a] Matt. xxvii. 45, &c.

Of

Vere hic homo juſtus erat. Et omnes populi circumſtantes conturbati ſunt vehementer ad ſpectaculum illud; et conſiderantes quæ facta ſunt, percuſſerunt pectora ſua, et tunc revertebantur in civitatem Jeruſalem. Centurio veniens ad præſidem, retulit illi omnia quæ facta ſunt. Quum autem præſes audiviſſet omnia quæ facta erant, contriſtatus eſt nimis; et convocans Judæos ſimul, dixit ad illos, Vidiſtis ſigna quæ facta ſunt in Sole, et cætera omnia quæ facta ſunt, dum Jeſus moriebatur? Quod quum audiſſent Judæi, reſponderunt præſidi, Eclipſis facta eſt Solis ſecundum veterem conſuetudinem. Stabant autem omnes noti ejus a longe, ſimiliter et mulieres quæ ſecutæ fuerant Jeſum a Galilæa, hæc videntes. Et ecce vir quidam ab Arimathæa, nomine Joſeph, qui etiam erat diſcipulus Jeſu, occulte tamen propter metum Judæorum, venit ad præſidem, rogavitque præſidem, ut permitteret illi, ut tolleret corpus Jeſu de cruce. Et præſes permiſit.

Of a truth this was a juſt man. And all the people who ſtood by, were exceedingly troubled at the ſight; and, reflecting upon what had paſſed, ſmote upon their breaſts, and then returned to the city of Jeruſalem. The centurion went to the governor, and related to him all that had paſſed; and when he had heard all theſe things, he was exceeding ſorrowful; and calling the Jews together, ſaid to them, *Have ye ſeen the miracle of the ſun's eclipſe, and the other things which came to paſs, while Jeſus was dying?* Which when the Jews heard, they anſwered to the governor, *The eclipſe of the ſun happened according to its uſual cuſtom.* But all thoſe who were the acquaintance of Chriſt, ſtood at a diſtance, as did the women who had followed Jeſus from Galilee, obſerving *(all)* theſe things. And [a] behold a certain man of Arimathæa, named Joſeph, who alſo was a diſciple of Jeſus, but not openly ſo, for fear of the Jews, came to the governor, and intreated the governor, that *he would give him leave to take away the body of Jeſus from the croſs.* And the

[a] John xix. 38.

governor

Venit autem Nicodemus ferens ſecum mixturam myrrhæ et aloes, quaſi libras centum, et depoſuerunt Jeſum cum lacrymis de cruce, et ligaverunt illum in linteis cum aromatibus, ut mos ſepeliendi eſt Judæis, et poſuerunt illum in monumentum novum, quod Joſeph conſtruxerat, et de petra excidi curaverat, in quo nullus homo poſitus fuerat, et advolverunt ſaxum magnum ad oſtium ſpeluncæ.

governor gave him leave. And Nicodemus came, bringing with him a mixture of myrrh and aloes about a hundred pound weight; and they took down Jeſus from the croſs with tears, and bound him in linen cloaths with ſpices, according to the cuſtom of burying among the Jews, and placed him in a new tomb, which Joſeph had built, and cauſed to be cut out of a rock, in which never any man had been put; and they rolled a great ſtone to the door of the ſepulchre.

XII. Audientes autem iniqui Judæi, quia corpus Jeſu petiit et ſepelivit, quærebant et Nicodemum, et iſtos quindecim viros, qui dixerunt ante præſidem, quia non eſt natus de fornicatione, et alios bonos qui opera bona declaraverant. Omnibus autem occultatis præ timore Judæorum, ſolus Nicodemus oſtendit ſe eis. Quomodo iſti ingreſſi ſynagogam? et reſponderunt ei Judæi, Et tu quomodo auſus es ingredi ſynagogam, quia conſentiens Chriſto eras? Pars illius tecum fiat in futuro ſeculo. Et reſpondit Nico-

XII. When the unjuſt Jews heard that (Joſeph) had begged and buried the body of Jeſus, they ſought after Nicodemus, and thoſe fifteen men who had teſtified before the governor, that (Jeſus) was not born through fornication, and other good perſons, who had ſhewn any good actions towards him. But when they all concealed themſelves through fear of the Jews, Nicodemus alone ſhewed himſelf to them, (and ſaid) *How can ſuch perſons as theſe enter into the ſynagogue?* The Jews anſwered him, *But how durſt thou enter into the ſynagogue, who waſt a confederate with Chriſt? Let thy lot be along with him in the other world.* Nicodemus anſwered, *Amen; ſo may*

it

demus, Amen; ſic fiat, ut pars mihi ſit cum iſto in regno ſuo. Similiter et Joſeph, quum aſcendiſſet ad Judæos, dixit eis, Quare contriſtati eſtis adverſum me, quia petii a Pilato corpus Jeſu? Ecce, in monumento meo poſui eum, et involvi in ſindone munda, et appoſui lapidem magnum ad oſtium ſpeluncæ. Ego bene egi circa iſtum; vos enim non bene egiſtis adverſus juſtum, ut eum crucifigeretis, ſed aceto potaſtis eum, et ſpinis eum coronaſtis, et flagellis laceraſtis eum, et ſanguinem ejus imprecati eſtis. Hæc audientes Judæi, contriſtati ſunt animo et conturbati. Et apprehenderunt Joſeph, et juſſerunt eum cuſtodiri ante diem ſabbati uſque poſt diem ſabbatorum. Et dixerunt ei, Agnoſce, quia hac hora non competit aliquid agere adverſum te mali, donec primum ſabbatum illuceſcat. Scimus autem, quia nec ſepultura dignus eris, ſed dabimus carnes tuas volatilibus cœli et beſtiis terræ. Reſpondit Joſeph, Iſte ſermo ſimilis eſt Goliæ ſuperbo, qui exprobravit Deum vivum adverſus ſanctum David. Scitis

it be, that I may have my lot with him in his kingdom. In like manner Joſeph, when he came to the Jews, ſaid to them, *Why are ye angry with me for deſiring the body of Jeſus of Pilate? Behold, I have put him in my tomb, and wrapped him up in clean linen, and put a ſtone at the door of the ſepulchre: I have acted rightly towards him; but ye have acted unjuſtly againſt that juſt perſon, in crucifying him, giving him vinegar to drink, crowning him with thorns, tearing his body with whips, and prayed down* (the guilt of) *his blood upon you.* The Jews at the hearing of this were diſquieted and troubled; and they ſeized Joſeph, and commanded him to be put in cuſtody before the ſabbath, and kept there till the ſabbath was over. And they ſaid to him, *Make confeſſion; for at this time it is not lawful to do thee any harm, till the firſt day of the week come. But we know that thou wilt not be* (thought) *worthy of a burial; but we will give thy fleſh to the birds of the air, and the beaſts of the earth.* Joſeph anſwered, *That ſpeech is like* (the ſpeech of) *proud Goliah, who reproached the living God* (in ſpeaking) *againſt David.*

But

autem vos, Scribæ et Doctores, quia Deus dicit per Prophetam, *Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam, mihi tantum quod promittis malum.* Potens eſt Deus, quem in cruce ſuſpendiſtis, eripere me de manu veſtra. Super vos omne facinus veniet. Præſes enim, quando manus ſuas lavit, dixit, Mundus ſum ego a ſanguine juſti hujus. Et vos reſpondentes clamaſtis, Sanguis ejus ſuper nos et noſtros filios. Sicut dixiſtis, et pereatis in æternum. Audientes autem Judæi ſermones iſtos, exacerbati ſunt animo nimis; et apprehendentes Joſeph, incluſerunt eum in cubiculum, ubi non erat feneſtra. Signaverunt oſtium cubilis ſuper clavem; Annas et Caiphas cuſtodes poſuerunt, et conſilium fecerunt cum Sacerdotibus et Levitis, ut congregarentur omnes poſt diem ſabbati; et cogitaverunt quali morte occiderent Joſeph: hoc facto, juſſerunt principes Annas et Caiphas præſentari Joſeph.

But ye Scribes and Doctors know, that God ſaith by the Prophet, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay to you [a] evil equal to that which ye have threatened to me. *The God whom you have hanged upon the croſs, is able to deliver me out of your hands. All your wickedneſs will return upon you. For the governor, when he waſhed his hands, ſaid,* I am clear from the blood of this juſt perſon. *But ye anſwered and cried out,* His blood be upon us and our children. *According as ye have ſaid, may ye periſh for ever.* The elders of the Jews hearing theſe words, were exceedingly enraged; and ſeizing Joſeph, they put him into a chamber where there was no window; they faſtened the door, and put a ſeal upon the lock; and Annas and Caiaphas placed a guard about it, and took counſel with the Prieſts and Levites, that they ſhould all meet after the Sabbath, and they contrived to what death they ſhould put Joſeph. When they had done this, the rulers, Annas and Caiaphas, ordered Joſeph to be brought forth.

Here ſomething ſeems to be left out.

[a] Deut. xxxii. 35. Heb. x. 30.

XIII. Hæc audiens omnis congregatio, admirantes obſtupuerunt, quia ſignatam invenerunt clavem cubiculi, nec invenerunt Joſeph. Annas et Caiphas abierunt. Hæc omnibus admirantibus, ecce quidam de militibus, qui ſepulchrum cuſtodiebant, in ſynagoga dixit, Quia nobis cuſtodientibus monumentum Jeſu, facta eſt terræ motio, et vidimus angelum Dei, quomodo revolvit monumenti lapidem et ſedebat ſuper eum; et aſpectus ejus erat ſicut fulgur, et veſtimentum ejus ſicut nix; et præ timore effecti ſumus velut mortui. Et audivimus angelum dicentem mulieribus ad ſepulchrum Jeſu, Nolite timere; ſcio quod Jeſum quæritis crucifixum; hic ſurrexit, ſicut prædixit. Venite, et videte locum ubi poſitus erat; et cito euntes, dicite diſcipulis ejus, quia ſurrexit a mortuis, et præcedet vos in Galilæam; ubi eum videbitis, ſicut dixit vobis. Et convocantes Judæi omnes milites qui cuſtodierant monumentum Jeſu, dix-

XIII. When all the aſſembly heard this, they admired and were aſtoniſhed, becauſe they found the ſame ſeal upon the lock of the chamber, and could not find Joſeph. Then Annas and Caiaphas went forth, and while they were all admiring (at Joſeph's being gone), behold one of the ſoldiers, who kept the ſepulchre (of Jeſus), ſpake in the aſſembly, [a] *That while they were guarding the ſepulchre of Jeſus, there was an earthquake; and we ſaw an angel of God roll away the ſtone of the ſepulchre and* [b] *ſit upon it; and his countenance was like lightning, and his garment like ſnow; and we became through fear like perſons dead. And we heard an angel ſaying to the women at the ſepulchre of Jeſus,* Do not fear; I know that ye ſeek Jeſus who was crucified: he is riſen as he foretold. Come and ſee the place where he was laid; and go preſently, and tell his diſciples that he is riſen from the dead, and he will go before you into Galilee; there ye ſhall ſee him, as he told you. Then the Jews called together all the ſoldiers who kept the ſepulchre of Jeſus, and ſaid to them, *Who are thoſe women,*

[a] Matt. xxviii. 11, 12, &c.

[b] Matt. xxviii. 1, 2, &c.

erunt eis, Quæ ſunt mulieres illæ, ad quas angelus loquutus eſt? Quare eas non tenuiſtis? Reſpondentes milites dixerunt, Mulieres neſcimus quæ fuerunt, et nos ut mortui facti ſumus præ timore angeli; et quomodo potuiſſemus apprehendere mulieres illas? Dixerunt illis Judæi, Vivit Dominus, quia non credimus vobis. Reſpondentes milites dixerunt Judæis, Tanta miracula facientem Jeſum vidiſtis et audiſtis, et non ei creditis; quomodo nobis credituri eſtis? Bene quidem dixiſtis, Vivit Dominus, et vere vivit ipſe Dominus. Nos audivimus, quia ipſum Joſeph, qui ſepelivit corpus Jeſu, incluſiſtis in cubiculo, ſuper clavem ſignantes, et aperientes non inveniſtis eum. Date ergo vos Joſeph, quem in cubiculo cuſtoditis, et nos dabimus Jeſum, quem in ſepulchro cuſtodivimus. Reſpondentes Judæi dixerunt, Joſeph nos dabimus, date nobis Jeſum. Joſeph autem in civitate ſua Arimathia eſt. Reſpondentes milites dixerunt, Si Joſeph in Arimathia eſt, et Jeſus in Galilæa eſt, ſicut audivimus ab angelo dicente mulieribus. Hæc audientes Judæi timuerunt, dicentes ad

to whom the angel ſpoke? Why did ye not ſeize them? The ſoldiers anſwered and ſaid, *We know not who the women were; beſides, we became as dead perſons through fear, and how could we ſeize theſe women?* The Jews ſaid to them, *As the Lord liveth, we do not believe you.* The ſoldiers anſwering, ſaid to the Jews, *When ye ſaw and heard Jeſus working ſo many miracles, and did not believe him, how ſhould ye believe us? Ye well ſaid,* As the Lord liveth, *for the Lord truly does live. We have heard that ye ſhut up Joſeph, who buried the body of Jeſus, in a chamber, under a lock which was ſealed; and when ye opened it, found him not there. Do ye then produce Joſeph whom ye put under guard in the chamber, and we will produce Jeſus whom we guarded in the ſepulchre.* The Jews anſwered, and ſaid, *We will produce Joſeph, do ye produce Jeſus. But Joſeph is in his own city of Arimathea.* The ſoldiers replied, *If Joſeph be in Arimathea, and Jeſus in Galilee, we heard the angel inform the women.* The Jews hearing this, were afraid, and ſaid among themſelves, *If by*

ſemetipſos, Nequando audientes ſermones iſtos, omnes credent in Jeſum. Et congregantes pecuniam multam, dederunt militibus, dicentes, Dicite, quia vobis dormientibus venerunt diſcipuli Jeſu nocte, et furati ſunt corpus Jeſu. Et ſi hoc auditum fuerit a Pilato præſide, nos ſatisfaciemus pro vobis, et ſecuros vos faciemus. Milites vero accipientes ſic dixerunt, ut a Judæis moniti ſunt; et diffamatus eſt omnibus ſermo illorum.

any means theſe things ſhould become publick, then every body will believe in Jeſus. Then they gathered a large ſum of money, and gave it to the ſoldiers, ſaying, *Do ye tell the people that the diſciples of Jeſus came in the night when ye were aſleep, and ſtole away the body of Jeſus; and if Pilate the governor ſhould hear of this, we will ſatisfy him and ſecure you.* The ſoldiers accordingly took the money, and ſaid as they were inſtructed by the Jews; and their report was ſpread abroad among all the people.

XIV. Quidam autem ſacerdos, nomine Phinees, et Ada præceptor, et Levita, nomine Ageus, iſti tres venerunt de Galilæa in Jeruſalem, et dixerunt principibus ſacerdotum, et omnibus qui in ſynagogis erant, Quia Jeſum crucifixiſtis, quem vidimus cum undecim diſcipulis ſuis loquentem et ſedentem in medio eorum in monte Oliveti, et dicentem eis, Euntes in mundum univerſum, prædicate omnibus gentibus, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti;

XIV. But a certain prieſt Phinees, Ada a ſchoolmaſter, and a Levite, named Ageus, they three came from Galilee to Jeruſalem, and told the chief prieſts and all who were in the ſynagogues, ſaying, *We have ſeen Jeſus, whom ye crucified, talking with his eleven diſciples, and ſitting in the midſt of them in mount Olivet, and ſaying to them*[a], Go forth into the whole world, preach the Goſpel to all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; and

[a] Matt. xxviii. 16. & Mark xvi. 16.

whoſoever

et qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, hic ſalvus erit. Et quum hæc loquutus fuiſſet diſcipulis ſuis, vidimus eum aſcendentem in cœlum. Et hæc audientes principes ſacerdotum, et ſeniores, et Levitæ, dixerunt tribus viris illis, Date gloriam Deo Iſrael, et date ei confeſſionem, ſi vera ſunt quæ vidiſtis et audiſtis. Illi autem reſpondentes, dixerunt, Vivit Dominus patrum noſtrorum, Deus Abraham, et Deus Iſaac, et Deus Jacob; ſicut audivimus loquentem Jeſum cum diſcipulis ſuis, et ſicut vidimus eum aſcendentem in cœlum, ſic veritatem dicimus vobis. Et reſpondentes tres viri dixerunt, et ſuperaddentes ſermones hos iidem tres viri dixerunt, Si verba quæ audivimus ab Jeſu, et quod vidimus eum aſcendentem in cœlos, taceamus, peccatum habebimus. Statim exſurgentes principes ſacerdotum, tenentes legem Domini, adjuraverunt contra eos, dicentes, Jam enim amplius non nuntietis verba quæ loquuti eſtis de Jeſu; et dederunt eis pecuniam multam, et miſerunt cum eis alios viros, qui ducerent eos uſque in

whoſoever ſhall believe and be baptized, ſhall be ſaved. *And when he had ſaid theſe things to his diſciples, we ſaw him aſcending up to heaven.* When the chief Prieſts, and Elders, and Levites heard theſe things, they ſaid to theſe three men, *Give glory to the God of Iſrael, and make confeſſion to him, whether thoſe things are true, which* (ye ſay) *ye have ſeen and heard.* They anſwering, ſaid, *As the Lord of our fathers liveth, the God of Abraham, and the God of Iſaac, and the God of Jacob, according as we heard Jeſus talking with his diſciples, and according as we ſaw him aſcending up to heaven, ſo we have related the truth to you.* And the three men farther anſwered and ſaid, adding theſe words, *If we ſhould not own the words which we heard Jeſus ſpeak, and that we ſaw him aſcending into heaven, we ſhould be guilty of ſin.* Then the chief prieſts immediately roſe up, and holding the book of the Law in their hands, conjured thoſe men, ſaying, *Ye ſhall no more hereafter ever declare thoſe things which ye have ſpoke concerning Jeſus.* And they gave them a large ſum of money, and ſent other perſons along with them, who

regionem ſuam, ut nullo modo ſtarent in Jeruſalem. Congregati ſunt ergo omnes Judæi, et fecerunt inter ſe magnam lamentationem, dicentes, Quid eſt hoc ſignum quod factum eſt in Jeruſalem? Annas autem et Caiphas conſolantes eos, dixerunt, Nunquid militibus, qui cuſtodierunt monumentum Jeſu, debemus credere, dicentibus nobis, quoniam angelus revolvit lapidem de oſtio monumenti? Forſitan hæc diſcipuli ejus dixerunt eis, et dederunt pecuniam, ut hæc dicerent, et tollerent corpus Jeſu. Hoc autem ſcitote, quod non eſt credendum ullo modo alienigenis; quia et a nobis acceperunt pecuniam copioſam, et ſecundum quod docuimus eos dicere, ſic omnibus dixerunt: aut nobis habent tenere fidem, aut diſcipulis Jeſu.

ſhould conduct them to their own country, that they might not by any means make any ſtay at Jeruſalem. Then the Jews did aſſemble all together, and having expreſſed the moſt lamentable concern, ſaid, *What is this extraordinary thing which is come to paſs in Jeruſalem?* But Annas and Caiaphas comforted them, ſaying, *Why ſhould we believe the ſoldiers who guarded the ſepulchre of Jeſus, in telling us*, that an angel rolled away the ſtone from the door of the ſepulchre? *Perhaps his own diſciples told them this, and gave them money that they ſhould ſay ſo, and they themſelves took away the body of Jeſus. Beſides, conſider this, that there is no credit to be given to foreigners* (Heathens) *becauſe they alſo took a large ſum of us, and they have declared to us according to the inſtructions which we gave them. They muſt either be faithful to us, or to the diſciples of Jeſus.*

XV. Exſurgens vero Nicodemus, dixit, Recte loquimini, filii Iſrael. Vos audiſtis omnia quæ loquuti ſunt tres illi viri, jurantes in lege Domini. Qui dixerunt, Vidimus Jeſum loquentem cum diſcipulis ſuis ſuper montem

XV. Then Nicodemus aroſe, and ſaid, *Ye ſay right, O ſons of Iſrael, ye have heard what thoſe three men have ſwore by the Law of God, who ſaid*, We have ſeen Jeſus ſpeaking with his diſciples upon mount Olivet, and we

ſaw

Oliveti, et vidimus eum aſcendentem in cœlum. Et docet nos Scriptura, quod beatus Helias propheta aſſumptus eſt. Et interrogatus Heliſeus a filiis prophetarum, Ubi eſt pater noſter Helias? Dixit eis, Quia aſſumptus eſt. Et dixerunt filii prophetarum ad eum, Forſitan ſpiritus rapuit illum in montibus Iſrael, forſitan inveniemus eum. Et deprecati ſunt Heliſeum, et ambulavit cum illis tribus diebus, et non invenerunt eum. Et nunc audite me, filii Iſrael, et mittamus viros in montes Iſrael, ne forte rapuerit ſpiritus Jeſum, et forſitan inveniemus eum, et agemus pœnitentiam. Et placuit omni populo conſilium Nicodemi; et miſerunt viros, et quærentes non invenerunt Jeſum; et reverſi dixerunt, Circumeuntibus nobis non invenimus Jeſum, ſed invenimus Joſeph in civitate ſua Arimathia. Hæc audientes principes et omnes populi, gaviſi ſunt, et glorificaverunt Deum Iſrael, quia inventus eſt Joſeph, quem incluſerunt in cubiculo, et non invenerunt. Et facientes congre-

ſaw him aſcending up to heaven. *And the Scripture teacheth us that the bleſſed Prophet Elijah was taken up to heaven; and Eliſha being aſked by the ſons of the Prophets,* Where is our father Elijah? *He ſaid to them,* that he is taken up to heaven. *And the ſons of the Prophets ſaid to him,* Perhaps the ſpirit hath carried him into one of the mountains of Iſrael, there perhaps we ſhall find him. *And they beſought Eliſha, and he walked about with them three days, and they could not find him. And now hear me, O ſons of Iſrael, and let us ſend men into the mountains of Iſrael, leſt perhaps the ſpirit hath carried away Jeſus, and there perhaps we ſhall find him, and be ſatisfied.* And the counſel of Nicodemus pleaſed all the people; and they ſent forth men who ſought for Jeſus, but could not find him; and they returning, ſaid, *We went all about, but could not find Jeſus, but we have found Joſeph in his city of Arimathea.* The rulers hearing this, and all the people, were glad, and praiſed the God of Iſrael, becauſe Joſeph was found, whom they had ſhut up in a chamber, and could not find. And when they had formed a large aſſembly, the

gationem magnam, dixerunt principes ſacerdotum, Quo ordine poſſimus adducere Joſeph ad nos, et loqui cum eo? Et tollentes tomum chartæ, ſcripſerunt ad Joſeph, dicentes, Pax tecum, et omnibus qui tecum ſunt. Scimus quia peccavimus tibi et in Deum. Dignare ergo venire ad patres tuos, quia admirati ſumus de aſſumptione tua. Scimus quia malignum conſilium habuimus adverſum te, et Dominus ſuſcepit te, et ipſe Dominus liberavit de conſilio noſtro. Pax tibi, Joſeph, honorabilis ab omni plebe. Et elegerunt ſeptem viros, amicos Joſeph, et dixerunt ad eos, Dum perveneritis ad Joſeph, ſalutate eum in pace, dantes ei epiſtolam. Et pervenientes viri ad Joſeph, ſalutantes eum pacifice, dederunt ei libellum epiſtolæ. Et quum legiſſet Joſeph, dixit, Benedictus Dominus Deus, qui liberaſti me ab Iſrael, ut non effunderet ſanguinem meum. Benedictus Deus, qui protexiſti me ſub alis tuis. Et oſculatus eſt eos Joſeph, et ſuſcepit in domum ſuam. Alia autem die aſcendens Joſeph aſinum ſuum,

chief Prieſts ſaid, *By what means ſhall we bring Joſeph to us to ſpeak with him?* And taking a piece of paper, they wrote to him, and ſaid, *Peace be with thee, and all thy family. We know that we have offended againſt God and thee. Be pleaſed to give a viſit to us your fathers, for we were perfectly ſurprized at your eſcape* (from priſon). *We know that it was malicious counſel which we took againſt thee, and that the Lord took care of thee, and the Lord himſelf delivered thee from our deſigns. Peace be unto thee, Joſeph, who art honourable among all the people.* And they choſe ſeven of Joſeph's friends, and ſaid to them, *When ye come to Joſeph, ſalute him in peace, and give him this letter.* Accordingly, when the men came to Joſeph, they did ſalute him in peace, and gave him the letter. And when Joſeph had read it, he ſaid, *Bleſſed be the Lord God, who didſt deliver me from the Iſraelites, that they could not ſhed my blood. Bleſſed be God, who haſt protected me under thy wings.* And Joſeph kiſſed them, and took them into his houſe. And on the morrow, Joſeph mounted his aſs, and went

ambulavit cum illis, et perrexerunt in Jeruſalem. Et quum audiſſent hæc omnes Judæi, occurrerunt ei obviam, clamantes et dicentes, Pax in introitum tuum, pater Joſeph. Quibus reſpondens ait, Pax Domini omni populo. Et oſculati ſunt eum omnes. Et ſuſcepit eum Nicodemus in domum ſuam, faciens magnam ſuſceptionem. Alia autem die paraſceuæ, Annas, et Caiphas, et Nicodemus dixerunt ad Joſeph, Da confeſſionem Deo Iſrael, et manifeſta nobis omnia de quibus interrogatus fueris; quia contriſtati ſumus, eo quod ſepeliſti corpus Domini Jeſu; includentes te in cubiculo non invenimus te, et admirati ſumus nimis, et pavor nos comprehendit, uſque dum te ſuſcepimus præſentem. Coram Deo ergo manifeſta nobis quod factum eſt. Reſpondens autem Joſeph, dixit, Bene recluſiſtis me in die paraſceuæ ad veſperum. Quum ſtarem in oratione mea die ſabbati media nocte, ſuſpenſa eſt domus a quatuor angelis; et vidi Jeſum ſicut fulgorem lucis, et præ timore cecidi in

went along with them to Jeruſalem. And when all the Jews heard theſe things, they went out to meet him, and cried out, ſaying, *Peace attend thy coming* (hither), *father Joſeph.* To which he anſwered, *Proſperity from the Lord attend all the people.* And they all kiſſed him; and Nicodemus took him to his houſe, having provided a large entertainment. But on the morrow, being a preparation-day, Annas, and Caiaphas, and Nicodemus ſaid to Joſeph, *Make confeſſion to the God of Iſrael, and anſwer to us all thoſe queſtions which we ſhall aſk thee; for we have been very much troubled, that thou didſt bury the body of Jeſus; and that when we had locked thee in a chamber, we could not find thee; and we have been afraid ever ſince, till this time of thy appearing among us. Tell us therefore before God, all that came to paſs.* Then Joſeph anſwering, ſaid, *Ye did indeed put me under confinement, on the day of preparation, till the morning. But while I was ſtanding at prayer in the middle of the night, the houſe was ſurrounded with four angels; and I ſaw Jeſus as the brightneſs of the ſun, and fell down upon the earth for fear. But Jeſus*

terram. Jeſus autem tenens manum meam, elevavit me de terra, roſque perfudit me; et extergens faciem meam, oſculatus eſt me, et dixit mihi, Noli timere, Joſeph; reſpice in me, et vide quia ego ſum. Ego autem reſpexi, et dixi, Rabboni Helias! et dixit ad me, Non ſum Helias ego, ſed ſum Jeſus Nazarenus, cujus corpus ſepeliſti. Ego autem dixi ad eum, Oſtende mihi monumentum ubi poſui te. Jeſus vero, tenens manum meam, deduxit me in locum' ubi poſui eum, et oſtendit mihi ſindonem, et faſciale in quo caput ejus involveram. Tunc cognovi quia Jeſus eſt, et adoravi eum, et dixi, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Jeſus vero tenens manum meam, duxit me in Arimathiam in domum meam, et dixit mihi, Pax tibi, et uſque in quadrageſimum diem non exeas de domo tua; ego autem ambulo ad diſcipulos meos.

Jeſus laying hold on my hand, lifted me from the ground, and the dew was then ſprinkled upon me; but he, wiping my face, kiſſed me, and ſaid unto me, Fear not, Joſeph; look upon me, for it is I. *Then I looked upon him, and ſaid,* Rabboni Elias! *He anſwered me,* I am not Elias, but Jeſus of Nazareth, whoſe body thou didſt bury. *I ſaid to him,* Shew me the tomb in which I laid thee. *Then Jeſus, taking me by the hand, led me unto the place where I laid him, and ſhewed me the linen clothes, and napkin which I put round his head. Then I knew that it was Jeſus, and worſhipped him, and ſaid,* Bleſſed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord. *Jeſus again taking me by the hand, led me to Arimathea to my own houſe, and ſaid to me,* Peace be to thee; but go not out of thy houſe till the fortieth day; but I muſt go to my diſciples.

XVI. Quum hæc omnia audiſſent principes Sacerdotum, et cæteri Sacerdotes et Levitæ, ſtupefacti ſunt, et veluti mortui ceciderunt in facies ſuas in terram, et exclamantes ad ſe, dixerunt,

XVI. When the chief Prieſts and Levites heard all theſe things, they were aſtoniſhed, and fell down with their faces on the ground as dead men, and crying out to one another, ſaid, *What is this*

Quid eſt hoc ſignum, quod factum eſt in Jeruſalem? Novimus patrem et matrem Jeſu. Dixit et quidam Levita, Ego cognovi multos de cognatione ſua timentes Deum, et cum orationibus ſemper in Templo hoſtias et holocauſta offerentes Deo Iſrael. Et quando ſuſcepit eum magnus Sacerdos Simeon, tenens in manibus, dixit ad eum, Nunc dimittis ſervum tuum, Domine, ſecundum verbum tuum, in pace; quia viderunt oculi mei ſalutare tuum, quod paraſti ante faciem omnium populorum: lumen ad revelationem Gentium, et gloriam plebis tuæ Iſrael. Similiter et ipſe Simeon benedixit Mariam matrem Jeſu, et dixit ei, Annuntio tibi de puero iſto: Hic poſitus eſt in ruinam et reſurrectionem multorum, et in ſignum contradictionis. Et tuam ipſius animam pertranſibit gladius, et revelabuntur de multis cordibus cogitationes. Tunc dixerunt omnes Judæi, Mittamus ad illos tres viros, qui dixerunt ſe eum vidiſſe colloquentem cum diſcipulis ſuis in monte Oliveti. Hoc facto, interrogaverunt

this extraordinary ſign which is come to paſs in Jeruſalem? We know the father and mother of Jeſus. And a certain Levite ſaid, *I know many of his relations, religious perſons, who are wont to offer ſacrifices and burnt-offerings to the God of Iſrael, in the Temple, with prayers.* And when the High-Prieſt Simeon took him up in his arms, he ſaid to him, [a] *Lord, now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation, which thou haſt prepared before the face of all people: a light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Iſrael.* Simeon in like manner bleſſed Mary the mother of Jeſus, and ſaid to her, *I declare to thee concerning that child,* He is appointed for the fall and riſing again of many, and for a ſign which ſhall be ſpoken againſt. Yea, a ſword ſhall pierce through thine own ſoul alſo, and the thoughts of many hearts ſhall be revealed. Then ſaid all the Jews, *Let us ſend to thoſe three men, who ſaid they ſaw him talking with his diſciples in mount Olivet.* After this, they aſked them,

[a] Luke ii. 29.

What

eos, quæ vidiſſent. Qui reſpondentes uno ore, dixerunt, Vidit Dominus Deus Iſrael, quia manifeſte vidimus Jeſum colloquentem cum diſcipulis ſuis in monte Oliveti, et aſcendentem in cœlum. Tunc Annas et Caiphas ſegregaverunt eos ab invicem, et interrogaverunt eos ſingulatim; qui unanimiter veritatem confitentes, dixerunt ſe vidiſſe Jeſum. Tunc Annas et Caiphas dixerunt, Lex noſtra continet, In ore duorum vel trium teſtium ſtat omne verbum. Sed quid diximus? Beatus Enoch placuit Deo, et tranſlatus eſt verbo Dei; et beati Moſi ſepultura non invenitur. Jeſus autem traditus eſt Pilato, flagellatus, conſputus, ſpinis coronatus, lancea percuſſus, et crucifixus, in ligno mortuus, et ſepultus eſt; et corpus ejus pater honorabilis Joſeph ſepelivit in ſepulchro novo, et teſtificatus eſt eum vidiſſe vivum. Et tres viri illi teſtificati ſunt vidiſſe eum colloquentem cum diſcipulis ſuis in monte Oliveti, et aſcendentem in cœlum.

What they had ſeen; who anſwered with one accord, *In the preſence of the God of Iſrael we affirm*, that we plainly ſaw Jeſus talking with his diſciples in mount Olivet, and aſcending up to heaven. Then Annas and Caiaphas took them into ſeparate places, and examined them ſeparately; who unanimouſly confeſſed the truth, and ſaid, *they had ſeen Jeſus*. Then Annas and Caiaphas ſaid, *Our Law ſaith*, By the mouth of two or three witneſſes every word ſhall be eſtabliſhed[a]. *But what have we ſaid? The bleſſed Enoch pleaſed God, and was tranſlated by the word of God; and the burying-place of the bleſſed Moſes is not known. But Jeſus was delivered to Pilate, whipped, crowned with thorns, ſpit upon, pierced with a ſpear, crucified, died upon the croſs, and was buried, and his body the honourable Joſeph buried in a new ſepulchre, and teſtifies that he ſaw him alive; and beſides theſe men have declared, that they ſaw him talking with his diſciples in mount Olivet, and aſcending up to heaven.*

[a] Deut. xvii. 6.

XVII.

XVII. Exſurgens autem Joſeph, dixit ad Annam et Caipham, Vere et bene admirathini, quoniam audiſtis quod viſus eſt Jeſus, de morte vivus, aſcendiſſe in cœlum. Vere admirandum eſt, quia non ſolum reſurrexit a mortuis, ſed etiam de monumentis reſuſcitavit mortuos, et a multis viſi ſunt in Jeruſalem. Et nunc audite me, quia omnes cognovimus beatum Simeonem Sacerdotem magnum, qui ſuſcepit in manibus ſuis Jeſum infantem in Templo. Et ipſe Simeon habuit duos filios germanos fratres, et nos omnes in dormitione et in ſepultura eorum fuimus. Ambulate ergo, et videte monumenta eorum; aperta enim ſunt, quia ſurrexerunt; et ecce ſunt in civitate Arimathia, ſimul viventes in orationibus. Quidam audiunt clamantes, cum nemine tamen loquentes, ſed ut mortui ſilentes. Sed venite, ambulemus ad iſtos, cum omni honore et moderatione perducamus eos ad nos. Et ſi adjuraverimus eos, forſitan loquentur nobis de reſurrectione eorum myſteria

XVII. Then Joſeph riſing up, ſaid to Annas and Caiaphas, *Ye may be juſtly under a great ſurprize, that you have been told,* that Jeſus is alive, and gone up to heaven. *It is indeed a thing really ſurprizing, that he ſhould not only himſelf ariſe from the dead, but alſo raiſe others from their graves, who have been ſeen by many in Jeruſalem*[a]. *And now hear me a little: We all knew the bleſſed Simeon the high Prieſt, who took Jeſus when an infant into his arms in the Temple. This ſame Simeon had two ſons of his own, and we were all preſent at their death and funeral. Go therefore and ſee their tombs, for theſe are open, and they are riſen; and behold, they are in the city of Arimathea, ſpending their time together in offices of devotion. Some, indeed, have heard the ſound of their voices* (in prayer), *but they will not diſcourſe with any one, but they continue as mute as dead men. But come, let us go to them, and behave ourſelves towards them with all due reſpect and caution. And if we can bring them to ſwear, perhaps they will tell us ſome of the myſteries of their*

[a] Matt. xxvii. 53.

reſur-

quædam. Hæc audientes Judæi, gaviſi ſunt omnes valde. Et euntes Annas et Caiphas, Nicodemus, et Joſeph, et Gamaliel, non invenerunt eos in ſepulchris eorum; ſed ambulantes in civitatem Arimathiam, ibi eos invenerunt in oratione flexis genibus intentos; et oſculantes eos cum omni veneratione et timore Dei, perduxerunt eos Jeruſalem in ſynagogam; et clauſis januis, tollentes legem Domini, et ponentes eam in manibus eorum, adjuraverunt eos per Deum Adonai et Deum Iſrael, qui per legem et prophetas loquutus eſt patribus noſtris, dicentes, Si ipſum eſſe creditis Jeſum, qui vos ſuſcitavit a mortuis, dicite nobis quod vidiſtis, et quomodo reſuſcitati eſtis a mortuis. Hanc adjurationem audientes Charinus et Lenthius, contremuerunt corpore, et conturbati corde gemuerunt; et ſimul reſpicientes in cœlum, fecerunt ſignaculum crucis digitis ſuis in linguis ſuis; et ſtatim ſic loquuti ſunt, dicentes, Date nobis ſingulos tomos chartæ, et ſcribemus vobis omnia quæ vidimus. Et dederunt eis. Et ſedentes ſinguli ſcripſerunt, dicentes,

reſurrection. When the Jews heard this, they were exceedingly rejoiced. Then Annas and Caiaphas, Nicodemus, Joſeph, and Gamaliel went (to Arimathea), but did not find them in their graves; but walking about the city, they found them on their bended knees at their devotions; then ſaluting them with all reſpect and deference to God, they brought them to the ſynagogue at Jeruſalem; and having ſhut the gates, they took the book of the Law of the Lord, and putting it in their hands, ſwore them by God Adonai, and the God of Iſrael, who ſpake to our fathers by the law and the prophets, ſaying, *If ye believe him who raiſed you from the dead, to be Jeſus, tell us what ye have ſeen, and how ye were raiſed from the dead.* Charinus and Lenthius (viz. the two ſons of Simeon) trembled when they heard theſe things, and were diſturbed, and groaned; and at the ſame time looking up to heaven, they made the ſign of the croſs with their fingers on their tongues, and immediately they ſpake, and ſaid, *Give each of us ſome paper, and we will write down for you all thoſe things which we have ſeen.* And they each ſat down and wrote, ſaying,

XVIII.

XVIII. Domine Jeſu, et Pater Deus, mortuorum reſurrectio et vita, permitte nobis loqui myſteria tua, quæ poſt mortem crucis tuæ vidimus, quia per te adjurati ſumus: tu enim prohibuiſti ſervis tuis, ne referrent ſecreta divinæ majeſtatis tuæ, quæ apud inferos feciſti.

Nos autem quum eſſemus cum patribus noſtris poſiti in profundo inferni, in caligine tenebrarum, ſubito factus eſt aureus ſolis color, purpureaque realis lux illuſtrans; ſtatim omnis generis humani pater Adam cum omnibus patriarchis et prophetis exultaverunt, dicentes, Lux iſta auctor luminis ſempiterni eſt, quæ nobis promiſit tranſmittere lumen coæternum. Et exclamavit Iſaias Propheta, et dixit, Hæc eſt lux Patris et Filii Dei, ſicut prædixi quum eſſem in terris vivus. Terra Zabulon et terra Nephthalim trans Jordanem, populus qui ambulabat in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam. Et qui habitabant in regione umbræ

XVIII. *O Lord Jeſus and Father, who art God,* (alſo) *the reſurrection and life of the dead, give us leave to declare thy myſteries, which we ſaw after death, belonging to thy croſs; for we are ſworn by thy name. For thou haſt forbid thy ſervants to declare the ſecret things, which were wrought by thy divine power in hell.*

When we were placed with our fathers in the depth of hell, in the blackneſs of darkneſs, on a ſudden there appeared the colour of the ſun like gold, and a ſubſtantial purple-coloured light enlightening (the place). *Preſently upon this, Adam, the father of all mankind, with all the patriarchs and prophets, rejoiced and ſaid,* That light is the author of everlaſting light, who hath promiſed to tranſlate us to everlaſting light. *Then Iſaiah the Prophet cried out, and ſaid*[a], This is the light of the Father, and the Son of God, according to my prophecy when I was alive upon earth. The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim beyond Jordan, a people who walked in darkneſs, ſaw a great light; and to them who dwelled in the region of the ſhadow of death, light is ariſen. *And*

[a] Iſai. ix. 1. Matt. iv. 16.

now

mortis, lux orta eſt eis. Et nunc advenit et illuxit nobis in morte ſedentibus. Et quum exultaremus omnes in lumine, quod ſuperluxit nobis, ſupervenit nobis genitor noſter Simeon, et exultans omnibus dixit, Glorificate Dominum Jeſum Chriſtum Filium Dei, quem ego in manibus meis ſuſcepi infantem in Templo, et compulſus a Spiritu Sancto, dixi ad eum confeſſus, Quia nunc viderunt oculi mei ſalutare tuum, quod paraſti ante faciem omnium populorum; lumen ad revelationem Gentium, et gloriam plebis tuæ Iſrael. Hæc audientes omnes ſancti, qui erant in profundo inferni, plus exultaverunt. Et poſthæc ſupervenit quaſi eremitula, et interrogatur ab omnibus, Quis es tu? Quibus reſpondens dixit, Ego ſum vox clamantis in deſerto, Johannes Baptiſta, et Propheta Altiſſimi, præiens ante faciem adventus ejus, præparare vias ejus, ad dandam ſcientiam ſalutis plebi ejus, in remiſſionem peccatorum illorum. Et ego Johannes videns Jeſum venientem ad me, compulſus ſum a

now he is come, and hath enlightened us who ſat in death. And while we are all rejoicing in the light which ſhone upon us, our father Simeon came among us, and congratulating all the company, ſaid, Glorify the Lord Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, whom I took up in my arms when an infant in the Temple, and being moved by the Holy Ghoſt, ſaid to him, and acknowledged, [a] *That now mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation, which thou haſt prepared before the face of all people; a light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Iſrael.* All the ſaints who were in the depth of hell, hearing this, rejoiced the more. *Afterwards there came forth one like a little hermit, and was aſked by every one,* Who art thou? *To which he replied,* I am the voice of one crying in the wilderneſs, John the Baptiſt, and the prophet of the Moſt High, who went before his coming to prepare his way, to give the knowledge of ſalvation to his people for the forgiveneſs of ſins. And I John, when I ſaw Jeſus coming to me, being moved by

[a] Luke ii. 29.

the

Spiritu Sancto, et dixi, Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi. Et baptizavi eum in flumine Jordanis; et vidi Spiritum Sanctum descendentem super eum in specie columbæ; et audivi vocem de cœlo, dicentem, Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui; ipsum audite. Et nunc præviante me ante faciem ejus, descendi annunciare vobis, quia in proximo visitabit nos ipse Filius ejus Dei, oriens ex alto veniens ad nos in tenebris et in umbra mortis.

the Holy Ghost, I said, *Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sins of the world.* And I baptized him in the river Jordan, and saw the Holy Ghost descending upon him in the form of a dove, and heard a voice from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* And now while I was going before him, I came down (hither) to acquaint you, hat the Son of God will next visit us, and as the day-spring from on high will come to us, who are in darkness and the shadow of death.

XIX. Quum autem hæc audisset protoplastus Adam pater, quia in Jordane baptizatus est Jesus, exclamavit ad filium suum Seth, Enarra filiis tuis patriarchis et prophetis omnia quæcunque audisti a Michaele archangelo, quando te transmisi ad portas Paradisi, ut deprecareris Deum, ut ungeret caput meum, quum essem infirmus. Tunc Seth appropinquans sanctis patriarchis et prophetis, dixit, Ego Seth, quum essem orans Dominum ad portas Paradisi, ecce An-

XIX. *But when the first man our father Adam heard these things, that Jesus was baptized in Jordan,* [a] *he called out to his son Seth, and said,* Declare to your sons the patriarchs and prophets, all those things which thou didst hear from Michael the Archangel, when I sent thee to the gates of paradise, to intreat God that he would anoint my head when I was sick. *Then Seth, coming near to the patriarchs and prophets, said,* I Seth, when I was praying to God at the gates of paradise, be-

[a] Matt. iii. 13.

gelus Domini Michael apparuit mihi, dicens, Ego miſſus ſum ad te a Domino, ego ſum conſtitutus ſuper corpus humanum. Tibi dico, Seth, noli in lacrymis Deum orare et deprecari propter oleum miſericordiæ ligni, ut perungas patrem tuum Adam pro dolore capitis ejus; quia nullo modo poteris accipere, niſi noviſſimis in diebus et temporibus, niſi quando completi fuerint quinque millia et quingenti anni: tunc veniet ſuper terram amantiſſimus Dei Filius Chriſtus, reſuſcitare corpus humanum Adæ, et conreſuſcitare corpora mortuorum; et ipſe veniens, in Jordanis aqua baptizabitur. Et quum egreſſus fuerit de aqua Jordanis, tunc de oleo miſericordiæ ſuæ unget ex eo omnes credentes in ſe; et erit oleum miſericordiæ ſuæ in generationem eorum, qui naſcituri ſunt et ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, in vitam æternam. Tunc deſcendens in terras amantiſſimus Dei Filius, Chriſtus Jeſus, introducet patrem noſtrum Adam in Paradiſum ad arborem miſericordiæ. Hæc autem omnia audientes a Seth, patriarchæ omnes et prophetæ exultaverunt magis.

hold the angel of the Lord, Michael, appeared unto me, ſaying, *I am ſent unto thee from the Lord; I am appointed to preſide over human bodies. I tell thee, Seth, do not pray to God in tears, and entreat him for the oil of the tree of mercy, wherewith to anoint thy father Adam for his headach; becauſe thou canſt not by any means obtain it, till the laſt day and times, viz. till five thouſand and five hundred years be paſt. Then will Chriſt, the moſt merciful Son of God, come on earth to raiſe again the human body of Adam, and at the ſame time to raiſe the bodies of the dead, and when he cometh he will be baptized in Jordan; then with the oil of his mercy he will anoint all thoſe who believe on him; and the oil of his mercy will continue to future generations, for thoſe who ſhall be born of the water and the Holy Ghoſt unto eternal life. And when at that time the moſt merciful Son of God, Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall come down on earth, he will introduce our father Adam into Paradiſe, to the tree of mercy.* When all the patriarchs and prophets heard all theſe things from Seth, they rejoiced more.

XX. Et cum exultarent ſancti omnes, ecce Sathan, princeps et dux mortis, dixit ad principem inferorum, Appara ſuſcipere ipſum Jeſum Nazarenum, qui gloriatus eſt ſe Filium eſſe Dei, et eſt homo timens mortem, et dicens, Triſtis eſt anima mea uſque ad mortem. Et multa mihi mala inferens, et pluribus aliis, quos ego cæcos feci et claudos, inſuper et quos ego variis dæmoniis vexavi, ipſe verbo ſanavit. Et quos ad te mortuos perduxi, hos ipſe a te abſtraxit. Reſpondens autem princeps inferorum ad Sathan, dixit, Quis eſt iſte princeps tam potens, quum ſit homo mortem timens? Omnes enim potentes terræ mea poteſtate ſubjecti tenentur, quos tu ſubjectos perduxiſti tua potentia. Si ergo potens eſt in humanitate, vere dico tibi, omnipotens eſt et in divinitate, et potentiæ ejus nemo poteſt reſiſtere. Et quum dicit ſe timere mortem, capere te vult; et væ tibi erit in ſempiterna ſecula. Reſpondens autem Sathan, dixit ad principem Tartari, Quid dubitaſti et ti-

XX. While all the ſaints were rejoicing, behold Satan, the prince and captain of death, ſaid to the prince of hell, *Prepare to receive Jeſus of Nazareth himſelf, who boaſted that he was the Son of God, and yet was a man afraid of death, and ſaid,* [a] My ſoul is ſorrowful even to death. *Beſides, he did many injuries to me and to many others; for thoſe whom I made blind and lame, and thoſe alſo whom I tormented with ſeveral devils, he cured by his word; yea, and thoſe whom I brought dead to thee, he by force takes away from thee.* To this the prince of hell replied to Satan, *Who is that ſo powerful prince, and yet a man who is afraid of death? For all the potentates of the earth are ſubject to my power, whom thou broughteſt to ſubjection by thy power. But if he be* (ſo) *powerful in his human nature, I affirm to thee for truth, that he is almighty in his divine nature, and no man can reſiſt his power. When therefore he ſaid* he was afraid of death, *he deſigned to enſnare thee, and unhappy it will be to thee for everlaſting ages.* Then Satan replying, ſaid to the prince of hell, *Why*

[a] Matt. xxvi. 38.

muiſti ſuſcipere illum Jeſum Nazarenum, adverſarium tuum et meum? Ego enim tentavi illum, et populum meum antiquum Judaicum excitavi zelo et ira adverſus eum. Lanceam exacui ad paſſionem ejus, fel et acetum miſcui, et juſſi ei dare potum; et lignum præparavi ad crucifigendum eum, et clavos ad perforandum manus ejus et pedes; et in proximo eſt ejus mors, et perducam eum ad te, ſubjectum mihi et tibi. Reſpondens autem princeps Tartari, dixit, Tu mihi dixiſti, quia ipſe eſt, qui mortuos a me abſtraxit. Qui hic detenti ſunt dum viverent in terris, non ſuis potentiis, ſed divinis precibus ablati ſunt, et omnipotens eorum Deus abſtraxit eos a me. Quis ergo eſt iſte Jeſus Nazarenus, qui ſuo verbo mortuos a me traxit ſine precibus? Forſitan ipſe eſt, qui Lazarum quatuor diebus mortuum, fœtentem, et diſſolutum, quem ego mortuum detinebam, redivivum ſuo imperio a me traxit. Reſpondens Sathan ad principem inferorum, dixit, Ipſe eſt ille

didſt thou expreſs a doubt, and waſt afraid to receive that Jeſus of Nazareth, both thy adverſary and mine? As for me, I tempted him, and ſtirred up my old people the Jews with zeal and anger againſt him; I ſharpened the ſpear for his ſuffering; I mixed the gall and vinegar, and commanded that he ſhould drink it; I prepared the croſs to crucify him, and the nails to pierce through his hands and feet; and now his death is near at hand, I will bring him hither, ſubject both to thee and me. Then the prince of hell anſwering, ſaid, *Thou ſaidſt to me juſt now, that he took away the dead from me by force. They who have been kept here till they ſhould live again upon earth, were taken away hence, not by their own power, but by prayers made to God, and their almighty God took them from me. Who then is that Jeſus of Nazareth, that by his word hath taken away the dead from me without prayer to God? Perhaps it is the ſame who took away from me Lazarus, after he had been four days dead, and did both ſtink and was rotten, and of whom I had poſſeſſion as a dead perſon, yet he brought him to life again by his power.* Satan anſwering, replied to the prince of hell, *It is the very ſame perſon,*

Jeſus Nazarenus. Hæc audiens princeps inferorum, dixit ad eum, Adjuro te per virtutes tuas et meas, ne perducas eum ad me. Ego enim tunc, quando audivi imperium verbi ejus, contremui timore perterritus, et omnia officia mea impia ſimul mecum conturbata ſunt, nec ipſum Lazarum retinere potuimus; ſed excutiens ſe, per omnem malignitatem et celeritatem ſalvus exivit a nobis; et ipſa terra, quæ tenebat Lazari corpus mortuum, ſtatim reddidit vivum. Ego autem nunc ſcio, quod hæc ita potuit facere Deus omnipotens, qui potens eſt in imperio ſuo, et potens in humanitate, qui et Salvator eſt generis humani. Hunc ergo ne perduxeris ad me; omnes enim illos, quos hic detineo ſub incredulitate carceris clauſos, et vinculis peccatorum conſtrictos, ſolvet, et ad æternam vitam ſuæ divinitatis perducet.

perſon, Jeſus of Nazareth. Which when the prince of hell heard, he ſaid to him, *I adjure thee by the powers which belong to thee and me, that thou bring him not to me. For when I heard of the power of his word, I trembled for fear, and all my impious company were at the ſame diſturbed; and we were not able to detain Lazarus*[a]*, but he gave himſelf a ſhake, and with all the ſigns of malice, he immediately went away from us; and the very earth, in which the dead body of Lazarus was lodged, preſently turned him out alive. And I know now that* (he is) *almighty God,* (who) *could perform ſuch things, who is mighty in his dominion, and mighty in his human nature, who is the Saviour of mankind. Bring not therefore this perſon hither, for he will ſet at liberty all thoſe whom I hold in priſon under unbelief, and bound with the fetters of their ſins, and will conduct them to everlaſting life.*

XXI. Et quum hæc ad invicem loquerentur Sathan et princeps inferorum, ſubito facta eſt vox ut tonitruum et

XXI. And while Satan and the prince of hell were diſcourſing thus to each other, on a ſudden there was a voice

[a] John xi.

ſpiritualis clamor, Tollite portas, principes, veſtras; et elevamini, portæ æternales, et introibit Rex Gloriæ. Hæc autem quum audiſſet princeps Tartari, dixit ad Sathan, Recede a me, et exi de meis ſedibus foras: ſi potens es præliator, pugna adverſum Regem Gloriæ. Sed quid tibi cum iſto? Et ejecit foras Sathan de ſedibus ſuis. Et dixit princeps ad ſuos impios miniſtros, Claudite portas crudeles æreas, et vectes ferreos ſupponite, et fortiter reſiſtite, ne captivi ducamur in captivitatem. Hæc autem audiens omnis multitudo ſanctorum, cum magna voce increpationis dixerunt ad principem inferorum, Aperi portas tuas, ut intret Rex Gloriæ. Et exclamavit divinus ille propheta David, dicens, Nonne quum eſſem vivus in terris, bene vobis prædixi? Confiteantur Domino miſericordiæ ejus, et mirabilia ejus filiis hominum: quia contrivit portas æreas, et vectes ferreos confregit. Suſcepit eos de via iniquitatis eorum; propter

as of thunder and the ruſhing of winds, (ſaying) [a] *Liſt up your gates, O ye princes; and be ye lift up, O everlaſting gates, and the King of Glory ſhall come in.* When the prince of hell heard this, he ſaid to Satan, *Depart from me, and be gone out of my habitations: if thou art a powerful warrior, fight with the King of Glory. But what haſt thou to do with him?* And he caſt him forth from his habitations. And the prince ſaid to his impious officers, *Shut the braſs gates of cruelty, and make them faſt with iron bars, and fight courageouſly, leſt we be taken captives.* But when all the company of the ſaints heard this, they ſpake with a loud voice of anger to the prince of hell, *Open thy gates, that the King of Glory may come in.* And the divine prophet David, cried out, ſaying, [b] *Did not I, when on earth, truly propheſy* (and ſay), O that men would praiſe the Lord for his goodneſs, and for his wonderful works to the children of men! For he hath broken the gates of braſs, and cut the bars of iron in ſunder. He hath taken them becauſe of their iniquity, and becauſe of their un-

[a] Pſalm xxiv. 7, &c.

[b] Pſal. cvii. 15, &c.

righteouſneſs

injuſtitias enim ſuas humiliati ſunt. Et poſt hæc alius propheta (viz. S. Eſaias) ſimiliter ait ad omnes ſanctos, Nonne quum eſſem in terris vivus, bene prædixi vobis, Exſurgent mortui, et reſurgent qui in monumentis ſunt, et exultabunt qui in terris ſunt; quoniam ros, qui eſt a Domino, ſanitas eſt illis. Et iterum dixi, Ubi eſt, mors, victoria tua? Ubi eſt, mors, ſtimulus tuus? Hæc autem audientes omnes ſancti ab Eſaia, dixerunt ad principem inferorum, Aperi nunc portas tuas, et vectes ferreos ſubmove, quoniam jam vinctus eris, et nullius potentiæ. Et facta eſt vox magna, tanquam ſonus tonitrui, dicens, Attollite portas, principes, veſtras; et elevamini, portæ infernales, et introibit Rex Gloriæ. Videns autem princeps inferorum, quod duabus vicibus clamaverat, quaſi ignorans, dicit, Quis eſt iſte Rex Gloriæ? David vero reſpondens ad principem inferorum, dixit, Iſta verba clamoris cognoſco, quoniam ego eadem per ſpiritum ejus vaticinatus ſum.

righteouſneſs they are afflicted. After this, another prophet[a] (viz. holy Iſaiah) ſpake in like manner to all the ſaints, *Did not I rightly propheſy to you, when I was alive on earth?* The dead men ſhall live, and they ſhall riſe again who are in their graves, and they ſhall rejoice who are in earth; for the dew which is from the Lord, ſhall bring deliverance to them. *And I ſaid in another place,* O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy ſting? When all the ſaints heard theſe things ſpoken by Iſaiah, they ſaid to the prince of hell, [b] *Open now thy gates, and take away thine iron bars; for thou wilt now be bound, and have no power.* Then was there a great voice, as of the ſound of thunder, ſaying, *Lift up your gates, O princes; and be ye liſted up, ye gates of hell, and the King of Glory will enter in.* The prince of hell perceiving the ſame voice repeated, cried out, as though he had been ignorant, *Who is that King of Glory?* David replied to the prince of hell, and ſaid, *I underſtand the words of that voice, becauſe I ſpake them by his ſpirit. And*

[a] Iſai. xxvi. 19.

[b] Pſal. xxiv. 7, &c.

Et nunc quæ ſupra dixi, dico tibi; Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in prælio, ipſe eſt Rex Gloriæ; et ipſe Dominus in cœlo et in terra proſpexit, ut audiret gemitus compeditorum, et ut ſolveret filios interemptorum. Et nunc, ſpurciſſime et fœtidiſſime princeps inferi, aperi portas tuas, ut intret Rex Gloriæ; quia ipſe Dominus eſt cœli et terræ. Hæc dicente David ad principem inferorum, ſupervenit in forma hominis Dominus Majeſtatis, et æternas tenebras illuſtravit, et indiſſolubilia vincula diſrupit, et invincibili virtute viſitavit ſedentes in profundis tenebris delictorum, et in umbra mortis peccatorum.

now, as I have above ſaid, I ſay unto thee, The Lord is ſtrong and powerful, the Lord is mighty in battle; he is the King of Glory, and he is the Lord in heaven and in earth; he hath looked down to hear the groans of the priſoners, and to ſet looſe thoſe that are appointed to death[a]. *And now, thou filthy and ſtinking prince of hell, open thy gates, that the King of Glory may enter in; for he is the Lord of heaven and earth.* While David was ſaying this, the mighty Lord appeared in the form of a man, and enlightened thoſe places which had ever before been in darkneſs, and broke aſunder the fetters which before could not be broken; and with his invincible power viſited thoſe who ſat in the deep darkneſs by iniquity, and the ſhadow of death by ſin[b].

XXII. Hæc audiens mors impia cum crudelibus miniſtris ſuis, expaverunt in propriis regnis, agnita luminis claritate, dum Chriſtum in ſuis repente ſedibus viderunt conſtitutum; exclamaverunt, dicentes, Vincti jam ſu-

XXII. Impious death and her cruel officers hearing theſe things, were ſeized with fear in their ſeveral kingdoms, when they ſaw the clearneſs of the light, and Chriſt himſelf on a ſudden appearing in their habitations; they cried out therefore, and ſaid, *We*

[a] Pſal. cii. 19, 20.

[b] Luke i. 79.

are

mus a te; ad Dominum dirigis confuſionem noſtram. Quis es tu, qui ſine exitio corruptionis, incorruptum argumentum majeſtatis fulgores habes contemnens? Quis es tu, tam potens et impotens, magnus et parvus, humilis et excelſus miles, qui imperare poteſt in forma ſervi, ut humilis præliator? Et Rex Gloriæ mortuus et vivus, quem crux portavit occiſum? Qui mortuus jacuiſti in ſepulchro, vivus ad nos deſcendiſti? Et in tua morte contremuit omnis creatura, et univerſa ſidera commota ſunt; et nunc factus es inter mortuos liber, et legiones noſtras perturbas? Quis es tu, qui illos, qui originali peccato adſtricti detinentur, abſolvis captivos, et in libertatem priſtinam revocas? Quis es tu, qui peccatorum tenebris excœcatos, divina, et ſplendida, et lucifera luce perfundis? Similiter et omnes legiones dæmonum ſimili perterritæ pavore, pavida ſubjectione una voce clamaverunt, dicentes, Quomodo et unde tu, Jeſu Chriſte, tam fortis homo, et ſplendidus in majeſtate; tam præclarus ſine

are bound by thee; thou ſeemeſt to intend our confuſion before the Lord. Who art thou, who haſt no ſigns of corruption, but that bright appearance which is a full proof of thy greatneſs, of which yet thou ſeemeſt to take no notice? Who art thou, ſo powerful and ſo weak, ſo great and ſo little, a mean, and yet a ſoldier of the firſt rank, who can command in the form of a ſervant as a common ſoldier? The King of Glory, dead and alive, though once ſlain upon the croſs? Who layeſt dead in the grave, and art come down alive to us, and in thy death all the creatures trembled, and all the ſtars were moved, and now haſt thy liberty among the dead, and giveſt diſturbance to our legions? Who art thou, who doſt releaſe the captives that were held in chains by original ſin, and bringeſt them into their former liberty? Who art thou, who doſt ſpread ſo glorious and divine a light over thoſe who were made blind by the darkneſs of ſin? In like manner all the legions of devils were ſeized with the like horror, and with the moſt ſubmiſſive fear cried out, and ſaid, *Whence comes it, O thou Jeſus Chriſt, that thou art a man ſo powerful and glorious in majeſty, ſo bright as to have no ſpot,*

macula et mundus a crimine? Ille enim mundus terrenus, qui nobis ſubjectus fuit ſemper uſque nunc, qui [a] in terris uſibus tributa perſolvebat, nunquam nobis talem mortuum hominem tranſmiſit, nunquam talia munia principibus inferorum deſtinavit. Quis ergo es tu, qui ſic intrepidus noſtros fines ingreſſus es, et non ſolum nobis ſupplicia magna inferre non vereris, ſed inſuper de noſtris vinculis omnes auferre conaris? Forſitan tu es ille Jeſus, de quo nunc Sathan ad principem noſtrum dicebat, quod per mortem tuam crucis totius mortis poteſtatem acceptus eſſes. Tunc Gloriæ Dominus conculcans mortem, et comprehendens principem inferorum, privavit omni ſua poteſtate, et attraxit patrem noſtrum terrenum ad ſuam claritatem.

ſpot, and ſo pure as to have no crime? For that lower world of earth, which was ever till now ſubject to us, and from whence we received tribute, never ſent us ſuch a dead man before, never ſent ſuch preſents as theſe to the princes of hell. Who therefore art thou, who with ſuch courage enterest among our abodes, and art not only not afraid to threaten us with the greateſt puniſhments, but alſo endeavoureſt to reſcue all others from the chains in which we hold them? Perhaps thou art that Jeſus, of whom Satan juſt now ſpake to our prince, that by the death of the croſs thou wert about to receive the power of death. Then the King of Glory trampling upon death, ſeized the prince of hell, deprived him of all his power, and took our earthly father Adam with him to his glory.

XXIII. Tunc principes Tartari ſuſcipientes Sathan, cum nimia increpatione dixerunt ad eum, O princeps perditionis, et dux exterminationis Beelzebub, deriſio angelorum Dei, ſpurcitia juſtorum, quid hic facere voluiſti? Regem Gloriæ cruciſi-

XXIII. Then the prince of Hell took Satan, and with great indignation ſaid to him, *O thou prince of deſtruction, author of Beelzebub's defeat and baniſhment, the ſcorn of God's angels, and loathed by all righteous perſons! What inclined thee to act thus? Thou wouldeſt crucify the King*

[a] [al. *integris*, vel *in tetris*.]

of

gere voluiſti, in cujus exitio nobis tanta ſpolia promiſiſti, ignorans ut inſipiens quid egeris? Ecce enim, jam iſte Jeſus Nazarenus glorioſæ ſuæ divinitatis fulgore fugat omnes horribiles tenebras mortis, ima carcerum et ſumma confregit, et cunctos ejecit captivos, et univerſos vinctos ſolvit, et omnes qui præ tormentis gravibus ſuſpirare et gemere ſolebant, inſultabant nobis, et deprecationibus eorum expugnamur. Impia regna noſtra vincuntur, et nullum jam genus hominum nobis relinquitur; imo potius et nobis fortiter comminantur, quod nobis nunquam ſuperbi fuerint mortui, nec aliquando potuerunt læti eſſe captivi.

of Glory, and by his deſtruction haſt made us promiſes of very large advantages, but as a fool wert ignorant of what thou waſt about. For behold now that Jeſus of Nazareth, with the brightneſs of his glorious divinity, puts to flight all the horrid powers of darkneſs and death; he has broke down our priſons from top to bottom, diſmiſſed all the captives, releaſed all who were bound, and all who were wont formerly to groan under the weight of their torments, have now inſulted us, and we are like to be defeated by their prayers. Our impious dominions are ſubdued, and no part of mankind is now left (in our ſubjection), *but on the other hand, they all boldly defy us; though before the dead never durſt behave themſelves inſolently towards us, nor, being priſoners, could ever on any occaſion be merry.*

O princeps Sathan, omnium malorum, impiorum et refugarum pater, quid hic facere voluiſti, quod a principio uſque nunc fuerunt deſperati ſalute et vita? modo nullus eorum perſonat gemitus, nec in alicujus eorum facie lachrymarum veſtigium invenitur. O princeps Sathan, poſſeſſio infernorum, il-

O Satan, thou prince of all the wicked, father of the impious and abandoned, why wouldſt thou attempt this exploit, ſeeing our priſoners were hitherto always without the leaſt hopes of ſalvation and life? But now there is not one of them does ever groan, nor is there the leaſt appearance of a tear in any of their faces. O prince Satan, thou great treaſure of the infernal regions,

las tuas divitias, quas acquiſieras per lignum prævaricationis, et Paradiſi amiſſionem, et nunc per lignum crucis perdidiſti, et periit omnis lætitia tua, dum iſtum Chriſtum Jeſum Regem Gloriæ ſuſpendiſti. Adverſum te et adverſum me egiſti; a modo cognoſces, quanta tormenta et infinita ſupplicia paſſurus es. O princeps malorum omnium, Sathan, auctor mortis, et origo omnis ſuperbiæ, debueras primum iſtius Jeſu Nazareni cauſam malam inquirere, in quem nullam culpam mortis inveniſti. Quare ſine ratione injuſte eum crucifigere auſus fuiſti, et ad noſtram regionem innocentem et juſtum perduxiſti, et totius mundi noxios, impios, et injuſtos perdidiſti? Et quum loqueretur princeps inferorum ad Sathan, tunc Rex Gloriæ dixit ad ipſum principem inferorum Beelzebub, Erit Sathan princeps ſub poteſtate tua in perpetua ſecula, ſubſtitutus in locum Adæ, et filiorum ejus juſtorum meorum.

regions, all thy advantages which thou didſt acquire by the forbidden tree, and the loſs of Paradiſe, thou haſt now loſt by the wood of the croſs; and thy happineſs all then expired, when thou didſt crucify Jeſus Chriſt the King of Glory. Thou haſt acted againſt thine own intereſt and mine, as thou wilt preſently perceive by thoſe large torments and infinite puniſhments which thou art about to ſuffer. O Satan, prince of all evil, author of death, and ſource of all pride, thou ſhouldſt firſt have enquired into the evil crimes of Jeſus of Nazareth, and then thou wouldeſt have found that he was guilty of no fault worthy of death. Why didſt thou venture, without either reaſon or juſtice, to crucify him, and haſt brought down to our regions a perſon innocent and righteous, and thereby haſt loſt all the ſinners, impious and unrighteous perſons in the whole world? While the prince of hell was (thus) ſpeaking to Satan, the King of Glory ſaid to Beelzebub, the prince of hell, *Satan the prince ſhall be ſubject to thy dominion for ever, in the room of Adam and his righteous ſons, who are mine.*

XXIV. Et extendens Jeſus manum ſuam, dixit, Ve-

XXIV. Then Jeſus ſtretched forth his hand, and ſaid, *Come*

nite ad me, ſancti mei omnes, qui creati eſtis ad imaginem meam, qui per lignum, et diabolum, et mortem damnati eſtis; modo vivite per lignum crucis meæ, diabolo mundi principe damnato, et morte proſtrata. Tunc ſtatim omnes ſancti Dei ſub manu altiſſimi Dei adunati ſunt. Tenens autem Dominus Jeſus manum Adæ, dixit ad eum, Pax tibi cum omnibus filiis tuis juſtis meis. Adam vero genibus Domini Jeſu Chriſti advolutus, lachrymabiliter deprecatus eſt eum, obſecratione humili cum voce magna, dicens, Exaltabo te, Domine, quoniam ſuſcepiſti me, nec delectaſti inimicos meos ſuper me. Domine Deus, clamavi ad te, et ſanaſti me. Domine, eduxiſti ab inferis animam meam, ſalvaſti me a deſcendentibus in lacum. Pſallite Domino, omnes ſancti ejus, et confitemini memoriæ ſanctitatis ejus. Quoniam ira in indignatione ejus, et vita in voluntate ejus. Similiter et omnes ſancti Dei genibus

Come to me, all ye my ſaints, who were created in my image, who were condemned by the tree (of the forbidden fruit), *and by the devil and death; live now by the wood of my croſs; the devil, the prince of this world, is overcome, and death is conquered.* Then preſently all the ſaints were joined together under the hand of the moſt high God; and the Lord Jeſus laid hold on Adam's hand, and ſaid to him, *Peace be to thee, and all thy righteous poſterity, which is mine.* Then Adam, caſting himſelf at the feet of Jeſus, addreſſed himſelf to him with tears, in humble language, and a loud voice, ſaying *, *I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou haſt lifted me up, and haſt not made my foes to rejoice over me. O Lord my God, I cried unto thee, and thou haſt healed me. O Lord, thou haſt brought up my ſoul from the grave; thou haſt kept me alive, that I ſhould not go down to the pit. Sing unto the Lord, all ye ſaints of his, and give thanks at the remembrance of his holineſs. For his anger endureth but for a moment; in his favour is life.* In like manner all the ſaints, proſtrate at the feet of Jeſus,

* Pſal. xxx. 1, &c.

ſaid

Domini Jeſu advoluti, una voce dixerunt, Adveniſti, Redemptor mundi, ſicut per legem et prophetas tuos ſanctos prædixiſti, jam factis adimpleſti. Redemiſti vivos per crucem tuam, et per mortem crucis ad nos deſcendiſti, ut eriperes nos ab inferis et morte per majeſtatem tuam. Domine, ſicut poſuiſti titulum gloriæ tuæ in cœlo, et erexiſti titulum redemptionis crucem tuam in terris: ita pone, Domine, ſignum in inferno victoriæ crucis tuæ, ne mors dominetur amplius. Et extendens Dominus Jeſus manum ſuam, fecit ſignum crucis ſuper Adam, et ſuper omnes ſanctos ſuos, et apprehendens dextram Adæ, aſcendit ab inferis, et omnes ſancti Dei ſecuti ſunt eum. Tunc Propheta ille regius, ſanctus David, fortiter clamavit, dicens, Cantate Domino canticum novum, quia mirabilia fecit. Salvavit ſibi dextra ejus, et brachium ſanctum ejus. Notum fecit Dominus ſalutare ſuum, in conſpectu gentium revelavit juſtitiam ſuam. Et omnis multitudo

ſaid with one voice, *Thou art come, O Redeemer of the world, and haſt actually accompliſhed all things, which thou didſt foretell by the law and thy holy prophets... Thou haſt redeemed the living by thy croſs, and art come down to us, that by the death of the croſs thou mighteſt deliver us from hell, and by thy power from death. O Lord, as thou haſt put the enſigns of thy glory in heaven, and haſt ſet up the ſign of thy redemption, even thy croſs on earth; ſo, Lord, ſet the ſign of the victory of thy croſs in hell, that death may have dominion no longer.* Then the Lord ſtretching forth his hand, made the ſign of the croſs upon Adam and upon all his ſaints, and taking hold of Adam by his right hand, he aſcended from hell, and all the ſaints of God followed him. Then the royal Prophet David boldly cried out, and ſaid, [a] *O ſing unto the Lord a new ſong, for he hath done marvellous things; his right hand and his holy arm have gotten him the victory. The Lord hath made known his ſalvation, his righteouſneſs hath he openly ſhewn in the ſight of the heathen.* And the whole multitude

[a] Pſal. xcviii. 1, &c.

of

ſanctorum reſponderunt, dicentes, Hæc eſt omnis gloria omnibus ſanctis Dei, Amen, Halleluia. Et poſt hæc exclamavit Habacuc Propheta, dicens, Exiſti in ſalutem populi tui ad liberandum populos tuos. Et reſponderunt omnes ſancti, dicentes, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Deus Dominus et illuxit nobis. Hic eſt Deus noſter in æternum et in ſeculum ſeculi, ipſe reget nos in ſecula, Amen. Sic et omnes prophetæ de ſuis laudibus ſacra referentes, ſequebantur Dominum.

of ſaints anſwered, ſaying, [a] *This honour have all his ſaints, Amen, Praiſe ye the Lord.* Afterwards, the Prophet Habbakuk[b] cried out, and ſaid, *Thou wenteſt forth for the ſalvation of thy people, even for the ſalvation of thy people.* And all the ſaints ſaid, [c] *Bleſſed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord; for the Lord hath enlightened us. This is our God for ever and ever; he ſhall reign over us to everlaſting ages, Amen.* In like manner all the Prophets ſpake the ſacred things of his praiſe, and followed the Lord.

XXV. Dominus autem tenens manum Adæ, tradidit Michaeli archangelo, et omnes ſancti ſequebantur Michaelem archangelum, et introduxit in Paradiſo gratia glorioſa; et occurrerunt eis obviam duo viri vetuſti dierum; interrogati autem a ſanctis, Qui eſtis vos, qui nobiſcum apud inferos nondum fuiſtis, et in Paradiſo corpore collati eſtis? Reſpondens unus ex eis, dixit, Ego ſum Enoch, qui verbo tranſlatus ſum; hic iſte qui mecum eſt, Helias Theſ-

XXV. Then the Lord holding Adam by the hand, delivered him to Michael the archangel; and he led them into Paradiſe (filled) with mercy and glory; and two very antient men met them, and were aſked by the ſaints, *Who are ye, who have not yet been with us in hell, and have had your bodies placed in Paradiſe?* One of them anſwering, ſaid, *I am Enoch, who was tranſlated by the word* (of God;) [d] *and this man who is with me, is Elijah the Thiſbite,*

[a] Pſal. cxlix. 9.
[b] Hab. iii. 13.
[c] Matt. xxiii. 39.
[d] Gen. v. 24.

who

bites eſt, qui curru igneo aſſumptus eſt. Hic et uſque nunc non guſtavimus mortem, ſed in adventum Antichriſti reverſuri ſumus, divinis ſignis et prodigiis præcincti, ad præliandum cum eo, et ab eo occidi in Jeruſalem, et poſt triduum et dimidium dierum iterum vivi in nubibus aſſumendi.

who was tranſlated in a fiery chariot [a]. *Here we have hitherto been, and have not taſted death, but are now about to return at the coming of Antichriſt, being armed with divine ſigns and miracles, to engage with him in battle, and to be ſlain by him in Jeruſalem, and to be taken up alive again into the clouds, after three days and a half* [b].

XXVI. Et quum hæc loquerentur ſanctus Enoch et Helias, ecce ſupervenit alius vir miſerrimus, portans humeris ſuis ſignum crucis. Et quum viderunt omnes ſancti, dixerunt ad eum, Quis es tu? quia viſio tua latronis eſt; et propter quod portas crucem humeris? Quibus reſpondens, ait, Vere dixiſtis, quia latro fui, omnia mala faciens ſuper terram; et Judæi crucifixerunt me cum Jeſu; et vidi creaturarum mirabilia quæ facta ſunt per crucem Domini Jeſu crucifixi, et credidi eum eſſe Creatorem omnium creaturarum, et Regem Omnipotentem; et deprecatus ſum eum, dicens, Memor

XXVI. And while the holy Enoch and Elias were relating this, behold there came another man in a miſerable figure, carrying the ſign of the croſs upon his ſhoulders. And when all the ſaints ſaw him, they ſaid to him, *Who art thou? For thy countenance is like a thief's; and why doſt thou carry a croſs upon thy ſhoulders?* To which he anſwering, ſaid, *Ye ſay right, for I was a thief, who committed all ſorts of wickedneſs upon earth. And the Jews crucified me with Jeſus; and I obſerved the ſurprizing things which happened in the creation at the crucifixion of the Lord Jeſus, and I believed him to be the Creator of all things, and the Almighty King; and I prayed to him, ſaying,*

[a] 2 Kings ii. 11.

[b] Rev. xi. 11.

Lord,

eſto mei, Domine, dum veneris in regnum tuum. Statim ſuſcipiens deprecationem meam, dixit ad me, Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiſo. Et dedit mihi ſignum iſtud crucis, dicens, Hoc porta, et ambula in Paradiſo; et ſi non dimiſerit te ingredi angelus cuſtos Paradiſi, oſtende illi ſignum crucis, et dices ad eum, quia Jeſus Chriſtus filius Dei, qui nunc crucifixus eſt, miſit me huc ad te. Quum hoc feciſſem, dixi ad angelum cuſtodem Paradiſi hæc omnia; qui quum hæc a me audivit, ſtatim aperiens introduxit me, et collocavit me ad dextram Paradiſi, dicens, Ecce, modicum ſuſtine te hic, ut ingrediatur omnis generis humani pater Adam, cum omnibus filiis ſuis ſanctis et juſtis Chriſti Domini crucifixi. Quum audiſſent omnia verba latronis, omnes patriarchæ una voce dixerunt, Benedictus es, Deus Omnipotens, Pater æternorum bonorum et Pater miſericordiarum, qui talem gratiam peccatoribus ejus dediſti, et in gratiam Paradiſi

Lord, remember me, when thou comeſt into thy kingdom. *He preſently regarded my ſupplication, and ſaid to me,* Verily I ſay unto thee, this day thou ſhalt be with me in Paradiſe[a]. *And he gave me this ſign of the croſs, ſaying,* Carry this, and go to Paradiſe; and if the angel who is the guard of Paradiſe will not admit thee, ſhew him the ſign of the croſs, and ſay unto him: Jeſus Chriſt, who is now crucified, hath ſent me hither to thee. *When I did this,* (and) *told the angel who is the guard of Paradiſe all theſe things, and he heard them, he preſently opened the gates, introduced me, and placed me on the right hand in Paradiſe, ſaying, Stay here a little time, till Adam, the father of all mankind, ſhall enter in, with all his ſons, who are the holy and righteous* (ſervants) *of Jeſus Chriſt, who is crucified.* When they heard all this account from the thief, all the Patriarchs ſaid with one voice, *Bleſſed be thou, O Almighty God, the Father of everlaſting goodneſs, and the Father of mercies, who haſt ſhewn ſuch favour to thoſe who were ſinners againſt him, and haſt brought them to the*

[a] Luke xxiii. 43.

reduxiſti, et in tua ſpiritualia et pinguia paſcua ſpirituali vita ſanctiſſima collocaſti. Amen.

mercy of Paradiſe, and haſt placed them amidſt thy large and ſpiritual proviſions, in a ſpiritual and holy life. Amen.

XXVII. Hæc ſunt divina et ſacra myſteria, quæ vidimus et audivimus. Ego Charinus et Lenthius amplius non ſumus permiſſi enarrare cætera myſteria Dei, ſicut conteſtans Michael archangelus dixit nobis, Euntes cum fratribus meis in Jeruſalem, eritis in orationibus clamantes, et glorificantes reſurrectionem Domini Jeſu Chriſti, quos a mortuis reſuſcitavit ſecum. Et cum nemine hominum eritis loquentes, et ſedebitis ut muti, donec veniat hora, ut permittat vobis ipſe Dominus referre ſuæ divinitatis myſteria. Nos autem juſſit Michael archangelus ambulare trans Jordanem, in locum optimum et pinguem, ubi ſunt multi qui nobiſcum reſurrexerunt in teſtimonium reſurrectionis Chriſti; quia tantum tres dies permiſſi ſumus a mortuis, qui ſurreximus celebrare in Jeruſalem paſcha Domini cum parentibus noſtris in teſtimonium Chriſti Domini, et bap-

XXVII. Theſe are the divine and ſacred myſteries which we ſaw and heard. I Charinus and Lenthius are not allowed to declare the other myſteries of God, as the archangel Michael ordered us, ſaying, *Ye ſhall go with my brethren to Jeruſalem, and ſhall continue in prayers, declaring and glorifying the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, ſeeing he hath raiſed you from the dead* (at the ſame time) *with himſelf. And ye ſhall not talk with any man, but ſit as dumb perſons, till the time come when the Lord will allow you to relate the myſteries of his divinity.* The archangel Michael (farther) commanded us to go beyond Jordan, to an excellent and fat country, where there are many who roſe from the dead along with us for the proof of the reſurrection of Chriſt. *For we have only three days allowed us from the dead, who aroſe to celebrate the paſſover of our Lord with our parents, and to bear our teſtimony for Chriſt the Lord, and we have been baptized*

tizati ſumus in ſancto Jordanis flumine. Et jam a nemine viſi ſunt. Hæc ſunt quanta nobis juſſit Deus referre vobis; et date illi laudem et confeſſionem, et pœnitentiam agite, et miſerebitur veſtri. Pax vobis a Domino Deo Jeſu Chriſto, et Salvatore omnium noſtrorum, Amen, Amen, Amen. Et poſtquam compleverunt omnia ſcribentes, ſingulos tomos chartæ ſcripſerunt. Charinus autem, quod ſcripſit, dedit in manibus Annæ, et Caiphæ, et Gamalielis. Similiter et Lenthius, quod ſcripſit, dedit in manibus Nicodemi et Joſeph; et ſubito transfigurati ſunt candidati nimis, et non ſunt amplius viſi. Scripta autem illorum inventa ſunt æqualia, nihil minus aut majus habentia litera una. Iſta omnia admiranda Charini et Lenthii dicta audiens omnis ſynagoga Judæorum, ad invicem dixerunt, Vere iſta omnia a Deo facta ſunt, et benedictus Dominus Jeſus in ſecula ſeculorum, Amen. Et exierunt omnes cum magna ſollicitudine, cum timore et tremore; et percutierunt pectora ſua, et abierunt unuſ-

baptized in the holy river of Jordan. And now they are not ſeen by any one. This is as much as God allowed us to relate to you; give ye therefore praiſe and honour to him, and repent, and he will have mercy upon you. ' *Peace be to you from the Lord God Jeſus Chriſt, and the Saviour of us all.* Amen, Amen, Amen. And after they had made an end of writing, and had wrote in (two) diſtinct pieces of paper, Charinus gave what he wrote into the hands of Annas, and Caiaphas, and Gamaliel. Lenthius likewiſe gave what he wrote into the hands of Nicodemus and Joſeph; and immediately they were changed into exceeding white forms, and were ſeen no more. But what they had wrote was found perfectly to agree, the one not containing one letter more or leſs than the other. When all the aſſembly of the Jews heard all theſe ſurprizing relations of Charinus and Lenthius, they ſaid to each other, *Truly all theſe things were wrought by God, and bleſſed be the Lord Jeſus for ever and ever, Amen.* And they went all out with great concern, and fear, and trembling, and ſmote upon their breaſts, and went away every one

quiſque in propria ſua. Hæc omnia quæ dicta ſunt de Jeſu a Judæis in ſynagoga eorum, ſtatim Joſeph et Nicodemus annuntiaverunt præſidi; et Pilatus ſcripſit omnia geſta, et ea quæ dicta ſunt de Jeſu a Judæis, et poſuit omnia verba in codicibus prætorii ſui publicis.

to his home. But immediately all theſe things which were related by the Jews in their ſynagogue concerning Jeſus, were preſently told by Joſeph and Nicodemus to the governor, and Pilate wrote down all theſe tranſactions, and placed all theſe accounts in the publick records of his hall.

XXVIII. Poſt hæc ingreſſus Pilatus templum Judæorum, congregavit omnes Principes et Scribas, et legis Doctores, et ingreſſus eſt cum eis in ſacrarium Templi, et juſſit ut omnes januæ clauderentur, et dixit eis, Auditum habemus, quod quandam magnam bibliothecam habetis in Templo iſto; propter hoc rogo vos, ut ante nos præſentetur. Et quum deportaſſent illam bibliothecam magnam a quatuor miniſtris, auro et gemmis pretioſis ornatam, dixit Pilatus ad omnes, Adjuro vos per Deum patrem veſtrum, qui fecit ac juſſit Templum iſtud ædificari, ne verum mihi taceatis. Vos noſtis omnia quæ ſcripta ſunt in iſta bibliotheca; ſed nunc dicitote, ſi vos in ſcripturis

XXVIII. After theſe things Pilate went to the Temple of the Jews, and called together all the Rulers and Scribes, and Doctors of the law, and went with them into a chapel of the Temple, and commanding that all the gates ſhould be ſhut, ſaid to them, *I have heard that ye have a certain large book in this Temple; I deſire you, therefore, that it may be brought before me.* And when the great book, carried by four miniſters (of the Temple,) and adorned with gold and precious ſtones, was brought, Pilate ſaid to them all, *I adjure you by the God of your fathers, who made and commanded this Temple to be built, that ye conceal not the truth from me. Ye know all the things which are written in that book; tell me therefore now, if ye in the Scriptures have found any*

inveniſtis iſtum Jeſum, quem crucifixiſtis, eſſe Filium Dei venturum pro ſalute generis humani; et in quantis annis temporum debuiſſet venire, manifeſtate mihi. Ita conjurati Annas et Caiphas, juſſerunt exire de ſacrario cæteros omnes qui cum ipſis erant, et ipſi clauſerunt omnes januas Templi et ſacrarii, et dixerunt ad Pilatum, Conjurati ſumus a te, judex, per ædificationem Templi iſtius, veritatem et rationem manifeſtam tibi facere. Poſtquam crucifiximus Jeſum, ignorantes Dei Filium eſſe, putantes per aliquod carmen facere eum virtutes, fecimus ſynagogam magnam ad Templum iſtud. Et conferentes ad invicem ſigna virtutum quæ fecerat Jeſus, multos ex genere noſtro teſtes invenimus, qui dixerunt poſt paſſionem mortis vivum ſe vidiſſe, loquentem cum diſcipulis audiviſſe, et altitudinem cœli penetrantem vidiſſe; et duos teſtes, quorum corpora Jeſus ſecum a mortuis reſuſcitavit, vidimus; qui multa mirabilia quæ fecit Jeſus in mortuis, annuntiaverunt nobis, quæ in manibus noſtris ſcripta habe-

any thing of that Jeſus whom ye crucified, and at what time of the world he ought to have come, ſhew it me. Then having ſworn Annas and Caiaphas, they commanded all the reſt who were with them to go out of the chapel, and they ſhut the gates of the Temple and of the chapel, and ſaid to Pilate, *Thou haſt made us to ſwear, O judge, by the building of this Temple, to declare to thee that which is true and right. After we had crucified Jeſus, not knowing that he was the ſon of God, but ſuppoſing he wrought his miracles by ſome magical arts, we ſummoned a large aſſembly in this Temple; and when we were deliberating among one another about the miracles which Jeſus had wrought, we found many witneſſes of our own country, who declared that they had ſeen him alive after his death, and that they heard him diſcourſing with his diſciples, and ſaw him aſcending unto the height of the heavens, and entering into them; and we ſaw two witneſſes, whoſe bodies Jeſus raiſed from the dead, who told us of many ſtrange things which Jeſus did among the dead, of which we have a written account in our*

mus. Noſtraque conſuetudo eſt, quod omni anno, ante noſtram ſynagogam aperientes iſtam ſanctam bibliothecam, teſtimonium Dei exquirimus; et invenimus in primo libro de ſeptuaginta, ubi loquutus eſt Michael archangelus ad tertium filium Adæ primi hominis, de quinque millibus et quingentis annis, in quibus venturus eſſet de cœlis dilectiſſimus Dei Filius, Chriſtus; et adhuc conſideravimus, quia forſitan iſte eſt Deus Iſrael, qui dixit ad Moſen, Fac tibi arcam teſtamenti in longitudinem cubitorum duorum et ſemis, in altitudinem cubiti unius et ſemis, in latitudinem cubiti unius et ſemis. In his quinque cubitis et ſemis intelleximus et cognovimus in fabrica arcæ Veteris Teſtamenti, quia in quinque millibus annorum et ſemis venturus eſſet Jeſus Chriſtus in arca corporis; et ſic Scripturæ noſtræ teſtantur ipſum Dei filium eſſe, et Dominum et Regem Iſrael. Quia poſt paſſionem ejus nos principes ſacerdotum admirantes ſigna, quæ propter eum fiebant, a-

hands. And it is our cuſtom annually to open this holy book before an aſſembly, and to ſearch there for the counſel of God; and we found in the firſt of the ſeventy (books), *where Michael the archangel is ſpeaking to the third ſon of Adam the firſt man, an account that after five thouſand five hundred years, Chriſt the moſt beloved Son of God was to come on earth; and we farther conſidered, that perhaps he was the very God of Iſrael who ſpake to Moſes,* Thou ſhalt make the ark of the teſtimony, two cubits and a half ſhall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof[a]. *By theſe five cubits and a half for the building of the ark of the Old Teſtament, we perceived and knew that in five thouſand years and half* (one thouſand) *years, Jeſus Chriſt was to come in the ark* (or tabernacle) *of a body; and ſo our Scriptures teſtify that he is the Son of God, and the Lord and King of Iſrael. And becauſe after his ſuffering, our chief Prieſts were ſurprized at the ſigns which were wrought by*

[a] Exod. xxv. 10.

his

peruimus bibliothecam iſtam, exquirentes omnes generationes uſque ad generationem Joſeph et Mariæ matris Jeſu, computantes ex ſemine David eſſe; invenimus ea quæ fecit Dominus, et quando fecit cœlum et terram, et primum hominem Adam uſque ad diluvium, anni duo millia ducenti et duodecim. Et a diluvio uſque ad Abraham anni nongenti duodecim. Et ab Abraham uſque ad Moſen anni quadringenti triginta. Et de Moſe uſque ad David regem anni quingenti decem. Et a David uſque ad tranſmigrationem Babylonis anni quingenti. Et de tranſmigratione Babylonis uſque ad incarnationem Chriſti anni quadringenti. Et fiunt ſimul quinque millia et ſemis. Et ſic apparet quod Jeſus, quem crucifiximus, Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius eſt, verus et omnipotens Deus. Amen.

his means, we opened that book to ſearch all the generations down to the generation of Joſeph and Mary the mother of Jeſus, ſuppoſing him to be of the ſeed of David; and we found the account of the creation, and at what time he made the heaven and the earth, and the firſt man Adam, and that from thence to the flood, were two thouſand, two hundred, and twelve years. And from the flood to Abraham, nine hundred and twelve. And from Abraham to Moſes, four hundred and thirty. And from Moſes to David the King, five hundred and ten. And from David to the Babyloniſh captivity, five hundred years. And from the Babyloniſh captivity to the incarnation of Chriſt, four hundred years. The ſum of all which amounts to five thouſand and half (a thouſand). *And ſo it appears, that Jeſus, whom we crucified, is Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, and true and Almighty God. Amen.*

IN NOMINE SANCTÆ TRINITATIS, EXPLICIUNT GESTA PER SALVATOREM JESUM CHRISTUM, QUÆ INVENIT THEODOSIUS MAGNUS IMPERATOR IN JERUSALEM, IN

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY TRINITY, *(thus)* END THE ACTS OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, WHICH THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS THE GREAT FOUND AT JERUSALEM,

PRÆTORIO PONTII PILATI IN CODICIBUS PUBLICIS, FACTA IN ANNO DECIMO NONO IMPERATORIS TIBERII CÆSARIS ROMANORUM, ET HERODIS FILII HERODIS REGIS GALILÆÆ, ANNO DECIMO SEPTIMO PRINCIPATUS EJUS, VIII. CALENDAS APRILIS, QUOD EST XXIII. DIE MENSIS MARTII, CONSULTATORIÆ REVELATIONIS, IN ANNO CCII. OLYMPIADIS, SUB PRINCIPATU JUDÆORUM JOSEPHI ET CAIPHÆ, QUANTA POST CRUCEM ET PASSIONEM DOMINI HISTORIATUS EST NICODEMUS LITERIS HEBRAICIS.

IN THE HALL OF PONTIUS PILATE AMONG THE PUBLICK RECORDS; THE THINGS WERE ACTED IN THE NINETEENTH YEAR OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS, AND IN THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HEROD THE SON OF HEROD KING OF GALILEE, ON THE EIGHTH OF THE CALENDS OF APRIL, WHICH IS THE TWENTY-THIRD DAY OF THE MONTH OF MARCH*, IN THE CCII[d] OLYMPIAD, WHEN JOSEPH AND CAIAPHAS WERE RULERS OF THE JEWS; BEING A HISTORY WRITTEN IN HEBREW BY NICODEMUS, OF WHAT HAPPENED AFTER OUR SAVIOUR'S CRUCIFIXION.

* I have not put any thing in the English for the words *Consultatoriæ Revelationis*, because I confess I do not know what they mean.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Goſpel of Nicodemus, formerly called The Acts of Pontius Pilate; and why it was ſo. Some Accounts of Chriſt ſent by Pilate to Tiberius. Juſtin Martyr and Tertullian ſeveral Times appeal to the Acts of Pilate: they are mentioned by Euſebius and Jerome: it does not appear that any Chriſtian Writer ever ſaw them.

ALTHOUGH I know not any who have eſteemed this Goſpel under the name of *Nicodemus* as Canonical, yet inaſmuch as *it has been appealed to by ſeveral of the antient Chriſtians* (as is commonly thought), *is unqueſtionably of very great antiquity, paſſes under the ſplendid title of one who became our Lord's diſciple, and converſed with him*; and laſtly, *becauſe it has not only generally been reckoned by the learned among the Apocrypha of the New Teſtament*, but by ſome alſo ſuppoſed to be *really written by Nicodemus* [a]; I thought proper to inſert it in this volume, with all that I have obſerved conſiderable relating to it, under the following heads.

I. The Goſpel of Nicodemus *formerly paſſed under the title of* The Acts of Pontius Pilate. In the book itſelf we read (Ch. XXVII.), *that Pilate was its author, and that he wrote down all the tranſactions of Jeſus Chriſt among the Jews, and placed his book among other publick writings in his palace.* Accordingly in the end of it (or, as it is placed in ſome editions, in the beginning of it [b]) we are told that Theodoſius the Great (Emperor in the year 380, &c.) *found it in Jeruſalem in the palace of Pontius Pilate.* Beſides, what farther proves this is what Epiphanius [c] tells us, viz. *that the Teſſareſcaidecatites* (who were ſo called, becauſe they thought themſelves always obliged to keep Eaſter on the *fourteenth day*) *confirmed their opinion by the* Acts of Pilate, *becauſe it was there written*

[a] See Grynæus Præfat. in Orthodoxographa.

[b] Viz. the Anglo-Saxon and the German tranſlations. Vid. Fabr. Cod. Apoc. t. 1. p. 297 et 235.

[c] Hæreſ. 50. §. 1.

that

that our Saviour ſuffered on the eighth day of the calends of April. And the author of the eighth Homily, under the name of Chryſoſtom [a], *cites theſe* Acts of Pilate *for the ſame purpoſe.* Now this is expreſsly recorded in the Goſpel of Nicodemus at the end; but it being a matter agreed on by all, that this Goſpel was formerly called *The Acts of Pilate*, I ſhall now ſay no more on this head, but only obſerve, that the *reaſons of its having the name of* Nicodemus *prefixed*, ſeem to have been,

1. Becauſe *a conſiderable part of the hiſtory relates to him, and was tranſacted by him.* See Ch. V, IX, XI, XII, XV, and XVII.

2. Becauſe all that revelation of Charinus and Lenthius from the other world, contained from Ch. XVII. to XXVIII. *was delivered by them to Nicodemus, and afterwards by him to Pilate*, who committed it to writing. (See Ch. XXVII.)

When this Goſpel had the name of Nicodemus firſt prefixed to it, is altogether uncertain. Some writers have aſſerted, that it is among thoſe condemned by Gelaſius's Decree, which Mr. Fabritius [b] on good grounds concludes to be a miſtake; and in another place (though I know not upon what grounds) he tells us [c], *that it was a name given it in the latter centuries by the Anglo-Saxons and Britons*; the Apoſtle of which country they report Nicodemus to have been.

II. It is very probable *there were ſome accounts of Chriſt and his actions tranſmitted by Pilate to the Emperor Tiberius.* It was a thing very cuſtomary among the Romans, long before this time, that the governors of the reſpective provinces in ſubjection to them, ſhould tranſmit to Rome a particular account of every thing which happened, uncommon or extraordinary, in their ſeveral governments. This Euſebius expreſsly tells us [d], and it were eaſy to prove by many inſtances; to omit all which, I ſhall only obſerve, that Philo Judæus (who

[a] See this in Biſhop Pearſon's Expoſition of the Creed, Art. 4. p. 198.

[b] Cod. Apoc. N. T. Par. 1. p. 222, 223, et 233.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Hiſtor. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2.

wrote

wrote about the time of Chriſt) ſpeaking of the flattering compliments Caligula received from the Egyptians, ſays, he received them τοῖς ὑπομνηματικαῖς ἐφημερίσιν ἃς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διεπέμποντο, ex quotidianis actis tranſmiſſis ſibi ab Alexandria (as Gelenius tranſlates it), *from the daily memoirs* (or acts) *which were tranſmitted to him from Alexandria* [a]. It had been very ſtrange therefore, if Pilate had neglected to inform the Emperor and court of events and actions, ſo remarkable as thoſe were which related to Jeſus Chriſt. But to ſay no more of this; the firſt and moſt antient apologiſt for the Chriſtian religion, Juſtin Martyr, in his *Addreſs to the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius, does more than once appeal to the Acts of Pontius Pilate* for the truth of our Saviour's miracles and ſufferings, καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων, *and of the truth of theſe facts you may be informed out of the Acts which were written by Pontius Pilate* (or, *under his government*). Apol. pro Chriſt. p. 76. and elſewhere, p. 84. *he refers to the ſame for the proof of our Saviour's curing all ſorts of diſeaſes, raiſing the dead*, &c. Tertullian likewiſe, in his Apology for Chriſtianity againſt the Heathens [b], twice appeals to the *records which were tranſmitted from Jeruſalem to Tiberius concerning Chriſt*; and as in one place *he expreſsly names thoſe which were tranſmitted by Pilate*, ſo in the other there can be no doubt but he *refers to the ſame*, as is well intimated in the Paraphraſe of Euſebius [c], and by Franciſcus Zephyrus on the place, and Pamelius in his notes: his words being ſomewhat remarkable in both places, I thought proper here to tranſcribe them [d]. *Tiberius, in whoſe time the Chriſtian name became firſt known in the world, having received information from Paleſtine in Syria* (by his governor there), *that Jeſus Chriſt had there given manifeſt proof of the truth of his divinity, communicated it to the Senate, inſiſting upon it as his*

[a] Legat. ad Caium, p. 1016.
[b] Apol. adv. Gent. c. v. et 21.
[c] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2.
[d] Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Chriſtianum in ſeculum introiit, annunciatum ſibi ex Syria Palæſtina, quod illic veritatem illius divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad Senatum cum prærogativa ſui ſuffragii. Senatus, quia non in ſe probaverat, reſpuit. Cæſar in ſententia manſit, comminatus periculum accuſatoribus Chriſtianorum, c. 5.

prerogative,

prerogative, that they ſhould aſſent to his opinion in that matter (viz. declare him to be a God). *But the Senate not approving it, refuſed. Cæſar continued in the ſame opinion, threatening thoſe who were accuſers of the Chriſtians.* In the other place, after having given an account of the miracles of Chriſt, his caſting out devils, cleanſing lepers, raiſing the dead, his crucifixion, reſurrection, aſcenſion, &c. he adds [a], *All theſe things Pilate himſelf (who was in his conſcience for following Chriſt) tranſmitted to Tiberius Cæſar; and even the Cæſars themſelves had been Chriſtians, if it had been conſiſtent with their ſecular intereſts*, &c. This account of Tertullian is cited by Euſebius, both in his Chronicon [b] and in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory [c], as genuine and authentick; as it is alſo by Jerome [d], though he mentions neither the name of Tertullian nor Euſebius. Now from all this I argue, that *there were ſome accounts of Chriſt and his actions tranſmitted by Pilate to the Emperor.*' "*Tertullian* (ſays Dr. Parker [e]) *though a* "*Chriſtian writer, durſt never have preſumed to impoſe upon* "*the Senate themſelves with ſuch a remarkable ſtory, if he* "*were not able to prove it; and that he was, is evident from* "*Juſtin Martyr, who* [f]*often appeals to the Acts of Pilate con-*"*cerning the hiſtory of our Saviour, and requeſts the Emperor* "*to ſatisfy themſelves from their own records concerning thoſe* "*things that were reported of him.—That Pilate did ſend ſuch* "*Acts, is evident; for ſcarce any man, much leſs ſuch a man* "*as Juſtin Martyr, could have been ſo fooliſh, or ſo confident,* "*as to affirm a thing in which it was ſo very eaſy to convict* "*him of falſehood*, &c." Dr. Jenkin, in his excellent book Of the Reaſonableneſs and Certainty of the Chriſtian Religion, reaſons after the ſame manner [g], "*That it had not been*

[a] Ea omnia ſuper Chriſto Pilatus et ipſe, jam pro ſua conſcientia Chriſtianus, Cæſari tum Tiberio nunciavit; ſed et Cæſares credidiſſent ſuper Chriſto, ſi aut Cæſares non eſſent ſeculo neceſſarii, aut ſi et Chriſtiani potuiſſent eſſe Cæſares. c. 21.

[b] Ad Ann. Chriſti xxxviii. fol. 84.

[c] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2.

[d] Apud Cleric. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Secul. I. ad Ann. xxix. §. 98. p. 326.

[e] Demonſtr. of the Divine Authority of the Chriſt. Relig. Part II. §. 15. p. 231, &c.

[f] I believe he mentions them but twice.

[g] Vol. I. Par. II. ch. 14. p. 272, 273.

"*ſafe*

" *ſafe for Pilate to ſend no information to the Emperor con-*
" *cerning Chriſt—That he did ſend, and his information was*
" *entered upon record at Rome: to which Juſtin Martyr appeals*
" *in his Apology to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and the Se-*
" *nate; and Tertullian in his Apology, which was likewiſe*
" *preſented to the Senate of Rome, or at leaſt to the governors of*
" *the provinces. They both lived in the next age, and were*
" *both educated in a different religion, and upon theſe and ſuch*
" *like proofs became Chriſtians: they were men of excellent*
" *learning and judgment; but no man who could write an Apo-*
" *logy, can be ſuppoſed to have ſo much confidence, and ſo little*
" *underſtanding, as to appeal to that account which Pilate ſent*
" *to Tiberius, concerning the reſurrection of Chriſt, in Apologies*
" *dedicated to the Roman Emperor himſelf, and to the Senate, or*
" *chief magiſtrates of the empire, if no ſuch account had ever*
" *been ſent, or none had been then extant to be produced. But*
" *by the ſpecial providence of God, both the birth and reſurrec-*
" *tion of our Saviour were inſerted into the publick records at*
" *Rome, and were to be ſeen there for a long time after; and*
" *the Heathens, in whoſe cuſtody they were, are deſired by the*
" *primitive Chriſtians to conſult them; for they were content to*
" *put the matter upon this iſſue, that if they were reſolved not*
" *to believe what the Chriſtians ſaid, yet they would at leaſt*
" *credit their own records.*" After the ſame manner before theſe argued Grotius [a], Huetius [b], Waltherus [c], Biſhop Pearſon [d], and other modern apologiſts for the Chriſtian religion. To which I may add, that the criticks and hiſtorians alſo have generally aſſented to the fact; as Caſaubon [e], Pamelius [f], Valeſius [g], Frederick Spanheim [h], Fabricius [i], &c. And it has not been queſtioned by any, as far as I know, except Tana-

[a] De Verit. Relig. Chriſtian. l. 2. §. 2.

[b] Demonſtrat. Evangel. Prop. III. §. 22, 23. p. 43, 44.

[c] Officin. Biblic. §. 1068. p. 1054.

[d] On the Creed, Art. IV. p. 198.

[e] Ad Baron. Annal. Exercit. 16. ann. 34. n. 221.

[f] Annot. in Apolog. Tertull. c. 5.

[g] Annot. in Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2.

[h] Hiſt. Chriſt. Secul. I. p. 560, 561. et p. 582.

[i] Cod. Apoc. N. T. loc. ſupra cit. See alſo Eachard's Eccleſ. Hiſtor. Vol. I. b. 2. c. 1. §. 4., and Tallent's Chron. Tables.

quillus

quillus Faber [a] and Le Clerc [b], and that upon very ſlight reaſons. I conclude it therefore as probable, that Pilate ſent ſome acts or memoirs concerning Jeſus Chriſt and his miracles to the Emperor Tiberius at Rome.

III. *It does not appear that any Chriſtian writer ever ſaw theſe Acts or Memoirs of Pilate, which were by him ſent to Rome.* For though Juſtin Martyr and Tertullian have appealed to them, yet it ſeems to me evident they had not read them; for if they had, without doubt much more of their contents *had been transferred into their Apologies for Chriſtianity*, which they addreſſed to the Emperors or Senate. *Nec Juſtinus nec Tertullianus ea Acta legiſſe videntur, ſed pro certo ſumſiſſe—quæ ad Chriſtum pertinebant complexa ea eſſe*, ſays Le Clerc [c], i. e. *Neither Juſtin nor Tertullian ſeem to have read thoſe Acts* (of Pilate, which they appeal to), *but to take it for granted* (as an allowed thing) *that they contained accounts of Chriſt.* Had they had in their hands any ſuch acts or memoirs, nothing could have been more to their purpoſe, than to have produced them in the very words at length; and as nothing would have conduced more to have eſtabliſhed and confirmed the Goſpel hiſtory and Chriſtian cauſe, they would be juſtly charged with unpardonable negligence to omit the producing them. Add to all this, that theſe firſt apologiſts were exceeding careful to amaſs all together, that would any way tend to beget in the minds of their enemies a perſuaſion of the truth of their religion, and the miracles and reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt; to have effected which, nothing could poſſibly have had a greater influence than theſe records of Pilate's writing. Beſides, had any of the Chriſtians been favoured with the ſight of theſe Acts, one would have imagined Minutius Felix, who made a conſiderable figure at Rome [d], or Euſebius, who was ſo familiar with Conſtantine, would have been the perſons; but inaſmuch as the former has not men-

[a] Epiſt. ad Boherell. l. 2. apud Spanheim loc. cit.

[b] Lib. et loc. cit. p. 324.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Hieronym. Catal. Vir. Illuſtr. in Minut. Felic.

tioned

tioned them, nor the latter ſaid any more of them than what he tranſcribed out of Tertullian, it is reaſonable to conclude they were not ſeen by any of the Chriſtian writers: which will appear yet of greater force, if we conſider, that [a] this ſame Euſebius makes uſe of the publick records of the city Edeſſa; and a great part of his work is taken up in collections or tranſcripts of every thing, whether wrote by Jews (as Philo and Joſephus), Heathens, or Chriſtians, for the credit of Chriſtianity. If it be enquired here, *How then came it to paſs that Juſtin and Tertullian*, as in the former head, *ſhould appeal to theſe Acts*, ſince neither they nor any other Chriſtians ſaw them? I anſwer with the great Caſaubon [b], that it ſeems probable *ſome ſervants or officers of one of the Cæſars, who were converted to Chriſtianity, and had the opportunity of ſearching and being acquainted with the publick records at Rome, gave this general account to ſome Chriſtians, from whom Juſtin and Tertullian had it.* And whereas it may be objected, that *it is ſtrange that afterwards, when the Emperors became Chriſtians, theſe records or Acts of Pilate, did not become publick*; I anſwer, that there is nothing more likely *than that they were deſtroyed by the malice of the Senate, or ſome Roman Emperor*, who (as it is certain), when they perceived the growing intereſt of Chriſtianity, omitted nothing which they imagined would have any tendency to cruſh and prevent it.

[a] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 13.
[b] Exercit. xvi. adv. Baron. Annal. loc. jam cit.

CHAP. XXX.

A Conjecture concerning the Occaſion and Original of theſe Acts or Goſpel. They ſeem to have been the Compoſure of ſome Chriſtian in the latter End of the third Century. This Conjecture ſupported by ſeveral Arguments.

IV. FROM the preceding obſervations it ſeems obvious to conjecture, *the age, occaſion, and original of* the Spurious Goſpel of Nicodemus, or thoſe *Acts of Pilate* which I have now under conſideration, viz. *That it was the forgery of ſome Chriſtian about the latter end of the third century*; who, obſerving that there had been appeals made by the Chriſtians of the former age to ſome *Acts of Pilate*, but that none either were or could be produced, imagined that it would be of ſervice to Chriſtianity to publiſh this performance, as what would be not only confirming to the Chriſtians in thoſe times of perſecution, but evidential to the Heathens of the truth of their religion. The great defects of the hiſtory of theſe times, the loſs of ſo many antient books, the uncertainty as to the genuineneſs of thoſe we have, with many other ſuch reaſons, make it exceeding difficult to form any certain judgment in things of this nature; I propoſe therefore this only as what ſeems to me a probable conjecture, for the following reaſons:

1. *Such pious frauds in the primitive times* (even in the three firſt centuries) *were very common among Chriſtians.* This is undeniably evident by a great number of inſtances in the ſecond part of the preceding volume.

2. *No Heathen can be ſuppoſed to be author of this Goſpel.* For beſides that it proves the author much more acquainted with the Chriſtian ſtory and doctrine, than any Heathen can be with reaſon ſuppoſed to be, the whole compoſure is accommodated and intended (however it may fall ſhort) for the honour of Jeſus Chriſt and his doctrines, which cannot be the work of an Heathen.

3. *A forgery of this nature, and with the view above mentioned,*

tioned, ſeems natural and probable. For if (as has been proved in the laſt Obſervation) the Chriſtians were not able to produce the *Acts of Pilate*, it is natural to ſuppoſe the Heathens would reflect with ſeverity upon thoſe Chriſtians who had before appealed to them, and in conſequence upon the cauſe itſelf, as ſupported by the falſehood and inſincerity of its followers. For this reaſon, I ſay, it ſeems in the nature of things likely ſuch a compoſure ſhould be forged, which might be of uſe to ſilence thoſe who ſhould at any time make ſuch an objection againſt Chriſtianity; and we have innumerable inſtances of forgeries on leſs plauſible reaſons.

4. *The firſt account of any book among the Chriſtians, intitled,* The Acts of Pilate, *is, that the Teſſareſcaidecatites made uſe of it to ſupport their peculiar notion about Eaſter.* This we read in Epiphanius [a].

Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἄκτων δῆθεν Πιλάτε αὐχοῦσι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν εὑρηκέναι, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται, τῇ πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸν Σωτῆρα πεπονθέναι· καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ βάλλονται ἄγειν τὸ Πάσχα, ὁποίᾳ δ' ἂν ἐμπέσῃ ἡ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη τῆς σελήνης.

They boaſt, that they have diſcovered the exact time of this inſtitution from the *Acts of Pilate*, in which it is written, *that our Saviour ſuffered on the eighth of the calends of April:* accordingly on that day they will always keep Eaſter, not regarding what day the fourteenth day of the moon happened.

5. *The ſect of the Teſſareſcaidecatites* (or *Quartadecimans*, as they are ſometimes called) *did not ariſe till the middle or latter end of the third century.* To prove this, I obſerve that this ſect had its riſe from the Quintillians (otherwiſe called Priſcillianiſts, Artotyrites, and Pepuzians); and that theſe had their riſe from the Montaniſts or Cataphrygians. This we are expreſsly told by Epiphanius [b]. Now Montanus lived,

[a] Hæreſ. 50. §. 1.
[b] Hæreſ. 49. §. 1. and Hæreſ. 50. §. 1.

and his hereſy began, in the latter end of the ſecond century, about the year of Chriſt CLXXIV, and continued for a long time in its flouriſhing ſtate. Apollonius, who wrote largely and learnedly againſt Montaniſm, ſays he wrote juſt forty years after Montanus broached his hereſy [a]; and then, as Euſebius [b] collects from Apollonius, that hereſy ἀκμάζουσα ἦν, *was in its height*, i. e. about the year CCXIV. Soter alſo, Biſhop of Rome, about this time wrote againſt the ſame hereſy [c]. Tertullian, in his ſeventh book *de Eſtaſi*, now loſt, wrote an Anſwer in vindication of Montaniſm againſt Apollonius, if we may credit the author of the tract *de Hæreſibus*, Hæreſ. 26. publiſhed by Sirmondus under the name of *Prædeſtinatus* [d]. So then if we allow any ſpace of time to have intervened between the height of Montaniſm and its offspring the Quintillians, or Priſcillianiſts, which were formed out of it, and any ſpace between the riſe of the Quintillianiſts and the riſe of the Teſſareſcaidecatites (which muſt neceſſarily be), it will undeniably follow, that theſe laſt (who are the perſons with whom I am now concerned) could not ariſe till towards the latter end of the third century, or the beginning of the fourth.

6. Hence it follows, that the Acts of Pilate *cannot be proved to have been read, or in uſe among the Chriſtians till the latter end of the third century*; becauſe (as I have proved) they do not appear to have been uſed by any before the ſect of the Teſſareſcaidecatites.

7. *About the latter end of the third century, the Pagans or enemies of Chriſtianity forged and publiſhed a book*, intitled, *The Acts of Pilate*. This I gather from three ſeveral places in Euſebius's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

The firſt is lib. 1. cap. 9.

Οὐκοῦν σαφῶς ἀπελήλεγκται τὸ πλάσμα τῶν κατὰ τὸ Σω- From whence the *forgery* of thoſe is manifeſtly detected (or

[a] Vid. Euſeb. Hiſtor. Eccl. l. 5. c. 18.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Cave Hiſt. Liter. in Soter. p. 40. vol. 1.
[d] Id. in Tertul. p. 59.

refuted),

τῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθὲς καὶ τρώην διαδεδωκότων· ἐν οἷς τρῶτ@ αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς παρασημειώσεως χρόν@ τῶν πεπλακότων ἀπελέγχει τὸ ψεῦδ@. Ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης γὰρ ὑπατείας Τιβερίου, ἣ γέγονεν ἔτους ἑβδόμου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ περὶ τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῖς πάθ@ τολμηθέντα περιέχει. Καθ' ὃν δείκνυται χρόνον, μηδ' ἐπισάς πω τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Πιλάτ@, εἴγε τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ μάρτυρι χρήσασθαι δέον, σαφῶς ἔτω σημαίνοντι κατὰ τὴν δηλωθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραφὴν, ὅτι δὴ δωδεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας ἐπίτροπ@ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὑπὸ Τιβερίου καθίσταται.

refuted), *who have lately publiſhed certain* Acts *againſt our Saviour.* In which, firſt, the *very time* which is aſſigned to them, diſcovers the impoſture; for thoſe things which they have impudently forged to have come to paſs at our Saviour's crucifixion, are ſaid there to have been *in the fourth conſulſhip of Tiberius*, which coincides with the *ſeventh year of his reign, at which time it is certain Pilate was not yet come to Judea*, if there be any credit to be given to Joſephus, who in the place forecited expreſsly ſaith, *that Pilate was not conſtituted governor of Judea by Tiberius till the twelfth year of Tiberius's reign.*

The ſecond is lib. I. cap. 11. After having produced the two noted teſtimonies of Joſephus concerning John the Baptiſt and Chriſt, he concludes;

Ταῦτα τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἑβραίων συγγραφέως ἀνέκαθεν τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ, περί τε τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, καὶ Σωτῆρ@ ἡμῶν παραδεδωκότ@, τίς ἂν ἔτι λείποιτο ἀποφυγὴ, τοῦ μὴ αἰσχύντως ἀπελέγχεσθαι τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν πλασαμένους ὑπομνήματα;

Seeing therefore that this writer (Joſephus), who was himſelf a Jew, has related ſuch things in his hiſtory concerning John the Baptiſt and our Saviour; what can they poſſibly ſay for themſelves, to prevent being convicted of the *moſt impudent forgery, who wrote thoſe Acts againſt John and Chriſt?*

The third is lib. 9. cap. 5.

Πλασάμενοι δῆτα Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα, πάσης ἐμπλεα κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίας, γνώμῃ τοῦ μείζονος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν διαπέμπονται τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχήν· διὰ γραμμάτων παρακελευόμενοι, κατὰ πάντα τόπον ἀγρούς τε καὶ πόλεις, ἐν ἐκφανεῖ ταῦτα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκθεῖναι· τοῖς τε παισὶ τοὺς γραμματοδιδασκάλους ἀντὶ μαθημάτων ταῦτα μελετᾶν, καὶ διὰ μνήμης κατέχειν παραδιδόναι.

At length (the Heathens) *having forged certain* Acts of Pilate concerning our Saviour, *which were full of all ſorts of blaſphemy againſt Chriſt*, they cauſed them by the Decree of Maximinus to be diſperſed through all the parts of his empire, commanding by their letters that they ſhould be publiſhed to all perſons in every place, both in cities and country places; and that ſchoolmaſters ſhould put them into the hands of children, and oblige them to ſtudy and learn theſe by heart, inſtead of their uſual lectures.

From theſe places it is evident, there were certain ſpurious *Acts of Pilate, forged and publiſhed by the Heathens in the latter end of the third century.* Euſebius ſays in the firſt of theſe places, χθὶς καὶ πρώην, i. e. *very lately*, or *a little before his time*, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the fourth century; and in the laſt place, *that it was in the reign of Maximinus*, who reigned in the year of Chriſt 303. From which agreement in time it is plain, that Euſebius *in both places ſpeaks of the ſame Acts*, although in the former he does not ſo expreſsly call them the *Acts of Pilate*, as in the latter. That they were a forgery is certain, not only from the whole deſign of them, the expreſs teſtimony of Euſebius in both places, but alſo from that argument out of Joſephus, which Euſebius makes uſe of, viz. that, *according to theſe Acts*, our Saviour's paſſion under Pontius Pilate happened in the fourth conſulſhip of Tiberius, which was

was the ſeventh year of his reign; whereas, *according to Joſephus*, Pilate was not till ſome years after that time appointed governor of Judæa[a]; and it is certain our Saviour was not crucified *till the nineteenth or twentieth year of Tiberius.*

8. Theſe Acts of *Pilate* were *unqueſtionably very different from thoſe which were made uſe of by the Teſſareſcaidecatites above-mentioned.* For if, as Euſebius ſays, theſe were a forgery of the Heathens, filled with blaſphemies againſt Chriſt, and they were publiſhed in the reign of Maximinus, by his order, againſt the Chriſtians, to irritate the Pagans more againſt them, and to further his cruel perſecutions, of which we have ſo dreadful an account; it cannot be imagined they would be received by the Teſſareſcaidecatites (who, as Epiphanius ſays, differed from other Chriſtians only as to the time of obſerving Eaſter), nor indeed by any perſons whatſoever, who went under the name of Chriſtians.

9. From the eight foregoing obſervations it appears very probable, that the *Acts of Pilate*, or *Goſpel of Nicodemus*, was *a forgery of ſome Chriſtian in the latter end of the third century.* For if ſuch pious frauds were common, this was not the work of any Heathen; and this was a very likely forgery according to the nature and circumſtances of things: if in the latter end of the third century we firſt find it in uſe among Chriſtians, and about the ſame find a forgery of the Heathens under the ſame title, it ſeems exceeding probable, that partly to confront the ſpurious one of the Pagans, partly to ſupport thoſe appeals which had been made by former Chriſtians to the *Acts of Pilate*, ſome Chriſtian at this time ſhould publiſh ſuch a piece as this.

[a] Antiquit. Judaic. l. 18. c. 3.

CHAP. XXXI.

Leucius Charinus proved by ſeveral Arguments to have been the Author of this Goſpel.

Obſ. V. *LEUCIUS Charinus ſeems to have been the author of theſe* Acts of Pilate, *or* Goſpel of Nicodemus. This conjecture depends upon the foregoing, and, I hope, will appear no leſs probable for the following reaſons.

1. It is certain Leucius Charinus lived *about that time which I have aſſigned to the original of this book*, viz. in the latter end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. This I have above largely proved, Part II. Ch. XXI.

2. It is certain Leucius was *the author of many forgeries or ſpurious pieces under the names of the Apoſtles and Diſciples of Chriſt.* This is evident from the chapter now cited in the former volume, and ſeveral parts of that work. See alſo Gelaſius's Decree.

3. *Moſt of the Apocryphal books which Leucius publiſhed, were intitled* Acts; ſuch, for inſtance, were the *Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas,* and *Paul,* and others above produced in the former volume; all which were certainly made by Leucius Charinus, as appears from Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 114. Auſtin, and others, in the places there cited. See alſo the alphabetical index at the end of the firſt part of this work, in the letter L.

4. *The Apocryphal books of Leucius Charinus were generally filled with idle, fabulous, and romantick ſtories, exactly of the ſame ſort with thoſe contained in theſe Acts of Pilate, or Goſpel of Nicodemus.* This will be manifeſt by a compariſon of thoſe fables *concerning Matimilla and Iphidamia, God's appearing in the form of a little boy, feigning the voice of a woman, the ſouls of men like the ſouls of dogs,* &c. produced above (Par. II. Ch. XXI.) as fragments of his Acts out of Auſtin and Philaſtrius, with ſeveral ſtories in theſe *Acts of Pilate.*

5. *Leucius*

5. *Leucius was boaſted of by the Montaniſts, as a favourer of their ſcheme. Phryges ſe a Leucio animatos mentiri*, ſays Pacianus [a], a writer of the fourth century; i. e. *The Montaniſts boaſt that their principles were revived by Leucius*, as I have elſewhere explained thoſe words [b]. Whence I argue, as a collateral proof, that *theſe Acts* were made by Leucius, viz. becauſe they were received by the Teſſareſcaidecatites, who deſcended from, or were formed out of, the Montaniſts, as appears from Epiphanius, Hæreſ. 50. §. 1. See the laſt chapter, Obſ. IV. Numb. 5.

6. That which ſeems to put the matter out of all controverſy, (viz. that Leucius Charinus was the author of theſe *Acts of Pilate*) is, *that a very conſiderable part of it is in the book itſelf aſcribed to him as the author.* This ſeems to me ſo evident, that I much wonder it has not been obſerved by any of thoſe who have read and mentioned this Apocryphal Goſpel. To make this out I obſerve, that Joſeph of Arimathea is introduced, Ch. XVII. as inviting Annas and Caiaphas to ſee two ſons of old Simeon (mentioned Luke ii. 25.), who were ariſen from the dead, in the city of Arimathea; that they accordingly went with him, accompanied by Joſeph and Gamaliel, and found them, not in their graves, but in the city on their knees at prayers; brought them to Jeruſalem, and obliged them upon oath to relate an account of their reſurrection to them: that the *names of theſe two ſons of Simeon were Charinus and Lenthius*, who, not daring to give the relation in words, called for paper, and wrote down all that long account of our Saviour's deſcent to hell, and his delivery of Adam, and the Patriarchs and Fathers from hell, which is contained from Ch. XVIII. to the XXVIIIth, which makes ſo large a part of this Goſpel: that when Charinus and Lenthius had wrote this, the former gave his writing to Annas, Caiaphas, and Gamaliel; the latter gave his to Nicodemus and Joſeph. Hence it is evident that Lenthius and Charinus were *authors of a large part of this book*; and theſe, though

[a] Millii Prolegom. in N. T. 334.

[b] Part II. Ch. XXI.

made here two names, are *the very name of that perſon whom I conjecture to be the author of the whole.* For though the name be here written Lenthius, and not Leucius, this was undoubtedly the ſame name, and the true reading ought to be Leucius; and it has been often obſerved by learned men, that this perſon's name has been promiſcuouſly written Lentius, Leucius, Leutius, Lentitius, Leontius, Selcucus. See Caſaubon [a], Fabricius [b], and the firſt volume of this work [c], in the places cited in the bottom of the page. Nor will this at all ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who conſider the old contract way of writing, which was ſo common, eſpecially in the proper names of perſons and things. I take it therefore for granted, that Lenthius and Leucius were one and the ſame name, or rather, that Lenthius was written by ſome ſcribe for Leucius; which very thing (as I have above obſerved) has more than once happened in the printing the former part of this book. And though the names be here tranſpoſed, viz. Charinus placed before Leucius, and they are made the names of two different perſons, yet this ſeems to have been only with deſign the better to diſguiſe the impoſture; it being farther obſervable, and very certain alſo, that theſe were *both Greek or Roman names*, and conſequently not the names of two ſons of Simeon, who was a Jew, and, according to this book, a prieſt.

7. The long account of *Chriſt's going at his death to hell, and by his power delivering Adam, the Patriarchs, and Prophets*, &c. *from hell*, contained from Ch. XVIII. to the XXVIIIth of this Goſpel, and there related by Leucius and Charinus, is *founded upon a doctrine not known or received in the Church till the time of Leucius Charinus:* though it is certain, that the primitive Church generally believed the *local deſcent of Chriſt's ſoul to the habitations of ſouls departed*, as is evident from Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, and many others [d]; yet it is as certain, that before that time which I have affixed to Leucius Charinus, it was not ſo generally be-

[a] Exercit. adv. Baron. 1. n. 15.
[b] Cod. Apoc. N. T. tom. 1. p. 137.
[c] Part II. Ch. XXI.
[d] See Biſhop Pearſon on the Creed, Art. V. p. 237, &c.

lieved

lieved *that he then wrought a delivery for the Patriarchs, Prophets, and other good men who lived before his time, from that ſtate.* Euſebius, Ambroſe, Jerome, and other writers of the fourth century, were indeed of this opinion; but the more antient Fathers, Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian, &c. thought of no ſuch things. For the proof of all which, I ſhall think it ſufficient to refer the reader to Biſhop Pearſon's clear and learned Explication of that fifth Article of the Creed, concerning Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell, p. 240, &c.

From this and the foregoing particulars it ſeems very probable, that Leucius Charinus was the author of the Goſpel which we have now under conſideration, under the title of *Nicodemus*, or *the Acts of Pilate*. For if he lived at the very time when this book was forged; if he was the author of many forgeries under the Apoſtles' names; if the greateſt part of his forgeries were intitled *Acts*; if the contents of it were of the ſame ſort with his *other Acts*; if it was received by the diſciples of the Montaniſts, of whom he was a favourer; if his name be expreſsly found in the book, and he there ſaid to be the author of a conſiderable part of it; in a word, if it contains thoſe doctrines which were not prevalent till his time; all which is proved; then we have as much evidence as can be expected in things of this ſort, *that Leucius Charinus was the author of this Apocryphal Goſpel.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Goſpel of Nicodemus is Apocryphal: not received by the Antients: contains manifeſt Contradictions, many Things falſe, many trifling and ſilly Stories: things later than the Time in which it pretends to be written: it is ſtolen out of the genuine Scriptures: ſeveral miſcellaneous Remarks on this Goſpel.

Obſ. VI. THE Goſpel of Nicodemus, or the Acts of Pilate, is a *ſpurious and Apocryphal book.* This is indeed abundantly manifeſt from what I have already ſaid; but I ſhall notwithſtanding farther attempt this proof by my propoſitions in the firſt part. Accordingly, becauſe it is not found in any of the old Chriſtian catalogues of ſacred books, nor cited in any of the old Chriſtian writings, nor appears to have been read in any of the Chriſtian Churches, I argue it to be Apocryphal by Prop. IV, V, and VI. I add,

2. It is Apocryphal by Prop. VII. as it contains manifeſt contradictions. To inſtance only in one or two, which are very notorious. Chap. II. the twelve men, Eliezer, Aſterius, Antonius, &c. who declare themſelves to be no proſelytes, but born Jews; when Pilate tendered them an oath, and would have had them ſwear by the life of Cæſar, *refuſed*, becauſe, they ſay, *We have a law that forbids our ſwearing, and makes it ſinful to ſwear:* yet Ch. IV. I obſerve the Elders, Scribes, Prieſts, and Levites, are brought in *ſwearing by the life of Cæſar* without any ſcruple; and, Ch. XIV. they make others, who were Jews, *ſwear by the Law*, as they do alſo Ch. XVII. and Pilate gives *an oath to a whole aſſembly of the Scribes, Chief-prieſts*, &c. Ch. XXVIII. This ſeems a manifeſt contradiction. Another is, that Ch. IX. Pilate is introduced as making a ſpeech to the Jews, in which *he gives a true and juſt abſtract of the Old Teſtament Hiſtory* relating to the Iſraelites, viz. what God had done for them, and how they had behaved themſelves to him. Whereas the ſame Pilate,

Chap.

Chap. XXVIII. *is made to be perfectly ignorant of the Bible*, and only to have heard by report that there was ſuch a book; nor can it be ſaid, that Pilate here *only refers to the Bible kept in the Temple*; for the manner of ſpeech ſhews he was ignorant of the contents of the book; *I have heard you have a certain book*, &c. and this is indeed in itſelf very probable.

3. It is Apocryphal by Prop. VIII. as *it contains many things contrary to known truths.* Such is indeed the whole of it, beſides what is taken out of our preſent genuine Goſpels. Who, for inſtance, will credit the long ſtory Ch. XVIII, &c. of *Chriſt's going down to hell*, and all the romantick fabulous relations of what happened thereupon? Who will believe that Chriſt there ſigned Adam and the Patriarchs *with the ſign of the croſs*, and that *all the holy Patriarchs were in hell till that time?* &c. Beſides, in other places there are notorious falſehoods; as that is, *to make the Jews underſtand our Saviour, as ſaying that he would deſtroy Solomon's Temple*, Ch. IV. which they could not but know had been deſtroyed ſeveral hundred years before. To make *the name Centurio to be the proper name of a man* who came to Chriſt, when it is certain it was the name of his poſt or office, &c. To make the words of Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 55. *O death, where is thy ſting? O grave, where is thy victory?* to be the words of Iſaiah, Ch. XXI. and to make Simeon (Ch. XVI. and XVII.) to be a High-prieſt, which it is certain he was not. See above in this part, Ch. XIX. Arg. IV. Inſt. 7.

4. It is Apocryphal by Prop. IX. as it contains *many trifling, ſilly, and ludicrous relations:* ſuch is that of the *ſtandards or colours bowing to Chriſt as he paſſed by*, Ch. I. *Chriſt's kiſſing Joſeph, and confining him to his houſe for forty days*, Ch. XV. Such are *all the accounts from hell*, viz. *The ſpeeches of the Prophets, Seth's ſtory of going to God at the gates of Paradiſe, for ointment to anoint his father Adam for the head-ach; The dialogues between the devils; Chriſt's taking Adam by the hand out of hell; Chriſt's giving the thief the ſign of the croſs for a paſſport to heaven, and ordering him to ſhew it the angel at his coming to the gates; The exact agreement of the writing of Lenthius and Charinus*, Ch. XXVIII. inſomuch *that there was*

not

not one letter different, either more or leſs, in the writing of either, though they wrote ſeparately; a ſtory, as Mr. Fabricius *(in loc.)* well obſerves, like, and I add, very probably *formed from, that trite ſtory of the ſeventy Greek tranſlators*, who made their verſion in ſeventy ſeparate columns, without the difference of ſo much as one word. See Juſtin Martyr, Paræn. ad Græc. p. 13, 14.

5. It is Apocryphal, *becauſe it contains ſeveral things which were later than the time, in which it pretends to be written.* Such ſeems to be the title or compellation (Ch. I.) wherewith the Jews addreſs Pilate; *Rogamus magnitudinem veſtram*; *We intreat your highneſs*, &c. a phraſeology not known to the Jews, or uſed among them at that time. Such is the expreſs mention of *original ſin*, a phraſe not known among Chriſtians in thoſe early days. Such is the *ſtory of Chriſt's going to hell to recover and bring thence the Patriarchs.* Such the *mighty veneration that is paid to the ſign of the croſs*, and particularly *the practice of ſigning with the ſign of the croſs*, which is here ſaid to be done by Charinus and Lenthius, Ch. XVII. before they enter upon their relation of the divine myſteries; *and Chriſt's making the ſign of the croſs upon Adam and upon all the ſaints in hell*, before he delivered them from that ſtate, Ch. XXIV. Concerning which practice of ſigning with the croſs, I would obſerve, that though in the fourth and following centuries it was prodigiouſly common among Chriſtians, by means of that noted hiſtory of Conſtantine's ſeeing the ſign of the croſs in the air [a]; yet, as far as I can find, Tertullian is the firſt who has mentioned it. There is indeed, in *the works under the name of Dionyſius Areopagita* [b], *in the Epiſtle under the name of Martial* (Biſhop of the Lemovices in France, who lived within thirty or forty years of our Saviour's time), *to the people of Bourdeaux* [c], and in *the pretended Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles* [d], mention of the uſe of the ſign of the croſs in

[a] Euſeb. de Vita Conſtant. l. 1. c. 28, 29, 30, 31.
[b] De Eccl. Hier. c. 4, 5, 6.
[c] Epiſt. ad Burdegal. c. 8.
[d] Lib. 8. c. 12. Both Durant. loc. mox cit. and Spanheim Hiſt. Eccl. Secul. II. p. 628, refer to this paſſage; but incorrectly.

baptiſm

baptiſm and on other occaſions: but I regard not the authority of ſuch books as theſe, *being all of very late original*, and will not make any ſcruple to aſſert this practice not to be mentioned by any ſooner than Tertullian. He who would ſee the account of the Fathers concerning this matter, may conſult Pamelius in his notes on Cyprian, Epiſt. 56. n. 31. and Epiſt. 63. n. 39. and the ſame author on Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. 3. n. 40. and eſpecially the learned Durant. de Ritib. Eccleſ. Cathol. l. 2. c. 45.

6. It is Apocryphal by Prop. XIV. becauſe for the moſt part *it is tranſcribed and ſtolen out of other books.* Nothing can be more evident to any one who is acquainted with the ſacred books, and has read this Goſpel, than that a great part of it is borrowed and ſtolen from them. Every ſuch perſon muſt perceive, that *the greateſt part of the hiſtory of our Saviour's trial is taken out of our preſent Goſpels*, not only becauſe it is a relation of the ſame facts and circumſtances, *but alſo in the very ſame words and order* for the moſt part; and though this may be ſuppoſed to have happened accidentally, yet it is next to impoſſible to ſuppoſe a conſtant likeneſs of expreſſion, not only *to one*, but ſometimes *to one*, and ſometimes *to another* of our Evangeliſts. In ſhort, the author ſeems to have deſigned a ſort of abſtract or compendium of all which he found moſt conſiderable to his purpoſe in our four Goſpels; though he has but aukwardly enough put it together.

Under this head I obſerve farther, that, to cover the impoſture the better, thoſe things which were ſpoke according to the Scriptures, *by or of one perſon or thing*, are by this author *often referred to another.* So, for inſtance, what Chriſt ſaid to the Jews, *For which of theſe* (good) *works do ye ſtone me?* John x. 32. is alluded to in that of Pilate, Ch. II. *Will they kill him for a good work?* The words of Chriſt, John xv. 24. that *he had done the works which no other perſon had done*, are put into the mouth of Nicodemus, Ch. V. The ſpeech of Gamaliel, Acts v. 38, 39, *Refrain from theſe men, and let them alone; for if this counſel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it*, is here aſcribed

aſcribed to Nicodemus, Ch. V. And though the inſtances which Gamaliel mentions are Theudas and Judas Galilæus, and inſtead of theſe are put the magicians of Egypt; yet the very ſame words that Gamaliel ſays of his inſtances, v. 36. this author ſays of his, viz. *They all periſhed and came to nought, and all who believed them.* Again, what Chriſt ſaid to his diſciples, Matt. xiv. 27. when they were affrighted at the ſight of him walking upon the ſea, *Be not afraid, it is I*; and to his diſciples, when they ſaw him after his reſurrection, Luke xxiv. 39. he is made here to ſay to Joſeph, Ch. XV. That which our Lord ſaid Matt. xxiii. 39. *Ye ſhall not ſee me henceforth, till ye ſhall ſay, Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*; this author expounds as relating to Chriſt's reſurrection; and therefore, after his being riſen again, *puts it into the mouth of Joſeph*, Ch. XV. Becauſe John is ſaid to be *the voice* (φωνὴ, which is in the feminine gender) *of one crying in the wilderneſs*, Iſai. xl. 3. and Matt. iii. 3. therefore he is repreſented in hell as *a little female hermit*, Ch. XVIII. Many other ſuch inſtances, he who has a mind, may eaſily collect. From all which it is evident, this author *compiled his book out of our preſent ſacred books*, and conſequently by Prop. XIV. that it is Apocryphal.

7. It is Apocryphal, becauſe *it is not in the Syriack Verſion*, by Prop. XV.

Thus I have endeavoured to ſhew the ſpuriouſneſs of this Goſpel, and offered ſuch obſervations as I judged moſt pertinent and conſiderable in order thereto. I ſhall cloſe my diſcourſe on it with the few following miſcellaneous remarks, viz.

1. *The names which are in this Goſpel given to thoſe which were Jews, are not Jewiſh, but either Greek or Roman, or of foreign countries.* Such are the names Summas, Datam, Alexander, Cyrus, Ch. I. Aſterius, Antonius, Caras or Cyrus, Crippus or Criſpus, Ch. II. Charinus and Lenthius, Ch. XVII. This ſeems to be no inconſiderable evidence of the impoſture.

2. The

2. The oration under the name of Epiphanius [a], intitled, Εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφὴν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἅδῃ τοῦ Κυρίου κατάβασιν, μετὰ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος παραδόξως γεγενημένην, *An Oration on the Burial of the Divine Body of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and on Joſeph of Arimathea, and our Lord's marvellous Deſcent into Hell after his Cruciſixion*——contains the ſubſtance of what is related in this Goſpel concerning *Chriſt's journey to hell, and delivering the ſaints thence*, and particularly *the account of his leading Adam out, the confuſion of the infernal princes, the other ſaints following Adam, the application of ſeveral texts of Scripture to this event*, &c. Beſides this, I obſerve in this Oration, *that Nicodemus is introduced as aſſiſting Joſeph of Arimathea at the funeral of Chriſt, and bringing with him myrrh and aloes for that purpoſe*, which is alſo related in this Goſpel, Ch. XI. I ſhall not make any concluſions hence, but leave the hint to the improvement of the learned; only adding, that it ſeems very probable to me, though I cannot find it obſerved either by Coke or Rivet, that this oration is ſuppoſititious, and belonged to ſome other Epiphanius, different from him among whoſe works it is placed [b].

3. *The preſent Latin copies of this Goſpel ſeem to be a tranſlation out of Greek.* This (to omit other inſtances) ſeems evident, becauſe we ſo frequently in it meet with *quia* in the ſenſe of *quod*, i. e. to ſignify as the Engliſh particle *that*, and not as *becauſe*, which yet it properly does. The reaſon of this tranſlation ſeems to me the ambiguity of the Greek particle ὅτι, which anſwers both to *quia* and *quod*; but as it can hardly be thought a perſon who choſe to write in Latin, would be guilty of ſuch a miſtake, I conclude this probably to have been a tranſlation, and, for the reaſon mentioned, out of Greek. Add to this, that this ſenſe or uſe of the particle *quia* for *quod* is common *uſque ad nauſeam*, in many or moſt of the old Latin tranſlations of the Greek Fathers; and I have noted it in above twenty places in this Goſpel.

[a] See it among his works, vol. 2. p. 259, &c.

[b] It is rejected as ſpurious by Dr. Cave, Hiſt. Lit. vol. 1. p. 186.

4. *The*

4. *The Latin of this book is every where far from being elegant, and in many places extremely bald and barbarous.* It would be endleſs to mention all the inſtances; I will produce only a few.

Ch. I. *Iſte mihi diſcernit*; i. e. he made me to underſtand.
Quovis ordine introduc eum; bring him in by any means.
Quomodo habuimus adorare eum? how ſhould we worſhip him?
Fecit eodem ſchemate ſicut et prius; he did as before.
Intuitus in populo; looking upon the people.
Ch. IX. *Loco ubi tentus es*; in the place where thou art.
Ch. XI. *Eclipſis factus*[a] *eſt*; it was an eclipſe.
Ch. XII. *Mihi vindictam* for *vindicta*.
Super vos omne facinus veniet; all the wickedneſs will return upon you.
Ch. XIII. *Diffamatus eſt ſermo eorum*; their report was ſpread abroad.
Ch. XIV. *Ut nullo modo ſtarent in Jeruſalem*; that they might by no means ſtay at Jeruſalem.
Ch. XV. *Quo ordine poſſumus*, &c. how ſhall we be able, &c.
Admirati ſumus de aſſumptione tuâ; we are ſurpriſed at your eſcape.

Theſe are ſome inſtances; it is eaſy with a curſory view to obſerve a hundred more.

5. The angel Michael is *made to call Adam the father of the Angels*, Ch. XIX. Theſe are his words, *The Son of God will lead our father Adam into Paradiſe.*

6. The proof which is brought, that Chriſt was to come in the year of the world five thouſand and five hundred, is not only falſe, and contrary to the certain chronology of the Old Teſtament, but is in itſelf falſe. This is obſerved by Mr. Fabricius, Cod. Apoc. N. T. t. 1. p. 297. and will appear thus. The author, to make his ſum of 5500 years, computes thus:

[a] [Fabricius has written *facta*.]

From

	Years.
From the creation to the flood,	2212
From the flood to Abraham,	912
From Abraham to Moſes,	430
From Moſes to David, -	510
From David to the captivity,	500
From the captivity to Chriſt	400
Total,	4964

But 4964 is leſs than 5500 by 536 years. Wherefore it is plain, either that the author is by ſo many years miſtaken in his own computation, or elſe that our preſent copies are corrupt.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Acts of Paul and Thecla.

Μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐνδόξου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀποστόλου Θέκλας.

The Martyrdom of the holy and glorious firſt martyr and Apoſtle Thecla.

[*Which is ſuppoſed to have been written in the Apoſtle's time, and to have paſſed under the name of St. Paul, and to have been intitled,* The Acts of Paul and Thecla. *Publiſhed out of a manuſcript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*[a].]

ΚΕΦ. Α.

Ἀναβαίνοντος τοῦ Παύλου εἰς Ἰκόνιον μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας,

CHAP. I.

WHEN Paul went up to Iconium, after his flight from Antioch, Demas

[a] Grab. Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 95.

ἐγενήθησαν αὐτῷ συνοδοίποροι Δημᾶς καὶ Ἑρμογένης ὁ χαλκεὺς, ὑποκρίσεως γέμοντες. Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἀποβλέπων εἰς μόνην τὴν ἀγαθωσύνην τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἠδίκησεν φαῦλον ἐποίει αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἔσεργεν αὐτὸς σφόδρα. Ὥσε πάντα τὰ λόγια τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, καὶ τῆς ἑρμηνείας τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τοῦ ἠγαπημένου, ἐγλύκανεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ γνώσει τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἀπεκαλύφθη αὐτῷ, διηγήσατο αὐτοῖς.

and Hermogenes became his companions, who were then full of hypocriſy. But Paul looking only at the goodneſs of God, did them no harm, but loved them greatly. Accordingly he endeavoured to make agreeable to them, all the oracles and doctrines of Chriſt, and the deſign of the Goſpel of God's well-beloved Son, inſtructing them in the knowledge of Chriſt, as it was revealed to him.

Cap. II.

Καί τις ἀνὴρ Ὀνησιφόρος, μαθὼν τὸν Παῦλον παραγενόμενον εἰς Ἰκόνιον, παραυτὰ δρομαίως ἐξῆλθεν σὺν τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ Λέκτρᾳ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν τέκνοις Σημμίᾳ καὶ Ζήνωνι, εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα αὐτὸν δέξωνται. Διηγήσατο γὰρ αὐτοῖς Τίτος, ποταπῶς ἐστιν ἡ ἰδέα αὐτῷ· μὴ εἰδόσιν αὐτὸν σαρκὶ, ἀλλὰ μόνον πνεύματι. Ἐπορεύοντο ἐν κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Λύστραν, καὶ εἱστήκεισαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι αὐτόν· καὶ τὰς διερχομένους ἐθεώρων κατὰ τὴν μήνυσιν Τίτου. Ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν

Chap. II.

And a certain man named Oneſiphorus, hearing that Paul was come to Iconium, went out ſpeedily to meet him, together with his wife Lectra, and his ſons Simmia and Zeno, to invite him to their houſe. (For Titus had given them a deſcription of Paul's perſonage, they as yet not knowing him in perſon, but only being acquainted with his character.) They went in the king's highway to Lyſtra, and ſtood there waiting for him, comparing all who paſſed by, with that deſcription which Titus had given them. At length they

ſaw

ἄνδρα ἐρχόμενον, τὸν Παῦλον, μικρὸν τῷ μεγέθει, ψιλὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἀγκύλον ταῖς κνήμαις, εὔκνημον, σύνοφρυν, ἐπίῤῥινον, χάριτος πλήρη· ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ποτὲ δὲ ἀγγέλου πρόσωπον εἶχεν. Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος τὸν Ὀνησιφόρον, ἐμειδίασεν.

saw a man coming (viz. Paul), of a low ſtature, bald (or ſhaved) on the head, crooked thighs, handſome legs, hollow-eyed; had a crooked noſe; full of grace; for ſometimes he appeared as a man, ſometimes he had the countenance of an angel. And Paul ſaw Oneſiphorus, and was glad.

CAP. III.

Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ὀνησιφόρος· Χαῖρε ὑπηρέτα τοῦ εὐλογημένου. Κακεῖνος εἶπεν· Ἡ χάρις μετά σου, καὶ τοῦ οἴκου σου. Δημᾶς δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης ἐζήλωσαν, καὶ πλείονα τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐκίνησαν, ὥστε εἰπεῖν τὸν Δημᾶν· Ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν τοῦ εὐλογημένου; ὅτι, τι ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἠσπάσω; Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ὀνησιφόρος· Οὐχ ὁρῶ ἐν ὑμῖν καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης· εἰ δὲ ἔστε τινὲς, δεῦτε καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου, καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε. Καὶ εἰσελθόντος τοῦ Παύλου εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ὀνησιφόρου, ἐγένετο χαρὰ μεγάλη, καὶ κλίσις γονάτων, καὶ κλάσις ἄρτου, καὶ λόγος Θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως, λέγοντος τοῦ Παύλου ἔτως·

CHAP. III.

And Oneſiphorus ſaid: *Hail, thou ſervant of the bleſſed God.* Paul replied, *The grace of God be with thee and thy family.* But Demas and Hermogenes were moved with envy, and, under a ſhew of great religion, Demas ſaid, *And are not we alſo ſervants of the bleſſed God? Why didſt thou not ſalute us?* Oneſiphorus replied, *Becauſe I have not perceived in you the fruits of righteouſneſs; nevertheleſs, if ye are of that ſort, ye ſhall be welcome to my houſe alſo.* Then Paul went into the houſe of Oneſiphorus, and there was great joy among the family on that account; and they employed themſelves in prayer, breaking of bread, and hearing Paul preach the word of God concerning temperance and the reſurrection, in the following manner:

Cap. IV.

Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται. Μακάριοι οἱ ἁγνὴν τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ναοὶ Θεοῦ γενήσονται. Μακάριοι οἱ ἐγκρατεῖς, ὅτι αὐτοῖς λαλήσει ὁ Θεός.

Chap. IV.

'Bleſſed are the pure in 'heart; for they ſhall ſee God. 'Bleſſed are they who keep 'their fleſh undefiled (or 'pure); for they ſhall be the 'temples of God. Bleſſed 'are the temperate (or chaſte); 'for God will reveal himſelf 'to them.

Cap. V.

Μακάριοι οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ εὐαρεστήσουσι τῷ Θεῷ. Μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ γενήσονται. Μακάριοι οἱ τρέμοντες τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται. Μακάριοι οἱ τὸ βάπτισμα καθαρὸν τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀναπαύσονται πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

Chap. V.

'Bleſſed are they who a-'bandon their ſecular enjoy-'ments; for they ſhall be ac-'cepted of God. Bleſſed are 'they who have wives, as 'though they had them not; 'for they ſhall be made an-'gels of God. Bleſſed are 'they who tremble at the 'word of God; for they ſhall 'be comforted. Bleſſed are 'they who keep their baptiſm 'pure; for they ſhall find 'peace with the Father, Son, 'and Holy Ghoſt.

Cap. VI.

Μακάριοι οἱ σοφίαν λαβόντες Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ Ὑψίστου κληθήσονται. Μακάριοι οἱ σύνεσιν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Chap. VI.

'Bleſſed are they who pur-'ſue the wiſdom (or doctrine) 'of Jeſus Chriſt; for they 'ſhall be called the Sons of 'the Moſt High. Bleſſed 'are they who obſerve the in-'ſtructions of Jeſus Chriſt; 'for

τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐν φωτὶ γενήσονται. Μακάριοι οἱ δι' ἀγάπην Χριστοῦ ἐξελθόντες τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ κόσμου, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγγέλους κρινοῦσιν, καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθήσονται, καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται ἡμέραν κρίσεως πικράν.

'for they shall dwell in eternal light. Blessed are they, 'who for the love of Christ 'abandon the glories of the 'world; for they shall judge 'angels, and be placed at the 'right hand of Christ, and 'shall not suffer the bitterness of the last judgment.

CAP. VII.

Μακάρια τὰ σώματα τῶν παρθένων καὶ τὰ πνεύματα, ὅτι αὐταὶ εὐαρεστήσουσι τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ οὐκ ἀπολέσουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν τῆς ἁγνείας· ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργον αὐτοῖς γενήσεται σωτηρίας εἰς ἡμέραν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν ἕξουσιν εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος.

CHAP. VII.

'Blessed are the bodies and 'souls of virgins; for they 'are acceptable to God, and 'shall not lose the reward of 'their virginity; for the 'word of their (heavenly) 'Father shall prove effectual 'to their salvation in the day 'of his Son, and they shall 'enjoy rest for evermore.'

CAP. VIII.

Καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος εἰς μέσον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ Ὀνησιφόρου οἴκῳ, ΘΕΚΛΑ τις παρθένος, θυγάτηρ Θεοκλείας μητρὸς, μεμνησευμένη ἀνδρὶ Θαμύριδι, αὕτη ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς καθεσθεῖσα ἀπὸ τῆς σύνεγγυς θυρίδος ἤκουεν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τὸν περὶ Θεοῦ λόγον λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου, καὶ τὸν περὶ ἀγά-

CHAP. VIII.

While Paul was preaching this sermon in the church which was in the house of Onesiphorus, a certain virgin named THECLA (whose mother's name was Theoclia, and who was betrothed to a man named Thamyris) sat at a certain window in her house, from whence, by the advantage of a window in the house where Paul was, she both night and day heard

πης, καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριςῷ πίςεως, καὶ προσευχῆς· καὶ ȣ̓κ ἀπένευσεν ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος, ἀλλὰ τῇ πίςει ὑπήγετο ὑπερευφραινομένη. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ βλέπȣσα πολλὰς γυναῖκας καὶ παρθένȣς εἰσπορευομένας πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, ἐπεπόθει καὶ αὐτη καταξιωθῆναι καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον ςῆναι Παύλȣ, καὶ ἀκȣ́ειν τὸν τȣ̃ Χριςȣ̃ λόγον· ȣ̓δέπω γὰρ ἀκμὴν τὸν χαρακτῆρα Παύλȣ ἑωράκει, ἀλλὰ τȣ̀ς λόγȣς αὐτȣ̃ ἤκȣεν, καὶ μόνον.

Paul's sermons concerning God, concerning charity, concerning faith in Christ, and concerning prayer; nor would she depart from the window, till with exceeding joy she was subdued to the doctrines of faith. At length, when she saw many women and virgins going in to Paul, she earnestly desired that she might be thought worthy to appear in his presence, and hear the word of Christ; for she had not yet seen Paul's person, but only heard his sermons, and that alone.

Cap. IX.

Ὡς δὲ ȣ̓κ ἀφίςατο ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος, ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Θάμυριν· ὁ δὲ ἔρχεται περιχαρὴς, ὡς ἤδη λαμβάνων αὐτὴν πρὸς γάμον. Εἶπεν ȣ̓ν ὁ Θάμυρις πρὸς Θεοκλίαν· Πȣ̃ μȣ ἐςιν ἡ Θέκλα; Καὶ εἶπεν Θεοκλία· Καινόν σοι ἔχω εἰπεῖν διήγημα, Θάμυρι· ἤδη γὰρ ἡμέρας τρεῖς Θέκλα ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος ȣ̓κ ἐγείρεται, ȣ̓τε ἐπὶ τὸ φαγεῖν, ȣ̓τε ἐπὶ τὸ πιεῖν· ἀλλὰ ἀτενίζȣσα εἰς εὐφρασίαν, ȣ̓τως πρόκειται (l. πρόσκειται) ἀνδρὶ ζένῳ, [ὅςις] ἀπατηλȣ̀ς καὶ ποικίλȣς λόγȣς διδάσκει, ὥςε

Chap. IX.

But when she would not be prevailed upon to depart from the window, her mother sent to Thamyris, who came with the greatest pleasure, as hoping now to marry her. Accordingly he said to Theoclia, *Where is my Thecla?* Theoclia replied, *Thamyris, I have something very strange to tell you; for Thecla, for the space of three days, will not move from the window, not so much as to eat or drink, but is so intent in hearing the artful and delusive discourses of a certain foreigner, that I perfectly admire, Thamyris, that a young woman of her known*

με θαυμάζειν, ὅτι ἡ τοσαύτη αἰδῶς τῆς παρθένε χαλεπῶς ἐνοχλεῖται, Θάμυρι. Ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἔτος τὴν Ἰκονιέων πόλιν ἀνασείει, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν Θέκλαν. Πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ νέοι εἰσέρχονται πρὸς τοῦτον, διδασκόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Ἔτι δὲ φησὶν, ἕνα καὶ μόνον Θεὸν φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ ζῆν ἁγνῶς.

known modeſty, will ſuffer herſelf to be ſo prevailed upon. For that man has diſturbed the whole city of Iconium, and even your Thecla, among others. All the women and young men flock to him to receive his doctrine; who, beſides all the reſt, tells them, that there is but one God, who alone is to be worſhipped, and that we ought to live in chaſtity.

Cap. X.

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ με Θέκλα, ὡς ἀράχνη ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος δεδεμένη, τοῖς Παύλε λόγοις κρατεῖται, ἐπιθυμίᾳ δεινῇ καὶ πάθει δεινῷ. Ἀτενίζει γὰρ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἁλίσκεται παρθένος. Ἀλλὰ πρόσελθε, καὶ λάλησον αὐτῇ· σοὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἡρμοσμένη. Καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Θάμυρις, ἅμα μὲν φιλῶν αὐτὴν, ἅμα δὲ φοβούμενος τὴν ἔκπληξιν αὐτῆς, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν· Θέκλα, ἐμοὶ μνηστευθεῖσα, τί τοιαύτη κάθησαι κάτω βλέπουσα; καὶ ποῖόν σε πάθος κατέχει ἔκπληκτον; ἐπιστράφητι πρὸς τὸν Θάμυριν, καὶ αἰσχύνθητι. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγουσα· Τέκνον, τί τοιαύτη κάτω βλέ-

Chap. X.

Notwithſtanding this, my daughter Thecla, like a ſpider's web faſtened to the window, is captivated by the diſcourſes of Paul, and attends upon them with prodigious eagerneſs, and vaſt delight; and thus, by attending on what he ſays, the young woman is ſeduced. Now then do you go, and ſpeak to her, for ſhe is betrothed to you. Accordingly Thamyris went, and having ſaluted her, and taking care not to ſurprize her, he ſaid, *Thecla, my ſpouſe, why ſitteſt thou in this melancholy poſture? What ſtrange impreſſions are made upon thee? Turn to Thamyris, and bluſh.* Her mother alſo ſpake to her after the ſame manner, and ſaid, *Child, why doſt thou ſit ſo*

πᾶσα κάθησαι, μηδὲν ἀποκρινομένη, ὡς παραπλήξ; Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔκλαιον δεινῶς· Θάμυρις μὲν, γυναικὸς ἀσοχῶν, Θεοκλία δὲ τέκνα, αἱ δὲ παιδίσκαι κυρίας· πολλὴ ἂν συγχυσις ἦν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ πένθους. Καὶ τούτων πάντων γενομένων, Θέκλα εἰς ἀπεσράφη, ἀλλ' ἦν πρὸς τὸν λόγον Παύλε ἀποβλέπουσα. Ὁ δὲ Θάμυρις ἀναπηδήσας, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἄμφοδον, καὶ παρετήρει τὰς εἰσερχομένας πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ τὰς ἐξερχομένας· καὶ ἴδεν δύο ἄνδρας πρὸς αὐτὰς μαχομένας πικρῶς· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·

melancholy, and, like one aſtoniſhed, makeſt no reply? Then they wept exceedingly; Thamyris, that he had loſt his ſpouſe; Theoclia, that ſhe had loſt her daughter; and the maids, that they had loſt their miſtreſs; and there was an univerſal mourning in the family. But all theſe things made no impreſſion upon Thecla, ſo as to incline her ſo much as to turn to them, and take notice of them; for ſhe ſtill regarded the diſcourſes of Paul. Then Thamyris ran forth into the ſtreet, to obſerve who they were that went in to Paul, and came out from him; and he ſaw two men engaged in a very warm diſpute, and ſaid to them;

Cap. XI.

Ἄνδρες, τί ἔχετε; εἴπατέ μοι· καὶ τίς ἔτος, ὁ ἔσω μεθ' ὑμῶν, πλανῶν ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων, νέων καὶ παρθένων, ἵνα γάμοι μὴ γένωνται, ἀλλὰ ἄτως μίνωσιν; ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν δώσειν χρήματα πολλὰ, ἐὰν εἴπητέ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ· εἰμὶ γὰρ πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως. Δημᾶς δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτόν· Τίς μέν

Chap. XI.

Sirs, what buſineſs have you here? and who is that man within, belonging to you, who deludes the minds of men, both young men and virgins, perſuading them, that they ought not to marry, but continue as they are? *I promiſe to give you a conſiderable ſum, if ye will give me a juſt account of him; for I am the chief perſon of this city.* Demas and Hermogenes replied, *We cannot*

ſa

ἐστιν, οὐκ οἴδαμεν ὅτως· στρεῖ δὲ νέας γυναικῶν, καὶ παρθένας ἀνδρῶν, λέγων· Ἄλλως ἀνάστασις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἁγνοὶ μείνητε, μήδε τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν μολύνητε.

so exactly tell who he is; but this we know, that he deprives young men of their (intended) wives, and virgins of their (intended) husbands, by teaching, There can be no future resurrection, unless ye continue in chastity, and do not defile your flesh.

CAP. XII.

Ὁ δὲ Θάμυρις εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Δεῦτε, ἄνδρες, μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου, καὶ ἀναπαύσασθε πρός με. Καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς πολύτιμον δεῖπνον, καὶ εἰς οἶνον πολὺν, καὶ πλοῦτον πολύν· καὶ τράπεζαν λαμπρὰν παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐπότισεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θάμυρις, φιλῶν τὴν Θέκλαν, καὶ θέλων τυχεῖν γυναικός. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θάμυρις· Ἄνδρες, εἴπατέ μοι, τίς ἐστιν ἡ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ, ἵνα κἀγὼ ἴδω· ὁ γὰρ μικρῶς ἀγωνιῶ περὶ τῆς Θέκλας, ὅτι φιλεῖ τὸν ξένον, καὶ στρέφεται γυναικός.

CHAP. XII.

Then said Thamyris, *Come along with me to my house, and refresh yourselves.* So they went to a very splendid entertainment, where there was wine in abundance, and very rich provision. They were brought to a table richly spread, and made to drink plentifully by Thamyris, on account of the love he had for Thecla, and his desire to marry her. Then Thamyris said, *I desire ye would inform me what the doctrines of this Paul are, that I may understand them; for I am under no small concern about Thecla, seeing she so delights in that stranger's discourses, that I am in danger of losing my intended wife.*

CAP. XIII.

Εἶπαν δὲ Δημᾶς καὶ Ἑρμογένης, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος· Θάμυρι, προσάγαγε αὐτὸν

CHAP. XIII.

Then Demas and Hermogenes answered both together, and said, *Let him be brought before*

τῷ ἡγεμόνι Κατελλίῳ, (l. Καισελλίῳ) ὡς ἀναπείθοντα τὸς ὄχλους ἐπὶ καινῇ διδασκαλίᾳ Χριστιανῶν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῦ Καίσαρος ἀπολεῖ αὐτὸν, καὶ σὺ ἕξεις τὴν γυναῖκά σε, καὶ ἡμεῖς διδάξομεν, ὅτι ἣν λέγει ἔτος ἀνάστασιν γενέσθαι, ἤδη γέγονεν ἐφ' οἷς ἔχομεν τέκνοις, καὶ ἀνέστημεν, Θεὸν ἐπιγνόντες. Ὁ δὲ Θάμυρις ἀκούσας παρ' αὐτῶν ταῦτα, καὶ πλησθεὶς ζήλε καὶ θυμῦ, ὄρθρε ἀναστὰς, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ὀνησιφόρε, μετὰ ἀρχόντων, καὶ δημοσίε, καὶ ὄχλε ἱκανῦ μετὰ ξύλων, λέγων τῷ Παύλῳ· Διέφθειρας τὴν Ἰκονιέων πόλιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡρμοσμένην μοι Θέκλαν, ἵνα μὴ θελήσῃ μοι γῆμαι· ἄγωμεν ἓν ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα Κασέλλιον. Καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος λέγει· Ἀπάγαγε τὸν μάγον, διέφθειρε γὰρ ἡμῶν πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ συνεπείσθησαν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ὄχλοι.

before the governor Caſtellius, as one who endeavours to perſuade the people into the new religion of the Chriſtians, and he, according to the order of Cæſar, will put him to death, by which means you will obtain your wife; while we at the ſame time will teach her, that the reſurrection which he ſpeaks of, is already come, and conſiſts in our having children; and that we then aroſe again, when we came to the knowledge of God. Thamyris having this account from them, was filled with hot reſentment; and riſing early in the morning, he went to the houſe of Oneſiphorus, attended by the magiſtrates, the jailor, and a great multitude of people with ſtaves, and ſaid to Paul, *Thou haſt perverted the city of Iconium, and, among the reſt, Thecla, who is betrothed to me, ſo that now ſhe will not marry me. Thou ſhalt therefore go with us to the governor Caſtellius.* And all the multitude cried out, *Away with this impoſtor* [*magician*]; *for he has perverted the minds of our wives, and all the people hearken to him.*

Cap. XIV.

Καὶ σὰς πρὸ τῦ βήματος ὁ Θάμυρις, κραυγῇ μεγάλῃ

Chap. XIV.

Then Thamyris ſtanding before the governor's judg-

ment-

εἶπεν· Ἀνθύπατε, ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος οὐκ οἶδα πόθεν ἐστὶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ γαμεῖν τὰς παρθένους· εἰπάτω ὧν ἐπὶ σοῦ, τίνος ἕνεκεν ταῦτα διδάσκει. Ὁ δὲ Δημᾶς καὶ Ἑρμογένης εἶπον τῷ Θαμύριδι· Λέγε αὐτὸν Χριστιανὸν, καὶ ἀπολεῖται συντόμως. Ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν ἔσησεν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὸν Παῦλον, λέγων· Τίς εἶ; ὅ, τι διδάσκεις; εἰ γὰρ μικρῶς σε κατηγορῆσιν. Καὶ ἦρεν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ὁ Παῦλος, λέγων· Εἰ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἀνακρίνωμαι, τί διδάσκω, ἄκουσον, ἀνθύπατε· Θεὸς ζηλωτὴς, Θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων, Θεὸς ἀπροσδεὴς, χρήζων τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας, ἔπεμψέν με, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας ἀποσπάσω αὐτοὺς, καὶ πάσης ἡδονῆς τε καὶ θανάτου, ὅπως μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνωσιν. Διὸ ἔπεμψεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, ὃν ἐγὼ εὐαγγελίζομαι, καὶ διδάσκω ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἔχειν τὴν ἐλπίδα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· ὃς μόνος συνεπάθησε πλανωμένῳ κόσμῳ, ἵνα μηκέτι ὑπὸ κρίσιν

ment-seat, spake with a loud voice in the following manner: *O governor, I know not whence this man cometh; but he is one who teaches that matrimony is unlawful. Command him therefore to declare before you for what reasons he publishes such doctrines.* (While he was saying thus) Demas and Hermogenes (whispered to Thamyris, and) said; *Say that he is a Christian, and he will presently be put to death.* But the governor was more deliberate, and calling to Paul, he said, *Who art thou? What dost thou teach? They seem to lay gross crimes to thy charge.* Paul then spake with a loud voice, saying, *As I am now called to give an account, O governor, of my doctrines, I desire your audience.* 'That 'God, who is a God of vengeance, and who stands in 'need of nothing but the salvation of his creatures, has 'sent me to reclaim them 'from their wickedness and 'corruptions, from all (sinful) pleasures, and from 'death; and to persuade them 'to sin no more. On this 'account, God sent his Son 'Jesus Christ, whom I preach, 'and in whom I instruct men to place their hopes, as that 'person who only had such compassion on the deluded world,

'that

ὦσιν, ἀνθύπατε, ἀλλὰ πίστιν ἔχωσιν, καὶ φόβον Θεοῦ, καὶ γνῶσιν σεμνότητος, καὶ ἀγάπην ἀληθείας. Εἰ ἔστιν ἐγὼ τὰ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ μοι ἀποκεκαλυμμένα διδάσκω, τί ἀδικῶ, ἀνθύπατε; Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος ἀκούσας ταῦτα, ἐκέλευσεν δεθῆναι τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βληθῆναι, μέχρις ἂν εὐσχολήσας ἀκούσηται αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελέστερον. Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα νυκτὸς περιελομένη τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐνώτια, ἔδωκεν τῷ πυλωρῷ, καὶ ἤνοιξεν αὐτῇ τὰς θύρας, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν φυλακήν· καὶ δόσα τῷ δεσμοφύλακι κάτοπτρον ἀργύρεον, εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον· καὶ καθεσθεῖσα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, ἤκουσεν τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ ὡς ἐδόκει ἐδώκει (l. ἐδεδίει) πάσχειν ὁ Παῦλος, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείᾳ παῤῥησίᾳ ἐπολιτεύετο, κἀκείνης ηὔξανεν ἡ πίστις, καταφιλήσης τὰ δεσμὰ αὐτοῦ.

'that it might not, O go-
'vernor, be condemned, but
'have faith, the fear of God,
'the knowledge of religion,
'and the love of truth. So
'that if I only teach thoſe
'things which I have receiv-
'ed by revelation from God,
'where is my crime?' When the governor heard this, he ordered Paul to be bound, and to be put in priſon, till he ſhould be more at leiſure to hear him more fully. But, in the night, Thecla taking off her ear-rings, gave them to the turnkey of the priſon, who then opened the doors to her, and let her in; and when ſhe made a preſent of a ſilver looking-glaſs to the jailor, was allowed to go into the room where Paul was; then ſhe ſat down at his feet, and heard from him the great things of God. And as ſhe perceived Paul not to be afraid of ſuffering, but that by divine aſſiſtance he behaved himſelf with courage, her faith ſo far increaſed, that ſhe kiſſed his chains.

Cap. XV.

Ὡς δὲ ἐζητεῖτο Θέκλα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰκονίων (l. ex Metaphraſte οἰκείων) καὶ Θαμύριδος, ὡς ἀπολλυμένη, κατὰ

Chap. XV.

At length Thecla was miſſed, and ſought for by the family and by Thamyris in every ſtreet, as though ſhe had

τὰς ὁδὸς ἐδιώκετο. Καὶ τὶς τῶν συνδέλων τῇ πυλωρῷ ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοῖς, εἰπὼν ὅτι νυκτὸς ἐξῆλθε. Καὶ ἀνέτασαν τὸν πυλωρὸν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι πεπόρευται πρὸς τὸν ξένον, εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. Καὶ ἀπῆλθον, καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὗρον αὐτήν· καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκεῖθεν, τὸς ὄχλος ἐπεσπάσαντο, καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἐνεφάνισαν τὸ γεγονός. Καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἄγεσθαι τὸν Παῦλον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἐκυλίετο ἐπὶ τῇ τόπῳ, ᾧ ἐδίδασκε καθήμενος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ὁ Παῦλος. Ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν κἀκείνην ἄγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· ἡ δὲ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀπίει ἀγαλλομένη. Ὁ δὲ ὄχλος, προσαχθέντος τῷ Παύλῳ, πάλιν περισσοτέρως ἐβόα· Μάγος ἐστὶν, αἶρε αὐτόν. Ἡδέως δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ ἀνθύπατος τῷ Παύλῳ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις ἔργοις τῷ Χριστῷ· καὶ συμβούλιον ποιήσας, ἐκάλεσε τὴν Θέκλαν, λέγων αὐτῇ· Διὰ τί σὺ γαμεῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον Ἰκονιέων τῷ Θαμύριδι; Ἡ δὲ σίγησε, Παύλῳ ἀτενί-

had been loſt; till one of the porter's fellow-ſervants told them, that ſhe had gone out in the night-time. Then they examined the porter, and he told them, that ſhe was gone to the priſon to the ſtrange man. They went therefore according to his direction, and there found her; and when they came out, they got a mob together, and went and told the governor all that happened. Upon which he ordered Paul to be brought before his judgment-ſeat. Thecla in the mean time lay wallowing on the ground in the priſon, in that ſame place where Paul had ſat to teach her; upon which the governor alſo ordered her to be brought before his judgment-ſeat; which ſummons ſhe received with joy, and went. When Paul was brought thither, the mob with more vehemence cried out, *He is a magician, let him die.* Nevertheleſs, the governor attended with pleaſure upon Paul's diſcourſes of the holy works of Chriſt; and, after a council called, he ſummoned Thecla, and ſaid to her, *Why do you not, according to the law of the Iconians, marry Thamyris?* She ſtood ſtill, with her eyes fixed upon Paul; and finding ſhe made no

reply,

ζεσα· αὐτῆς δὲ ἐδὲν ἀποκρινομένης, Θεοκλία ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἀνέκραγε, λέγεσα· Κατάκαιε τὴν ἄνομον, κατάκαιε τὴν ἄνυμφον ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἵνα πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπὸ τέτε διδαχθεῖσαι γυναῖκες φοβηθῶσιν. Καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἔπαθεν μεγάλως, καὶ τὸν μὲν Παῦλον φραγελλώσας ἐξέβαλε τῆς πόλεως· τὴν δὲ Θέκλαν κατέκρινεν πυρίκαυσον. Καὶ εὐθέως ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀναςὰς, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς θέας. Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα, καθάπερ ἀμνὸς ἐν ἐρήμῳ περισκοπεῖ τὸν ποιμένα, ἕτως κἀκείνη τὸν Παῦλον· καὶ ἐμβλέψας εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἶδεν τὸν Κύριον καθήμενον ὡς τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῇ· Ἀνυπομονήτε με ἔσης, ἦλθεν ὁ Παῦλος θεάσασθαί με. Καὶ προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ ἀτενίζεσα. Ὁ δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀπίει θεωρέσης αὐτῆς. Οἱ δὲ παῖδες καὶ αἱ παρθένοι ἤνεικαν ξύλα καὶ χόρτον, ἵνα ἡ Θέκλα καῇ. Ὡς δὲ εἰσήχθη γυμνὴ, ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν, καὶ ἐθαύμασεν τὴν δύναμιν τῆ κάλλης αὐτῆς. Ἔρρωσαν δὲ τὰ ξύλα, καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὴν οἱ

reply, Theoclia her mother cried out, ſaying, *Let the unjuſt creature be burnt; let her be burnt in the midſt of the theatre, for refuſing Thamyris, that all women may learn from her to avoid ſuch practices.* Then the governor was exceedingly concerned, and ordered Paul to be whipt out of the city, and Thecla to be burnt. So the governor aroſe, and went immediately into the theatre; and all the people went forth to ſee the diſmal ſight. But Thecla, juſt as a lamb in the wilderneſs looks every way to ſee his ſhepherd, looked around for Paul; and as ſhe was looking upon the multitude, ſhe ſaw the Lord (Jeſus) in the likeneſs of Paul, and ſaid to herſelf, *Paul is come to ſee me in my diſtreſſed circumſtances.* And ſhe fixed her eyes upon him; but he inſtantly aſcended up to heaven, while ſhe looked on him. Then the young men and women brought wood and ſtraw for the burning of Thecla; who, being brought naked to the ſtake, extorted tears from the governor, with ſurprize beholding the greatneſs of her beauty. And when they had placed the

wood

δῆμοι ἐπιβῆναι τῇ πυρᾷ· ἡ δὲ τὸν τύπον σαυρῷ ποιησαμένη, ἐπέβη τῶν ξύλων. Οἱ δὲ δήμιοι ὑφῆψαν τὸ πῦρ· καὶ μεγάλης πυρᾶς ἐκλαμψάσης, ἐχ ἥψατο αὐτῆς τὸ πῦρ. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ἦχον ὑπόγειον ἐποίησεν· καὶ νεφέλη ἄνωθεν ὑπεσκίασεν ὕδατος πλήρης καὶ χαλάζης· καὶ ἐξεχύθη πᾶν τὸ κύτος τῆ ἐδάφους, ὡς πολλὰς κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πῦρ σβεσθῆναι, τὴν δὲ Θέκλαν σωθῆναι.

wood in order, the people commanded her to go upon it; which ſhe did, firſt making the ſign of the croſs. Then the people ſet fire to the pile; though the flame was exceeding large, it did not touch her; for God took compaſſion on her, and cauſed a great eruption from the earth beneath, and a cloud from above to pour down great quantities of rain and hail, inſomuch that by the rupture of the earth, very many were in great danger, and ſome were killed, the fire was extinguiſhed, and Thecla preſerved.

Cap. XVI.

Ἦν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος νηστεύων μετὰ Ὀνησιφόρου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων, ἐν μνημείῳ ἐν ὁδῷ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπὸ Ἰκονίου εἰς Δάφνην ἐπορεύοντο. Ἡνίκα δὲ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐποίησαν νηστεύοντες, εἶπαν οἱ παῖδες τῷ Παύλῳ· Πάτερ, πεινῶμεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχομεν πόθεν ἄρτους ἀγοράσαι· ἦν γὰρ καταλείψας τὰ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Ὀνησιφόρος, καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ ἠκολούθει σὺν οἰκείοις. Παῦλος δὲ ἀποδυσάμενος τὸν ἐπενδύτην αὐτοῦ, εἶπεν τῷ παιδίῳ·

Chap. XVI.

In the mean time Paul, together with Oneſiphorus, his wife and children, was keeping a faſt in a certain cave, which was in the road from Iconium to Daphne. And when they had faſted for ſeveral days, the children ſaid to Paul, *Father, we are hungry, and have not wherewithal to buy bread*; for Oneſiphorus had left all his ſubſtance, to follow Paul with his family. Then Paul, taking off his coat, ſaid to the boy, *Go, child, and buy bread,*

and

Ὕπαγε, τέκνον, ἀγόρασον ἄρτους πλείονας, καὶ φέρε. Ὡς δὲ ἠγόρασεν ὁ παῖς τοὺς ἄρτους, ἴδεν Θέκλαν τὴν γείτονα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐθαμβήθη, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Θέκλα, ποῦ πορεύῃ; Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· Παῦλον διώκω, ἐκ πυρὸς σωθεῖσα. Καὶ ὁ παῖς εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Δεῦρο, ἀπαγάγω σὲ πρὸς αὐτόν· σπεύδει γὰρ περὶ σοῦ, καὶ προσεύχεται, καὶ νηστεύει ἤδη ἡμέρας ἕξ.

and bring it hither. But while the boy was buying the bread, he ſaw his neighbour Thecla, and was ſurprized, and ſaid to her, *Thecla, where are you going?* She replied, *I am in purſuit of Paul, having been delivered from the flames.* The boy then ſaid, *I will bring you to him, for he is under great concern on your account, and has been in prayer and faſting theſe ſix days.*

Cap. XVII.

Ὡς δὲ ἐπέβη ἡ Θέκλα ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον, Παύλου τὰ γόνατα κεκλικότος, καὶ προσευχομένου, καὶ λέγοντος· Πάτερ ἅγιε, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, μὴ ἁψάσθω τὸ πῦρ Θέκλας, ἀλλὰ παράσταθι αὐτῇ, ὅτι θέλη σοῦ ἐστιν. Ἡ δὲ ὄπισθεν ἑστῶσα ἐβόησε λέγουσα· Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ ἁγίου παιδός σου πάτερ, εὐλογῶ σε, ὅτι ἔσωσάς με ἐκ πυρός, ἵνα Παῦλον ἴδω. Καὶ ἀναστὰς Παῦλος ἶδεν αὐτὴν, καὶ εἶπεν· Θεὲ καρδιογνῶστα, πάτερ τοῦ Κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐλογῶ σε, ὅτι ὃ ἠτήσατο, ἔδωκάς μοι.

Chap. XVII.

When Thecla came to the cave, ſhe found Paul upon his knees praying, and ſaying, *O holy Father, O Lord Jeſus Chriſt, grant that the fire may not touch Thecla; but be her helper, for ſhe is thy ſervant.* Thecla then ſtanding behind him, cried out in the following words: *O ſovereign Lord, Creator of heaven and earth, the Father of thy beloved and holy Son, I praiſe thee that thou haſt preſerved me from the fire, to ſee Paul again.* Paul then aroſe, and when he ſaw her, ſaid, *O God, who ſearcheſt the heart, Father of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I praiſe thee that thou haſt anſwered my prayer.*

Chap.

Cap. XVIII.

Καὶ ἦν ἔσω ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ἀγάπη πολλὴ, Παύλε ἀγαλλιωμένε, καὶ Ὀνησιφόρε, καὶ πάντων τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς. Εἶχον δὲ πέντε ἄρτους, καὶ λάχανα, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ εὐφραίνοντο ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις ἔργοις τῦ Χριςῦ. Καὶ εἶπεν Θέκλα πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον· Περιχαρῆ, καὶ ἀκολυθήσω σοι, ὅπε δ' ἂν πορεύῃ. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Ὁ καιρὸς αἰσχρὸς, καὶ σὺ γυνὴ εὔμορφος· μή σε ἄλλος πειρασμὸς λάβοι χείρων τῦ πρώτε, καὶ ἐχ ὑπομενεῖς, ἀλλὰ δειλιάσεις. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Θέκλα· Μόνον δός μοι τὴν ἐν Χριςῷ σφραγῖδα, καὶ ἐχ ἅψεταί μὲ πειρασμός. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος τῇ Θέκλᾳ· Μακροθύμησον, καὶ λήψῃ τὴν δωρεὰν τῦ Χριςῦ.

Cap. XIX.

Καὶ ἀπέπεμψε Παῦλος τὸν Ὀνησιφόρον εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῦ πανοικεί· αὐτὸς δὲ λαβόμενος τὴν Θέκλαν, εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀπίει. Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔρχεσθαι αὐτὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει, Σύρος τὶς, Ἀλέξανδρος ὀνόματι, Ἀντιοχέων πρωτοπολίτης, πολλὰ ποιῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ

Chap. XVIII.

And there prevailed among them in the cave an entire affection to each other; Paul, Oneſiphorus, and all that were with them being filled with joy. They had five loaves, ſome herbs, and water, and they ſolaced each other in reflections upon the holy works of Chriſt. Then ſaid Thecla to Paul, *If you be pleaſed with it, I will follow you whitherſoever you go.* He replied to her, *Perſons are now much given to fornication, and you being handſome, I am afraid leſt you ſhould meet with greater temptation than the former, and ſhould not withſtand, but be overcome by it.* Thecla replied, *Grant me only the ſeal of Chriſt, and no temptation ſhall affect me.* Paul anſwered Thecla, *Wait with patience, and you ſhall receive the gift of Chriſt.*

Chap. XIX.

Then Paul ſent back Oneſiphorus and his family to their own home, and taking Thecla along with him, went for Antioch; and as ſoon as they came into the city, a certain Syrian, named Alexander, a magiſtrate in the city, who had done many conſiderable ſervices for the city

ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ· αὐτῷ· καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν Θέκλαν, ἐφίλησεν αὐτήν· καὶ ἐξελιπάρει τὸν Παῦλον χρήμασι καὶ δώροις πολλοῖς. Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Οὐκ οἶδα τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην, ἣν λέγεις, οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ἐμή. Ὁ δὲ πολὺ δυνάμενος εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, αὐτὸς αὐτῇ περιεπλάκη, φιλῶν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ ἀμφόδῳ. Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλὰ Παῦλον ἐζήτει, καὶ ἀνέκραζε πικρῶς ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, λέγουσα· Μὴ βιάσῃ με τὴν ξένην, μὴ βιάσῃ με τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δέλην. Ἰκονιέων εἰμὶ πρώτη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ θέλειν με γαμηθῆναι Θαμύριδι, ἐκβέβλημαι τῆς πόλεως μου. Καὶ ἐπιλαβομένη τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, περιέσχισεν αὐτοῦ τὴν χλαμύδα, καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀφείλετο ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσησεν αὐτὸν θριαμβον ἐπὶ πάντων. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἅμα μὲν φιλῶν αὐτὴν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ αἰσχυνόμενος τὸ γεγονὸς, προσήγαγεν τῷ ἡγεμόνι αὐτήν· κἀκείνης ὁμολογησάσης ταῦτα πεπραχέναι, κατέκρινεν ****

during his magiſtracy, ſaw Thecla, and fell in love with her, and endeavoured by many rich preſents to engage Paul in his intereſt. But Paul told him, *I know not the woman of whom you ſpeak, nor does ſhe belong to me.* But he being a perſon of great power in Antioch, ſeized her in the ſtreet, and kiſſed her; which Thecla would not bear, but looking about for Paul, cried out in a diſtreſſed loud tone, *Force me not, who am a ſtranger; force me not, who am a ſervant of God; I am one of the principal perſons of Iconium, and was obliged to leave that city, becauſe I would not be married to Thamyris.* Then ſhe laid hold on Alexander, tore his coat, and took his crown off his head, and made him appear ridiculous before all the people. But Alexander, partly as he loved her, and partly being aſhamed of what had been done, led her to the governor, and upon her confeſſion of what ſhe had done * he condemned her to be thrown among the beaſts.

* There being ſomewhat wanting here in the old Greek MS. I choſe rather to ſupply it out of the old Latin Verſion, which is in the Bodleian Library, Cod. Digb. 39. than out of Simeon Metaphraſtes, a writer of the eleventh century.

CHAP.

Cap. XX.

Quod videntes populi dixerunt: injuſta judicia ſunt in hac civitate. Thecla autem, ut vidit damnatam ſe eſſe, petiit a præſide, ut uſque in diem, qua erat pugnatura, caſta ſervaretur. Cumque requireret præſes, quis eam digne ſuſciperet, ecce quædam vidua, nomine Trifina, dive valde, cujus filia nuper defuncta fuerat, petiit eam cuſtodiendam, et cœpit eam habere in loco filiæ ſuæ. Et cum veniſſet dies, ut beſtiæ publicarentur, in amphitheatro poſita eſt, in cavea, in qua erat leæna ſæviſſima, et introivit in arenam pompa ſpectaculi. Trifina autem ſequebatur Theclam, nihil erubeſcens. Leæna vero mittens linguam præclara ſcabie, lingebat pedes Theclæ. Erat autem eulogium ejus ſcriptum, *Sacrilegium.* Mulieres autem clamabant: O Deus, iniqua judicia fiunt in civitate noſtra. Poſtquam autem publicatæ ſunt beſtiæ, Trifina recepit Theclam in domo ſua, et dormierunt. Et ecce filia Trifinæ, quæ defuncta erat, viſa eſt matri ſuæ, dicens:

Chap. XX.

Which when the people ſaw, they ſaid: *The judgments paſſed in this city are unjuſt.* But Thecla deſired the favour of the governor, that her chaſtity might not be attacked, but preſerved till ſhe ſhould be caſt to the beaſts. The governor then enquired, *Who would entertain her*; upon which a certain very rich widow, named Trifina, whoſe daughter was lately dead, deſired that ſhe might have the keeping of her; and ſhe began to treat her in her houſe as her own daughter. At length a day came, when the beaſts were to be brought forth to be ſeen; and Thecla was brought to the amphitheatre, and put into a den, in which was an exceeding fierce ſhe-lion, in the preſence of a multitude of ſpectators. Trifina, without any ſurprize, accompanied Thecla, and the ſhe-lion licked the feet of Thecla. The title written which denotes her crime, was, SACRILEGE. Then the women cried out, *O God, the judgments of this city are unrighteous.* After the beaſts had been ſhewn, Trifina took Thecla home with her, and they went to bed; and behold, the daughter of Trifina, who was dead, appeared to her mo-

Mater, Theclam ancillam Chriſti habeto in loco meo, et pete ab ea, ut oret pro me, ut transferar in locum refrigerii. Tunc Triſina plangebat, dicens: Filia Falconilla mihi dixit, habes Theclam in loco meo; quapropter precor, Thecla, ora pro filia mea, ut transferatur in locum refrigerii, et ad vitam æternam. His auditis, Thecla ſtatim oravit ad Dominum, dicens: Domine Deus cœli et terræ, Jeſu Chriſte, fili Altiſſimi, da ut filia ejus Falconilla vivat in æternum. Tunc Triſina hæc audiens, amplius lugebat, dicens: O injuſta judicia! et O indignum nefas! talem ſpeciem ad beſtias mitti!

ther, and ſaid; *Mother, let the young woman, Thecla, be reputed by you as your daughter in my ſtead; and deſire her that ſhe would pray for me, that I may be tranſlated to a ſtate of happineſs.* Upon which Triſina, with a mournful air, ſaid, *My daughter Falconilla has appeared to me, and ordered me to receive you in her room; wherefore I deſire, Thecla, that you would pray for my daughter, that ſhe may be tranſlated into a ſtate of happineſs, and to life eternal.* When Thecla heard this, ſhe immediately prayed to the Lord, and ſaid: *O Lord God of heaven and earth, Jeſus Chriſt, thou Son of the Moſt High, grant that her daughter Falconilla may live for ever.* Triſina hearing this, groaned again, and ſaid: *O unrighteous judgments! O unreaſonable wickedneſs! that ſuch a creature ſhould (again) be caſt to the beaſts!*

Cap. XXI.

Et ut lux orta eſt, ecce veniens Alexander ad domum Triſinæ, dixit: Jam præſes ſedit, et populus exſpectat; prohic noxiam foris. Tunc Triſina exſiluit in faciem ejus, et conturbavit eum, ita ut fugeret. Erat autem ipſa Triſina ex regalibus, et cœpit

Chap. XXI.

On the morrow, at break of day, Alexander came to Triſina's houſe, and ſaid: *The governor and the people are waiting; bring the criminal forth.* But Triſina ran in ſo violently upon him, that he was affrighted, and ran away. Triſina was one of the royal family; and ſhe thus expreſſed

flere, et dicere: Ecce duplex luctus in domo mea, et nemo eſt, qui adjuvet me, neque quia filia mea mortua eſt, neque quia Theclam defendere non poſſum. Et nunc, Domine Deus, adjuva Theclam, ancillam tuam. Et dum hæc Trifina proſequeretur, miſit præſes ſtratorem ſuum, ut adduceretur Thecla. Cujus manum apprehendens Trifina proſequebatur, dicens: Falconillam ad monumentum duxi, Theclam vero ad beſtias duco. Hæc audiens Thecla lacrymata eſt, et orans dixit: Domine Deus, cui ego credidi, et ad quem confugi, redde mercedem Trifinæ, et quia mihi condoluit, et quia mundam me ſervavit. Erat autem fremitus magnus in amphitheatro, et rugitus beſtiarum, et clamor populi dicentis: Induc noxiam. Mulieres vero clamabant, dicentes: Nunc tollatur hæc civitas propter talem iniquitatem, et in nobis omnibus da talem ſententiam, præſes. O malum judicium! O crudele ſpectaculum!

preſſed her ſorrow, and ſaid: *Alas! I have trouble in my houſe on two accounts, and there is no one who will relieve me, either under the loſs of my daughter, or my being unable to ſave Thecla. But now, O Lord God, be thou the helper of Thecla thy ſervant.* While ſhe was thus engaged, the governor ſent one of his own officers to bring Thecla. Trifina took her by the hand, and, going with her, ſaid: *I went with Falconilla to her grave, and now muſt go with Thecla to the beaſts.* When Thecla heard this, ſhe weeping prayed, and ſaid: *O Lord God, whom I have made my confidence and refuge, reward Trifina for her compaſſion to me, and preſerving my chaſtity.* Upon this there was a great noiſe in the amphitheatre; the beaſts roared, and the people cried out, *Bring in the criminal.* But the women cried out, and ſaid: *Let the whole city ſuffer for ſuch crimes; and order all of us, O governor, to the ſame puniſhment. O unjuſt judgment! O cruel ſight!*

Τῶν δὲ λεγουσῶν· Ἀρθήτω ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ ταύτῃ· αἶρε πάσας ἡμᾶς, ἀνδύπατε· πικρὸν θέαμα, κακὴ κρίσις.

Others ſaid, *Let the whole city be deſtroyed for this vile action. Kill us all, O governor. O cruel ſight! O unrighteous judgment.*

Cap. XXII.

Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἐκ χειρὸς Τρυφαίνης ληφθεῖσα, ἐξεδύθη γυμνή· καὶ ἔλαβεν διάζωμα, καὶ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸ ςάδιον. Καὶ λέοντες καὶ ἄρκτοι ἀπελύθησαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν· καὶ ἡ πικρὰ λέαινα εἰσδραμῦσα ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν, παρὰ τὺς πόδας τῆς Θέκλης ἀνεκλίθη. Ὁ δὲ ὄχλος τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνεβόησεν· καὶ ἄρκτος ἔδραμεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν, καὶ ἡ λέαινα ὑπήντησεν καὶ διέῤῥηξεν αὐτήν. Καὶ πάλιν λέων δεδιδαγμένος τρώγειν τὺς ἀνθρώπυς, ὃς καὶ ἦν τῦ Ἀλεξάνδρυ, ἔδραμεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν· καὶ ἡ λέαινα συμπλέξασα τῷ λέοντι, συναινηρέθη αὐτῷ. Μειζόνως δὲ ἐπένθησαν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ βοηθὸς αὐτῇ λέαινα ἀπέθανεν. Τότε βάλλυσι πολλὰ θηρία, ἑςώσης τῆς Θέκλης, καὶ ἐκτετακυίας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν ὐρανὸν, καὶ πρoσευχομένης. Ὡς δὲ ἐτέλεσε τὴν πρoσευχὴν αὐτῆς ἡ Θέκλα, ἐςράφη, καὶ ἴδεν ὄρυγμα πλῆρες ὕδατος, καὶ εἶπεν· Νῦν καιρὸς τῦ λύσασθαί με· καὶ ἔβαλλεν ἑαυ-

Chap. XXII.

Then Thecla was taken out of the hand of Trifina, ſtripped naked, had a girdle put on, and thrown into the place appointed for fighting with the beaſts: and the lions and the bears were let looſe upon her. But a ſhe-lion, which was of all the moſt fierce, ran to Thecla, and fell down at her feet. Upon which the multitude of women ſhouted aloud. Then a ſhe-bear ran fiercely towards her; but the ſhe-lion met the bear, and tore it in pieces. Again, a he-lion, who had been wont to devour men, and which belonged to Alexander, ran towards her; but the ſhe-lion encountered the he-lion, and they killed each other. Then the women were under a greater concern, becauſe the ſhe lion, which had helped Thecla, was dead. Afterwards they brought out many other wild beaſts; but Thecla ſtood with her hands ſtretched towards heaven, and prayed; and when ſhe had done praying, ſhe turned about, and ſaw a pit of water, and ſaid, *Now it is a proper time for me to be baptized.* Accordingly ſhe threw herſelf

τὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, λέγουσα· Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σε, Κύριέ μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὑστέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ βαπτίζομαι. Καὶ ἰδοῦσαι αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ὁ ὄχλος, ἔκραζον λέγοντες· Μὴ βάλῃς σεαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ· ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δακρύσαι, ὅτι τοιοῦτον κάλλος αἱ φῶκαι ἔμελλον κατατρώγειν.

herſelf into the water, and ſaid, *In thy name, O my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I am this laſt day baptized.* The women and the people ſeeing this, cried out, and ſaid, *Do not throw yourſelf into the water.* And the governor himſelf cried out, to think that the fiſh (ſea-calves) were like to devour ſo much beauty.

Cap. XXIII.

Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Αἱ δὲ φῶκαι πυρὸς ἀστραπῆς φέγγος ἰδοῦσαι, νεκραὶ πᾶσαι ἀνέπλευσαν· καὶ ἦν περὶ τὴν Θέκλαν νεφέλη πυρὸς, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ θηρία ἅπτεσθαι αὐτῆς, μήτε γυμνὴν αὐτὴν θεωρεῖσθαι. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἄλλων πάλιν θηρίων βαλλομένων ἐπ' αὐτὴν φοβερῶν, ἠλάλαξαν· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἔβαλεν νάρδον, ἡ δὲ κασσίαν, ἡ δὲ ἄμωμον, ἡ δὲ μύρον, ὡς εἶναι πολὺ πλῆθος, πολὺ μύρον. Πάντα δὲ τὰ βληθέντα θηρία ὡς ὕπνῳ κατεχόμενα, οὐχ ἥψαντο αὐτῆς· ὥστε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν τῷ

Chap. XXIII.

Notwithſtanding all this, Thecla threw herſelf into the water in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But the fiſh (ſea-calves), when they ſaw the lightning and fire, were killed, and ſwam dead upon the ſurface of the water, and a cloud of fire ſurrounded Thecla; ſo that as the beaſts could not come near her, ſo the people could not ſee her nakedneſs. Yet they turned other wild beaſts upon her; upon which they made a very mournful outcry; and ſome of them ſcattered ſpikenard, others caſſia, others amomus (a ſort of ſpikenard, or the herb Jeruſalem, or ladies-roſe) others ointment; ſo that the quantity of ointment was large, in proportion to the number of people; and upon this all the beaſts lay as though they had been faſt aſleep, and did not touch Thecla.

ἡγεμόνι· Ταύρες ἔχω λίαν φοβερούς· ἐκείνοις προσδήσωμεν αὐτήν. Καὶ συγνάσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν, εἶπεν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· Ποίει ὃ θέλεις. Καὶ ἔδησαν τὴν Θέκλαν ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν μέσον τῶν ταύρων· καὶ ὑπὸ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῶν ταύρων πεπυρωμένα σίδηρα ὑπέθηκαν, ἵνα ἐπὶ πλέον ταραχθέντες οἱ ταῦροι, σύρωσι καὶ ἀποκτείνωσι τὴν δέσμιον Θέκλαν. Οἱ μὲν ἓν τύραννοι (l. ταῦροι) ἤλλοντο βοῶντες φοβερόν. Τῆς δὲ Θέκλας κατέκαυσε ἡ φλὸξ τὰ περικείμενα μέλη τῶν ταύρων· καὶ ἦν ὡς ἐ δεδεμένη εἰς τὸ στάδιον. Ἡ δὲ Τρύφαινα ἐξέψυξε παρὰ τὰς ἄβακας, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐφοβήθη σφόδρα. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος φοβηθεὶς, ἠρώτησεν τὸν ἡγεμόνα, λέγων· Δέομαί σε, ἐλέησον καί με καὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἀπόλυσον τὴν θηριομάχον, μή ποτε καὶ ἡ πόλις σὺν σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀπόληται. Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐὰν ἀκούσῃ ὁ Καίσαρ, τάχα ἀπολέσει τὴν πόλιν·

Whereupon Alexander ſaid to the governor, *I have ſome very terrible bulls; let us bind her to them.* To which the governor, with concern, replied, *You may do what you think fit.* Then they put a cord round Thecla's waiſt, which bound alſo her feet, and with it tied her to the bulls, to whoſe privy-parts they applied red-hot irons, that ſo they being the more tormented, might more violently drag Thecla about, till they had killed her. The bulls accordingly tore about, making a moſt hideous noiſe; but the flame which was about Thecla, burnt off the cords which were faſtened to the members of the bulls, and ſhe ſtood in the middle of the ſtage, as unconcerned as if ſhe had not been bound. But in the mean time Triſina, who ſat upon one of the benches, fainted away (and died); upon which the whole city was under a very great concern. And Alexander himſelf was afraid, and deſired the governor, ſaying: *I intreat you, take compaſſion on me and the city, and releaſe this woman, who has fought with the beaſts; leſt both you and I, and the whole city, be deſtroyed: for if Cæſar ſhould have any account of what has paſſed now,*

he

ὅτι Τρύφαινα, ἡ βασιλίσσα καὶ συγγενὴς αὐτῦ, παρὰ τὰς ἄβακας ἀπέθανεν. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν τὴν Θέκλαν ἐκ μέσε τῶν θηρίων, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν· Τίς εἶ σύ; καὶ τίνα τὰ περὶ σὲ, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἓν τῶν θηρίων ἥψατό σε; Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ Θέκλα· Ἐγω δούλη εἰμὶ Θεῦ τῦ ζῶντος· τὰ δὲ περὶ ἐμὲ, εἰς ὃν ηὐδόκησεν ὁ Θεὸς, υἱὸν αὐτῦ Ἰησῦν Χριςὸν ἐπίςευσα· δι' ὃν οὐδὲ ἓν ἥψατό με τῶν θηρίων. Οὗτος γὰρ μόνος ἐςι σωτηρίας αἰωνίε ὁδὸς, καὶ ζωῆς ἀθανάτε ὑπόςασις· χειμαζομένοις γὰρ γίνεται καταφύγιον, θλιβομένοις ἄνεσις, ἀπηλπισμένοις ἐλπὶς καὶ σκέπη, καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς, ὃς ἐὰν μὴ πιςεύσει εἰς αὐτὸν, οὐ ζήσεται, ἀλλὰ ἀποθανεῖται εἰς τὸς αἰῶνας.

he will certainly immediately deſtroy the city, becauſe Triſina, a perſon of royal extract, and a relation of his, is dead upon her ſeat. Upon this the governor called Thecla from among the beaſts to him, and ſaid to her: *Who art thou? and what are thy circumſtances, that not one of the beaſts will touch thee?* Thecla replied to him: *I am a ſervant of the living God; and as to my ſtate, I am a believer on Jeſus Chriſt his Son, in whom God is well-pleaſed; and for that reaſon none of the beaſts could touch me. He alone is the way to eternal ſalvation, and the foundation of eternal life. He is a refuge to thoſe who are in diſtreſs; a ſupport to the afflicted, hope and defence to thoſe who are hopeleſs; and, in a word, all thoſe who do not believe on him, ſhall not live, but ſuffer eternal death.*

Cap. XXIV.

Ταῦτα ἀκέσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν, ἐκέλευσεν ἱμάτια ἐνεχθῆναι, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Ἔνδυσαι τὰ ἱμάτια. Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα εἶπεν· Ὁ ἐνδύσας με γυμνὴν ὄσαν ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις Θεὸς, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἐνδύσῃ σε

Chap. XXIV.

When the governor heard theſe things, he ordered her clothes to be brought, and ſaid to her, *Put on your clothes.* Thecla replied: *May that God who clothed me when I was naked among the beaſts, in the day of judgment clothe your ſoul with the robe of ſalvation.*

σωτηρίαν. Καὶ λαβοῦσα τὰ ἱμάτια, ἐνεδύσατο· καὶ ἐξέπεμψε ταχέως ἄκτον ὁ ἡγεμών, γράψας ἔτως· Θέκλαν τὴν τῶ Θεῶ δέλην ἀπολύω ὑμῖν. Καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ὁμῶ πᾶσαι ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, καὶ ὑφ' ἓν ςόμα ἔδωκαν τῷ Θεῷ αἴνεσιν, λέγεσαι· Εἷς Θεὸς, ὁ τῆς Θέκλης· εἷς Θεὸς, ὁ σώσας Θέκλαν· ὥςε ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν σεισθῆναι πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὴν Τρύφαιναν εὐαγγελισθεῖσαν ἀναςῆναι, ἀπαντῆσαι μετὰ ὄχλε, καὶ περιπλακῆναι τῇ Θέκλῃ, καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῇ· Νῦν πιςεύω, ὅτι νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται· νῦν πιςεύω, ὅτι τὸ τέκνον με ζῇ. Δεῦρο, τέκνον με Θέκλα, ἔσω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν με, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ σοὶ καταγράφω. Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἀπῆλθεν μετὰ τῆς Τρυφαίνης, καὶ ἀνεπαύσατο σὺν αὐτῇ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας, διδάσκεσα αὐτὴν τὸν λόγον τῦ Κυρίε, ὥςε πιςεῦσαι καὶ τῶν παιδισκῶν τὰς πλείονας, καὶ εἶναι μεγάλην χαρὰν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Τρυφαίνης. Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα Παῦλον ἐπεπόθει, καὶ ἐζήτει αὐτὸν, πεμ-

vation. Then ſhe took her clothes, and put them on; and the governor immediately publiſhed an order in theſe words: *I releaſe to you Thecla the ſervant of God.* Upon which the women all cried out together with a loud voice, and with one accord gave praiſe unto God, and ſaid: *There is but one God, who is the God of Thecla; the one God, who hath delivered Thecla.* So loud were their voices, that the whole city ſeemed to be ſhaken; and Trifina herſelf heard the glad tidings, and aroſe again, and ran with the multitude to meet Thecla; and embracing her, ſaid: *Now I believe there ſhall be a reſurrection of the dead; now I am perſuaded that my daughter is alive. Come therefore home with me, my daughter Thecla, and I will make over all that I have to you.* So Thecla went with Trifina, and was entertained there a few days, teaching her the word of the Lord, whereby many young women were converted; and there was great joy in the family of Trifina. But Thecla longed to ſee Paul, and enquired and ſent every where to find him; and when at length

πεύσα ταναχῦ· καὶ ἐμηνύθη αὐτῇ, ἐν Μύροις εἶναι τῆς Λυκίας· καὶ λάβουσα νεανίσκους πολλοὺς καὶ παιδίσκας, ἀναζωσαμένη τε, καὶ ῥάψασα τὸν χιτῶνα εἰς ἐπενδύτης σχῆμα ἀνδρικὸν, ἀπίει πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Μύρα τῆς Λυκίας· καὶ εὗρεν τὸν Παῦλον λαλοῦντα τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ παρέστη αὐτῷ ἀθρόως.

length she was informed that he was at Myra in Lycia, she took with her many young men and women; and putting on a girdle, and dressing herself in the habit of a man, she went to him to Myra in Lycia, and there found Paul preaching the word of God; and she stood by him among the throng.

Cap. XXV.

Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἐθαμβήθη βλέπων αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν ὄχλον τὸν μετ' αὐτῆς, λογισάμενος μὴ πειρασμός ἐστιν ἕτερος. Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα συνῆκεν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἔλαβον τὸ λοιπόν, Παῦλε· ὁ γὰρ σοὶ ἐνεργήσας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ μοὶ συνήργησεν εἰς τὸ λούσασθαι. Καὶ λαβόμενος αὐτῆς ὁ Παῦλος ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ἑρμέως· καὶ διηγήσατο Παύλῳ ἡ Θέκλα πάντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ὥστε ἐπιπολὺ θαυμάσαι τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας στηριχθῆναι, καὶ προσεύξασθαι τῇ Τρυφαίνῃ. Καὶ ἀναστᾶσα Θέκλα εἶπεν τῷ Παύλῳ· Πορεύομαι εἰς

Chap. XXV.

But it was no small surprize to Paul, when he saw her and the people with her; for he imagined some fresh trial was coming upon them; which when Thecla perceived, she said to him: *I have been baptized, O Paul; for he who assists you in preaching, has assisted me to baptize.* Then Paul took her, and led her to the house of Hermes; and Thecla related to Paul all that had befallen her in Antioch, insomuch that Paul exceedingly wondered; and all who heard were confirmed in the faith, and prayed for Trifina's happiness. Then Thecla arose, and said to Paul, *I am going to Iconium.*

Paul

Ἰκόνιον. Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Πορεύου, καὶ δίδασκε τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Τρύφαινα πολὺν χρυσὸν καὶ ἱματισμὸν ἔπεμψεν διὰ τῆς Θέκλας τῷ Παύλῳ, εἰς διακονίαν τῶν πτωχῶν.

Paul replied to her: *Go, and teach the word of the Lord.* But Trifina had ſent large ſums of money to Paul, and alſo clothing by the hands of Thecla, for the relief of the poor.

Cap. XXVI.

Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Ἰκόνιον· καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ὀνησιφόρου, καὶ ἔπεσεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ὅπου ὁ Παῦλος καθεζόμενος ἐδίδασκεν, καὶ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ προσηύξατο, εὐχαριστοῦσα· καὶ ἐξομολογεμένη τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ λέγουσα· Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ οἴκου τούτου, ὅπου μοι τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἔλαμψεν, Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὁ ἐμοὶ βοηθὸς ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων, βοηθὸς ἐν πυρὶ, βοηθὸς ἐν θηρίοις· ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶ μόνος Θεὸς, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

Chap. XXVI.

So Thecla went to Iconium. And when ſhe came to the houſe of Oneſiphorus, ſhe fell down upon the floor where Paul had ſat and preached, and, mixing tears with her prayers, ſhe praiſed and glorified God in the following words: *O Lord, the God of this houſe, in which I was firſt enlightened by thee; O Jeſus, ſon of the living God, who waſt my helper before the governor, my helper in the fire, and my helper among the beaſts; thou alone art God for ever and ever, Amen.*

Cap. XXVII.

Καὶ εὗρε τὸν Θάμυριν τεθνηκότα, καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς ζῶσαν· καὶ προσκαλεσαμένη τὴν ἑαυτῆς μητέρα, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν· Θεοκλία, μῆτερ ἐμὴ, δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι, ὅτι εἷς Θεὸς Κύριος ζῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς; ἐὰν γὰρ χρήματα

Chap. XXVII.

Thecla now (on her return) found Thamyris dead, but her mother living. So calling her mother, ſhe ſaid to her: *Theoclia, my mother, is it poſſible for you to be brought to a belief, that there is but one Lord God, who dwells in the heavens? If you deſire*

πορθεῖς, δώσει σοὶ δι' ἐμοῦ ὁ Θεός· εἴτε τὸ τέκνον σε, ἰδοὺ παρέσηκά σοι. Καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ διεμαρτύρατο καὶ παρεκάλει αὐτήν. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς Θεοκλία οὐκ ἐπίστευσε τοῖς λεγομένοις αὐτῇ ὑπὸ τῆς μάρτυρος Θέκλης. Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἰδοῦσα, ὅτι οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, κατασφραγισαμένη ὅλον τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς, ἐξῆλθε τὴν πύλην, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς Δάφνην· καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον, ὅπου ὁ Παῦλος μετὰ Ὀνησιφόρου εὑρέθη, προσπεσοῦσα ἔκλαυσεν ἐκεῖ τῷ Θεῷ. Καὶ ἐξελθοῦσα πάλιν, ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὴν Σελεύκιαν, πολλοὺς φωτίζουσα τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

desire great riches, God will give them to you by me; if you want your daughter again, here I am. These and many other things she represented to her mother, (endeavouring) to persuade her (to her own opinion). But her mother Theoclia gave no credit to the things which were said by the martyr Thecla. So that Thecla perceiving she discoursed to no purpose, signing her whole body with the sign (of the cross), left the house, and went to Daphne; and when she came there, she went to the cave, where she had found Paul with Onesiphorus, and fell down upon the ground, and wept before God. When she departed thence, she went to Seleucia, and enlightened many in the knowledge of Christ.

Cap. XXVIII.

Καὶ νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ὡδήγει αὐτήν. Καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα ἐν Σελευκίᾳ, ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ ἐνὸς σταδίου· καὶ ἐκείνους δὲ ἐδεδοίκει, ὅτι τὰ εἴδωλα ἐθεράπευον. Καὶ ὁδηγὸς γέγονεν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ λεγομένῳ Καλαμῶνος, ἤτοι Ῥοδεῶνος. Καὶ εὑροῦσα

Chap. XXVIII.

And a bright cloud conducted her in the journey. And after she had arrived at Seleucia, she went to a place out of the city, about the distance of a furlong, being afraid of the inhabitants, because they were worshippers of idols. And she was led (by the cloud) into a mountain called Calamon, or Rodeon. There she abode many years,

ἐκεῖ σπήλαιον, εἰσῆλθεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ ἔτη ἱκανὰ, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ χαλεπὰς πειρασμὰς ὑπέσχε ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ ὑπήνεγκεν γενναίως, βοηθουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Μαθεῖσαι δέ τινες τῶν εὐγενίδων γυναικῶν περὶ τῆς παρθένου Θέκλης, ἀπίησαν πρὸς αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐμάνθανον τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ πολλαὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπετάξαντο τῷ βίῳ, καὶ συνήσκων αὐτῇ· καὶ φήμη ἀγαθὴ ἦχθη πανταχοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἰάσεις ἐγένοντο ὑπ' αὐτῆς. Γνοῦσα δὲ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ περίχωρος, ἔφερον τοὺς ἀῤῥώστους αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, καὶ πρὶν ἢ τῇ θύρᾳ προσεγγίσωσι, παῦλαν ἀπηλλάττοντο, οἱῳδήποτε κατείχοντο νοσήματι, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα κράζοντα ἐξήρχοντο· καὶ πάντες κατελάμβανον τὰ ἴδια αὐτῶν ὑγιῆ, δοξάζοντες τὸν Θεὸν δόντα τοιαύτην χάριν τῇ παρθένῳ Θέκλῃ. Οἱ ἰατροὶ δὲ τῆς πόλεως Σελευκίων ἐξηδενώθησαν, τὴν ἐμπορείαν ἀπολέσαντες, καὶ ἐδεὶς λοιπὸν προσεῖχεν αὐτοῖς. Καὶ φθόνῳ καὶ ζήλῳ πλησθέντες ἐμηχα-

years, and underwent a great many grievous temptations of the devil, which ſhe bore in a becoming manner, by the aſſiſtance which ſhe had from Chriſt. At length certain gentlewomen hearing of the virgin Thecla, went to her, and were inſtructed by her in the oracles of God, and many of them abandoned this world, and led a monaſtick life with her. Hereby a good report was ſpread every where of Thecla, and ſhe wrought ſeveral (miraculous) cures, ſo that all the city and adjacent countries brought their ſick to that mountain, and before they came as far as the door of the cave, they were inſtantly cured of whatſoever diſtemper they had. The unclean ſpirits were caſt out, making a noiſe; all received their ſick made whole, and glorified God, who had beſtowed ſuch power on the virgin Thecla; inſomuch that the phyſicians of Seleucia were now of no more account, and loſt all the profit of their trade, becauſe no one regarded them; upon which they were filled with envy, and began to contrive what

methods

νεῦντο κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δούλης, τὸ τί αὐτῇ ποιήσωσιν.

methods to take with this ſervant of Chriſt.

Cap. XXIX.

Ὑποβάλλει οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ διάβολος λογισμὸν πονηρόν· καὶ μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν συναχθέντες καὶ συνέδριον ποιήσαντες, συμβουλεύονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, λέγοντες· Αὕτη ἡ παρθένος ἱερὰ τυγχάνει τῆς μεγάλης Θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος· καὶ εἴ τι ἂν αἰτήσει αὐτὴν, ἀκούει αὐτῆς, ὡς παρθένα οὖσης, καὶ φιλοῦσιν αὐτὴν πάντες οἱ Θεοί. Δεῦτε οὖν, λάβωμεν ἄνδρας ἀταίτους, καὶ μεθύσωμεν αὐτὰς οἶνον πολὺν, καὶ δώσωμεν αὐτοῖς χρυσίον πολὺ, καὶ εἴπωμεν αὐτοῖς· Εἰ δυνηθῆτε φθεῖραι καὶ μιάναι αὐτὴν, δίδομεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. Ἔλεγον οὖν πρὸς αὐτὰς οἱ ἰατροὶ, ὅτι ἐὰν ἰσχύσωσιν αὐτὴν μιάναι, ἐκ ἀκούσωσιν αὐτῆς οἱ Θεοὶ, οὔτε Ἄρτεμις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων. Ἐποίησαν οὖν ἔτως, καὶ ἀπελθόντες οἱ πονηροὶ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ἐπισάντες ὡς λέοντες τῷ σπηλαίῳ, ἐπάταξαν τὴν θύραν· ἤνοιξεν δὲ ἡ ἁγία μάρτυς Θέκλα, θαρρήσασα ᾧ ἐπίστευσεν Θεῷ· προέγνω γὰρ

Chap. XXIX.

The devil then ſuggeſted bad advice to their minds; and being on a certain day met together to conſult, they reaſoned among each other thus: *The virgin is a prieſteſs of the great goddeſs Diana, and whatſoever ſhe requeſts of her, is granted, becauſe ſhe is a virgin, and ſo is beloved by all the gods: now then let us procure ſome rakiſh fellows, and after we have made them ſufficiently drunk, and given them a good ſum of money, let us order them to go and debauch this virgin, promiſing them, if they do it, a larger reward.* (For they thus concluded among themſelves, that if they be able to debauch her, the Gods will no more regard her, nor Diana cure the ſick for her.) They proceeded according to this reſolution, and the fellows went to the mountain, and as fierce as lions to the cave, knocking at the door. The holy martyr Thecla, relying upon the God in whom ſhe believed, opened the door, al-

though

τὸν δόλον αὐτῶν. Καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτάς· Τί θέλετε, τέκνα; Οἱ δὲ εἶπον· Τίς ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα λεγομένη Θέκλα; Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· Τί αὐτὴν θέλεῖε; Λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι· Συγκαθευδῆσαι αὐτῇ θέλομεν. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ἡ μακαρία Θέκλα· Ἐγὼ ταπεινὴ γραῦς εἰμι, θέλη δὲ τῷ Κυρίῳ μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· καὶ κἂν τι ποτὲ δράσαι θέλετε ἄτοπον εἰς ἐμὲ, οὐ δύνασθε. Λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι· Οὐκ ἐστὶ δυνατὸν μὴ πράξαι εἰς σὲ, ἃ θέλομεν. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντες, ἐκράτησαν αὐτὴν ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἐβούλοντο καθυβρίσαι αὐτήν. Ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς μετ' ἐπιεικείας· Ἀναμείνατε, τέκνα, ἵνα ἴδητε τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου. Καὶ κρατουμένη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ εἶπεν· Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ φοβερὸς, καὶ ἀνείκαστος, καὶ ἔνδοξος τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, ὁ ῥυσάμενός με ἐκ πυρὸς, ὁ μὴ παραδώσας με Θαμύριδι, ὁ μὴ παραδώσας με Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὁ ῥυσάμενός με ἐκ θηρίων, ὁ διασώσας με ἐν τῷ βύθῳ, ὁ πανταχοῦ συνεργήσας μοι, καὶ δοξάσας τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν

though she was before apprized of their design, and said to them, *Young men, what is your business?* They replied, *Is there any one within, whose name is Thecla?* She answered, *What would you have with her?* They said, *We have a mind to lie with her.* The blessed Thecla answered: *Though I am a mean old woman, I am the servant of my Lord Jesus Christ; and though you have a vile design against me, ye shall not be able to accomplish it.* They replied: *It is impossible but we must be able to do with you what we have a mind.* And while they were saying this, they laid hold on her by main force, and would have ravished her. Then she with the (greatest) mildness said to them: *Young men, have patience, and see the glory of the Lord.* And while they held her, she looked up to heaven, and said: *O God most reverend, to whom none can be likened; who makest thyself glorious over thine enemies; who didst deliver me from the fire, and didst not give me up to Thamyris, didst not give me up to Alexander; who deliveredst me from the wild beasts; who didst preserve me in the deep waters; who hast every where been my helper,*

ἐμοὶ, καὶ νῦν ῥύσαι με ἐκ τῶν ἀνόμων ἀνθρώπων τούτων, καὶ μὴ ἐάσῃς με ἐνυβρίσαι τὴν παρθενίαν μου, ἣν διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐφύλαξα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν· ὅτι σὲ φιλῶ, καὶ σὲ ποθῶ, καὶ σοὶ προσκυνῶ τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. Καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λέγουσα· Μὴ φοβηθῇς, Θέκλα, δούλη μου ἀληθινὴ, μετὰ σοῦ γάρ εἰμι· ἀπόβλεψον καὶ ἴδε, ὅπου ἠνέῳκται ἔμπροσθέν σου· ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἶκος αἰώνιος ἔσαι σοι, κἀκεῖ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν δέχῃ. Καὶ προσχοῦσα ἡ μακαρία Θέκλα, ἶδεν τὴν πέτραν ἀνεῳγθεῖσαν, ὅσον χωρεῖ ἄνθρωπον εἰσίεναι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ λεχθὲν αὐτῇ ἐποίησεν· καὶ ἀποφυγοῦσα γενναίως τοὺς ἀνόμους, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πέτραν· καὶ συνεκλείσθη εὐθὺς ἡ πέτρα, ὥστε μήτε ἁρμὸν φαίνεσθαι. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ θεωροῦντες τὸ παράδοξον θαῦμα, ὥσπερ ἐν ἐκστάσει ἐγίνοντο, καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐπισχεῖν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βούλην, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον τοῦ μαφορίου αὐτῆς ἐπελάβοντο, καὶ

helper, and haſt glorified thy name in me; now alſo deliver me from the hands of theſe wicked and unreaſonable men, nor ſuffer them to debauch my chaſtity, which I have hitherto preſerved for thy honour; for I love thee, and long for thee, and worſhip thee, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, for evermore. Amen. Then came a voice from heaven, ſaying, *Fear not, Thecla, my faithful ſervant, for I am with thee. Look, and ſee the place which is opened for thee: there thy eternal abode ſhall be; there thou ſhalt receive the (beatifick) viſion.* The bleſſed Thecla obſerving, ſaw the rock opened, to as large a degree, as that a man might enter in; ſhe did as ſhe was commanded, bravely fled from the vile crew, and went into the rock, which inſtantly ſo cloſed, that there was not any crack viſible where it had opened. The men ſtood perfectly aſtoniſhed at ſo prodigious a miracle, and had no power to detain the ſervant of God; but only, catching hold of her veil (or hood) they tore off a piece of it; and even that was by the permiſſion of God, for the confirmation of their faith, who

μέρος τι ἠδυνήθησαν ἀποστάσαι· κἀκεῖνο κατὰ συγχώρησιν Θεοῦ, πρὸς πίστιν τῶν ὁρώντων τὸν σεβάσμιον τόπον, καὶ εἰς εὐλογίαν ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γενεαῖς τοῖς πιστεύσιν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦ ἐκ καρδίας καθαρᾶς. Ἔπαθεν οὖν ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρωτομάρτυς, καὶ ἀπόστολος, καὶ παρθένος Θέκλα, ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰκονίου, ἐτῶν δέκα ὀκτώ, μετὰ δὲ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, καὶ τῆς περιόδου, καὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἔζησεν ἔτη ἄλλα ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο· ὅτε δὲ προσελάβετο αὐτὴν ὁ Κύριος, ἦν ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα· καὶ ἔτως ἡ τελείωσις αὐτῆς γίνεται. Γίνεται δὲ ἡ ὁσία μνήμη αὐτῆς μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ εἰκάδι τετάρτῃ, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

should come to see this venerable place, and to convey blessings to those in succeeding ages, who should believe on our Lord Jesus Christ from a pure heart.—Thus suffered that first martyr and apostle of God, and virgin, Thecla; who came from Iconium at eighteen years of age; afterwards, partly in journeys and travels, and partly in a monastick life in the cave, she lived seventy-two years; so that she was ninety years old when the Lord translated her. Thus ends her life. The day which is kept sacred to her memory is the twenty-fourth of September, to the glory of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore. *Amen.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Several Reaſons for inſerting theſe Acts: they were ranked among the Apocryphal Scriptures by the primitive Chriſtians: ſeveral things contained in them were credited: they went under Paul's Name, and have been eſteemed genuine by ſeveral modern Writers.

I DOUBT not, but that it will ſeem ſtrange to many readers, that a Hiſtory ſo apparently fabulous ſhould have any place in this collection, or be reckoned by me among the Apocryphal books of the New Teſtament. But, to juſtify my inſertion of it, I deſire it may be obſerved:

(1.) That the primitive writers of Chriſtianity were wont to reckon the Acts of Paul and Thecla among the Apocryphal books of the New Teſtament. So,

1. Tertullian[a] in his treatiſe of Baptiſm.

Quod ſi, qui Pauli perperam ſcripta legunt, exemplum Theclæ ad licentiam mulierum docendi tingendique defendunt: ſciant in Aſia preſbyterum, qui eam ſcripturam conſtruxit, quaſi titulo Pauli de ſuo cumulans, convictum atque confeſſum, id ſe amore Pauli feciſſe, et loco diſceſſiſſe.

But if any read the *Apocryphal books* of Paul, and thence defend the right of women to teach and baptize, by the example of Thecla; let them conſider, that a certain preſbyter of Aſia, who forged that book, and adorned his performance with the name of Paul, was convicted of the forgery, and confeſſed that he did it out of reſpect to Paul; and ſo left his place.

2. Jerome in his Life of Luke[b].

Periodos Pauli et Theclæ, et totam baptizati Leonis fabu-

The Acts of Paul and Thecla, with the whole ſtory of the

[a] Cap. 17.

[b] Catal. Vir. Illuſtr. in Luca.

lam, inter Apocryphas ſcripturas computamus. Quale enim eſt, ut individuus comes Apoſtoli, inter cæteras ejus res, hoc ſolum ignoraverit? Sed et Tertullianus vicinus eorum temporum refert, preſbyterum quendam in Aſia, σπουδαστὴν (i. e. amatorem) Apoſtoli Pauli, convictum a Joanne, quod auctor eſſet libri, et confeſſum ſe hoc Pauli amore feciſſe, et ob id loco excidiſſe.

baptized Lion, I reckon among *the Apocryphal Scriptures*. For what ſort of thing muſt it be, which the conſtant companion of the Apoſtle ſhould be ignorant of, and no other thing which he did? But Tertullian, who lived near thoſe times, relates, that a certain preſbyter of Aſia, an admirer of Paul, being convicted by St. John, that he was the author of the book, confeſſed that he did it out of love to Paul, and ſo left his place.

3. Pope Gelaſius in his Decree.

Liber qui appellatur Actus Theclæ et Pauli, Apocryphus.

The book which is entitled *The Acts of Thecla and Paul*, is Apocryphal.

From theſe ſeveral writers it is evident, that in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, the Acts of Paul and Thecla were reputed among the Apocryphal books of the New Teſtament; and this is of itſelf ſufficient to juſtify my inſerting it: but as a farther reaſon, I obſerve,

(2.) That though by the forementioned Fathers the Acts of Paul and Thecla were rejected among the Apocryphal Scriptures, *yet many of its relations, or a large part of the hiſtory, was credited, and looked upon as genuine by the primitive Chriſtians*. The name and hiſtory of Thecla is almoſt as frequent as any other in Chriſtian antiquities. The learned Pamelius[a], and after him Mr. Du Pin[b], Dr. Grabe[c], and others, have given us a long liſt of the places in the ancient

[a] Annot. in Tertull. de Baptiſm. c. 17.

[b] Hiſtory of the Canon of the New Teſt. vol. 2. ch. vi. §. 6.

[c] Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 88, &c.

writers

writers where Thecla is mentioned, and her hiſtory referred to: I ſhall think it ſufficient to cite thoſe only which I have met with, and which appear to me moſt conſiderable; viz, the paſſage of,

1. Cyprian, or whoever was the author of the *Orat. pro Martyr.*

Aſſiſte nobis, ſicut Apoſtolis in vinculis, *Theclæ in ignibus*, Paulo in perſecutionibus, Petro in fluctibus.	Help us, O Lord, as thou didſt help the Apoſtles in their impriſonments, *Thecla amidſt the flames*, Paul in his perſecutions, and Peter amidſt the waves of the ſea.

2. That under the name of Cyprian, intitled, *Orat. quam ſub die paſſionis ſuæ dixit.*

Libera me de medio hujus ſeculi, ſicut liberaſti Theclam de medio amphitheatro, &c.	Deliver me, O Lord, *as thou didſt deliver Thecla, when in the middle of the amphitheatre ſhe was to conflict with wild beaſts.*

3. *Euſebius de Martyr. Palæſtin.* c. 3. (who is ſuppoſed by Valeſius [a], and Du Pin [b], to have referred to this Thecla in the following paſſage.)

Τιτῷ δ' ἅμα γενναιοτάτην ἔνστασιν ἐπιδειξάμενοι Ἀγάπιος, καὶ ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς Θέκλα, θηρίοις εἰς βορὰν κατεδικάσθησαν.	Agapius alſo, and Thecla, *who lived in our time* (or *country*), having ſhewn a prodigious reſolution of mind, were condemned to the beaſts.

On which Valeſius notes, that it was not without deſign that Euſebius added thoſe words, ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς; for *hereby he intended to intimate, that the Thecla, whom he was ſpeaking of, was a different perſon from that ancient Thecla, who was the companion of the Apoſtle Paul.* And ſo Du Pin: *Euſebius makes mention of this Thecla in the third book of Martyrs* (ſo the Engliſh tranſlator has aukwardly rendered it, inſtead of

[a] Annot. in loc. Euſeb. [b] Loc. jam cit.

the *third chapter of his book of the Martyrs of Paleſtine*), *and diſtinguiſhed her from one of the ſame name, who was expoſed to wild beaſts in the perſecution raiſed by Diocletian:* againſt which conjecture I ſee nothing which can be reaſonably objected.

4. Epiphanius, Hæreſ. lxxviii. §. 16.

Καὶ Θέκλα μὲν συναντᾷ Παύλῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ, καὶ διαλύεται γάμῳ, ὁρμασὸν ἔχουσα εὐειδέστατον, πρωτεύοντα δὲ πόλεως, πλούσιον ἄγαν, εὐγενέστατον δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ, καὶ διαφανέστατον. Καὶ περιφονεῖ τῶν ἐπιγείων ἡ ἁγία, ἵνα τῶν ἐπουρανίων ἐγκρατὴς γένηται.

So Thecla, when ſhe met with St. Paul, determined againſt marriage, although ſhe was at that time under engagements *(or betrothed)* to a moſt agreeable young gentleman, who was the chief perſon of the city, both very rich, of a noble family, and every way valuable. But that holy virgin thus contemned the enjoyments of this life, that ſhe might obtain thoſe of a better.

5. St. Auſtin (*lib.* 30. *cap.* 4. *contra Fauſt. Manich.*) brings in Fauſtus thus diſputing:

Si vere favere huic quoque propoſito, et non reluctari volenti id quoque doctrinam putatis eſſe dæmoniorum, taceo nunc veſtrum periculum: ipſi jam timeo Apoſtolo, ne dæmoniorum doctrinam intuliſſe tunc Iconio videatur, cum Theclam oppigneratam jam thalamo in amorem, ſermone ſuo perpetuæ virginitatis incendit.

But if you conclude our opinion to be the doctrine of devils, and that it is not lawful to encourage a perſon to be a virgin, who has a mind to continue ſo: I ſhall ſay nothing of the hazards you run by ſuch an aſſertion; only cannot but be in pain for your own Apoſtle, leſt he himſelf ſhould be found to have eſtabliſhed the doctrine of devils at Iconium, when by a diſcourſe of his there, he incited Thecla to a reſolution of perpetual virginity, although at that time ſhe was actually engaged to marry.

Beſides

Beſides theſe, there are many others of the antient writers who have mentioned Thecla, or referred to her hiſtory; viz. Gregory Nazianzen [a], Chryſoſtom [b], Severus Sulpitius [c], who all lived within the fourth century [d]. In the following ages, the ſubject became more known; the incomparable Photius tells us [e], that Baſil of Seleucia wrote, in verſe, the acts and ſufferings, and victories of the firſt martyr Thecla. I ſhall only add, that Euagrius Scholaſticus, an Eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, who wrote about the year 590, relates, that "after the "Emperor Zeno had abdicated his empire, and Baſiliſk had "taken poſſeſſion of it, he had a viſion of the holy and excel- "lent martyr Thecla, who promiſed him the reſtoration of his "empire; for which, when it was brought about, he erected "and dedicated a moſt noble and ſumptuous temple to this fa- "mous martyr Thecla, at Seleucia, a city of Iſauria, and be- "ſtowed upon it very noble endowments, which (ſays the au- "thor) are preſerved even till this day [f].

(3.) Theſe Acts, which I have above produced, require to be inſerted here, becauſe *they went under the name of St. Paul, and pretended to be written by him.* The fact is certain, from the place of Tertullian above cited, and from the current title the book has had in all ages; and there can be no hiſtory in which St. Paul was ſo much concerned, and acted ſo conſiderable a part, and pretending to be written by himſelf, but muſt very properly fall under conſideration in this volume.

(4.) *Several of the peculiar tenets of Popery are by the advocates of that party confirmed out of this book, as being authentick, genuine, and apoſtolick.* So, for inſtance, the ſtory, Ch. XX. of Falconilla (Trifina's daughter) coming after her death from the other world, and deſiring her to aſk Thecla to pray for her, that ſhe might be tranſlated from her ſtate of miſery to

[a] Orat. 3. n. 63. et 18. n. 17.
[b] Homil. 25. in Act. Apoſt.
[c] De vitâ Martini inter Orthodoxographa, vol. 1. p. 544, &c.
[d] Add to theſe cited, Ambroſe Epiſt. 7. et 82; Gregory Nyſſene in vitâ Macrinæ; Zeno Veronenſis Serm. de Tim. who all lived within the fourth century.
[e] Cod. 168.
[f] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 8.

a ſtate of happineſs; which requeſt Triſina made to Thecla, and Thecla accordingly prayed for her. This paſſage is brought by Damaſcenus [a], to ſupport *the doctrine of praying for the dead, and helping the miſerable in the other world by our prayers and alms.* Again, the Popiſh *doctrine of celibacy* is frequently contended for, and confirmed out of this book; as, perhaps, the firſt prevalence and progreſs of that doctrine owed its original to it [b].

(5.) Add to all this, that not only Cardinal Baronius [c], Locrinus [d], and others; but the learned editor of theſe Acts in England, Dr. Grabe, alſo looks upon *this hiſtory as true and genuine, wrote in the apoſtolick age, and containing nothing in it which is ſuperſtitious, or diſagreeable to that time* [e]; which, if true, will certainly make it as juſtly conſiderable, as any other Apocryphal book whatſoever.

[a] In Serm. de Mortuis adjuvandis apud Sixt. Senenſ. Bib. Sanct. l. 6. annot 47.

[b] Vid. Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trident. Par. 3. p. 89, 96.

[c] Annal. tom. 1. ann. 47. §. 2.

[d] Præfat. in Act. Apoſt. c. 5. apud eund. eod. loco.

[e] Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 90, 94.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Previous Remarks upon theſe Acts: they were in Part the Forgery of an Aſiatick Preſbyter: they are now interpolated: they are Apocryphal and ſpurious; were confeſſed to be ſuch by their Author; were never read nor cited as Scripture: they contain many Falſehoods; as, that Paul was againſt Marriage; that he told a wilful Lie; that he allowed Women to preach. Robert Barclay noted.

HAVING in the former chapter largely given the reaſons of my inſerting theſe Acts of Paul and Thecla, I proceed now to lay before the reader whatever I have obſerved relating to them, with a particular proof that they are Apocryphal. I obſerve then,

(1.) *That ſome part of theſe Acts was certainly written by the preſbyter of Aſia, whom Tertullian mentions in the Apoſtolick age.* (See the place, Chap. preced. Numb. 1.) The truth of this is ſufficiently evinced by this ſingle conſideration, viz. That the peculiar doctrines, which Tertullian ſaith were delivered and contended for out of this book forged by the Aſiatick preſbyter, are to be found in the Acts above publiſhed. The doctrines I mean are thoſe, *That women may lawfully teach or preach in the Church*, and *that women may lawfully baptize.* Theſe are the two things for which this book was cited, and pleaded by thoſe againſt whom Tertullian diſputes; and theſe things are very viſible in the Acts which we have now under conſideration. For,

1. *We read of Thecla's teaching, or preaching, ſeveral times. e. g.* Ch. XXIV. ſhe preached the Word of the Lord, and was the inſtrument of converting many young women to Chriſtianity in the houſe of Trifina at Antioch; and Ch. XXV. when ſhe had found Paul at Myra, and told him of her intended journey to Iconium, he gives her a commiſſion, or command, to preach the Goſpel: *Go*, ſays he, *and teach the Word of the Lord.* And accordingly, Ch. XXVII. we find her

her at Seleucia, enlightening many in the knowledge of Chriſt. And once more, Ch. XXVIII. we read of ſeveral gentlewomen converted by her preaching in the cave. From all this it was eaſy and natural to conclude the lawfulneſs of women's teaching, or preaching.

2. Nor was it with leſs reaſon, that *they did alſo ſupport their practice of baptizing from the example of Thecla:* for, Ch. XXII. it is ſaid, that *ſhe threw herſelf into the water*, and ſaid, *In thy name, O my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I am this laſt day baptized.* And upon her arrival to Paul, Ch. XXV. ſhe acquaints him, that *he who had aſſiſted him in preaching, had alſo aſſiſted her in baptizing.* From hence (to omit many other arguments, which it were eaſy to produce) it is evident, that ſome part of theſe Acts of Paul and Thecla were written by the preſbyter of Aſia.

(2.) *The preſent Acts of Paul and Thecla are very different from the antient book written by the preſbyter of Aſia.* It happened to them, as to many other of the Apocryphal pieces of the New Teſtament; the too fruitful imagination and kind hand of ſome well-deſigning Chriſtian to have embelliſhed the original performance by the addition of many fictitious circumſtances; and juſt as the firſt author declared he was influenced to his forgery out of the prodigious reſpect he had for St. Paul, and with deſign to advance his reputation, ſo with the ſame kind deſign others have taken the liberty of interpolating, and inſerting whatſoever they apprehended conducive to it. This cannot but be moſt clearly evident to any one, who with a juſt impartiality reflects upon the matter; for nothing can poſſibly be more unlike a writing of the firſt century, or apoſtolick age, than a conſiderably large part of this book is: the idle and romantick fables, the ſilly miracles, the incredible ſtories (of which I ſhall produce inſtances below), the ridiculous and late cuſtoms which are referred to, ſuch as *ſigning with the ſign of the croſs*, &c. are ſo many demonſtrative evidences of interpolations in this work long after the Apoſtle's time, and make the compoſure appear much more like the legends of the monks, and the products of the miraculous

culous ages before the reformation, than a real and genuine hiſtory of a plain fact done and written in the Apoſtle's time. Nothing therefore can be a more ſurpriſing evidence of prejudice, than that a perſon of Dr. Grabe's learning [a] ſhould ſo confidently tell us, *That it is a confirmation the Acts of Paul and Thecla were wrote by the preſbyter of Aſia, that there is ſcarce any thing ſuperſtitious in them, or that ſavours of any opinions later than the Apoſtles' age, and that there is nothing in them which might not have been wrote in that firſt century by an honeſt preſbyter, not well verſed in Chriſtianity.*

(3.) *The Acts of Paul and Thecla are Apocryphal.* No one that I know has yet ventured to aſſert them Canonical; but the aſſerting of them to be genuine, true, and containing real fact which happened in the Apoſtles' time, and in which St. Paul bore ſo conſiderable a part; the aſſerting them to contain ſermons and diſcourſes, which were really the ſermons and diſcourſes of the inſpired Apoſtle; in a word, the aſſerting them to relate many real miracles wrought at that time, and the book itſelf written about that time, which is done by Baronius, Lorinus, and Dr. Grabe, ſeems to be little leſs than aſſerting them to be of authority very near equal to the books which are of the Canon. I ſhall therefore, for the moſt part, under this head endeavour after ſuch proof, as will not only ſhew theſe Acts to be Apocryphal, but the whole hiſtory to be ſpurious and falſe, a mere fable and legend.

Arg. I. The Acts of Paul and Thecla appear to be Apocryphal and ſpurious, *from the confeſſion and acknowledgment of the Aſiatick preſbyter who was the firſt author of them.* When he had firſt publiſhed his book, ſuch was the care of thoſe primitive Chriſtians not to be impoſed upon by any ſpurious pieces under the Apoſtles' names, that they immediately endeavoured to detect the fraud; in which they met with the deſired ſucceſs, and obliged him to a confeſſion of the whole

[a] Vix quidquam in iis reperiatur ſuperſtitioſum, aut proprias ſequioris ævi hypotheſes redolens, nihilque ſit, quod non prima iſta ætate ſcribi potuerit, &c. Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 93.

matter,

matter, and upon that deprived him of his office in the Church. All he pleaded for himſelf was, that he made the book out of his great reſpect for St. Paul; by which he could mean no other, than that he deſigned, by relating the miracles attending St. Paul's preaching, to make him of a more advanced reputation. All this is in the place of Tertullian cited at large Chap. preced. Num. 1. to which I ſhall only add out of Jerome (ſee the ſame place, Num. 2.), that he was convicted of the forgery by St. John. Nothing can be more fairly deduced from any words, than it is from hence, that the book of this preſbyter's writing, and the hiſtory contained in it, was the fiction of his own brain; and a compoſure or relation not of any real facts, but a mere fable, or collection of imaginary ſtories to ſerve a purpoſe. This will undeniably prove it Apocryphal and ſpurious; and one would have imagined, there had been ſcarce any way poſſible to have avoided the force of ſuch evidence. But it is ſtrange to obſerve with what ſubtle artifice and pains, learned men will endeavour to elude the force of every thing which is ſaid againſt a favourite opinion. Dr. Grabe[a] has therefore found a means to come off here, and would perſuade us, that the words of Tertullian imply no more, than *that the book was falſely aſcribed to St. Paul, as the author, and not that the ſtory was a fiction.* But can any thing be more evidently calculated to ſerve a purpoſe? The whole of Tertullian's argument, as well as the plain texture of the words, imply it was a fiction; for if the whole that was proved upon the preſbyter was, that he wrote the book; and it was not alſo proved, that he wrote that which was falſe (i. e. if we ſuppoſe with Dr. Grabe, the hiſtory genuine, and only the title or name of Paul to be ſuppoſititious); then the argument taken out of the book for the practice of women's preaching and baptizing would ſtill remain valid and good; which is directly contrary to the whole deſign of Tertullian, which is

[a] At vero iſtud adhuc in quæſtione manet, utrum hiſtoria Theclæ in illo libro narrata, mera fuerit fabula, a Preſbytero illo confecta, cum talis virgo et martyr ſanctiſſima nunquam exſtiterit, iſtave egerit et paſſa ſit pro fide Chriſtiana, quam a Paulo didiciſſe fertur. Sane Tertulliani verba hoc non evincunt; ſed ſolum libellum Preſbyteri illius Aſiatici perperam Apoſtolo adſcriptum, &c. Spicileg. tom. 1. p. 88.

to

to ſhew that argument to be not good; and that becauſe the facts upon which it was founded were not real, but falſe. I conclude therefore from this prieſt's conviction and confeſſion, that not only the book is Apocryphal, but the hiſtory is falſe. It muſt be confeſſed, indeed, that this proof does not directly affect the whole hiſtory, but only that part of it which was then extant, and wrote by the preſbyter. But it is eaſy to anſwer, that if the groundwork or foundation of the ſtory be falſe, i. e. if there were no ſuch perſon as Thecla, nor any tranſactions between Paul and Thecla, then all the interpolations and fictitious additions, which were afterwards built upon that foundation, muſt be falſe too.

Arg. II. The Acts of Paul and Thecla are Apocryphal, becauſe *they are not recited or mentioned in any of the catalogues of the ſacred books of the New Teſtament*, which were made by the primitive writers of Chriſtianity, by Prop. IV.

Arg. III. The Acts of Paul and Thecla are not to be eſteemed Canonical, becauſe *not cited nor referred to as ſuch in any of the writings of the primitive Chriſtians*, by Prop. V. Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. have not ſo much as once mentioned either the book or hiſtory; from whence it would not ſeem unjuſt to conclude, either that the book and hiſtory were not known to them, or elſe looked upon as fabulous and falſe by them. Beſides, were the ſtory known or credited in thoſe early times, it is perfectly unaccountable that Euſebius ſhould no where have mentioned it in his hiſtory, nor have inſerted it in his large liſts of Apocryphal writings under the names of the Apoſtles, which he has given us, Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3. & 25. But to proceed: Tertullian and Jerome have expreſsly mentioned it as Apocryphal: and as I have proved the former of theſe looked upon the whole hiſtory as fabulous and fictitious, ſo it is undeniably evident the latter did too. Hence it is he juſtly banters it, as containing *baptizati leonis fabulam*, the *idle ſtory of a lion's being baptized*, which was undoubtedly in Jerome's and other copies of this book which were extant in his time, but, being ſo very

very groſs, was afterwards expunged by the care of ſome one who thought it ſo. The learned editor of theſe Acts does, indeed, ſuppoſe this ſtory neither to have been originally nor commonly in them; becauſe neither Tertullian nor any other of the Fathers have mentioned it; but that it was accidentally in Jerome's copy, by the careleſſneſs or fraud of ſome ſcribe [a]. But this is a ſuppoſition to ſerve a turn, without the leaſt colour or evidence of truth. His argument ſtands fairly thus: "Paul cites a paſſage out of ſome book of the Old Teſta-"ment; but neither Peter, John, James, nor any one elſe of "the Apoſtles, have cited that paſſage, though it ſeems to "their purpoſe to have cited it; therefore the paſſage was "not genuine, but a peculiar interpolation in Paul's copy." Beſides as to Tertullian, I cannot but obſerve that Dr. Grabe ſaith, if there had been any ſuch ſtory of the baptized lion in the antient Acts, he would certainly have taken notice of it, *libri auctoritatem elevare*, to overthrow the credit and authority of the book; whereas two or three pages before he would perſuade us, Tertullian believed the hiſtory to be genuine, and the book to be true, only that it went falſely under St. Paul's name (ſee above, Arg. I.); than which, nothing can be a more evident contradiction. But ſuch inconſiſtencies the beſt writers are betrayed into, when they have the misfortune to be ſlaves to prejudice.

But it is yet pleaded in behalf of theſe Acts, that *they are frequently cited and referred to by the writers of the fourth century, and by Cyprian more than once in the third.* But, after a ſtrict enquiry into the matter, I find no evidence of this book or hiſtory being either known or credited before the latter end of the fourth century. *Credita ex parte quarta ætate, quum* perpetuæ virginitatis *creſceret admiratio apud Ambroſium, Nazianzenum*, &c. They met with credit among ſome in the fourth century, at the time when the doctrine of *perpetual virginity* grew into eſteem with Ambroſe, Nazianzen, &c. ſays the great antiquary Frederick Spanheim [b]; in which he ſeems moſt juſtly to have hinted both the time and occaſion of theſe

[a] Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 93. [b] Hiſt. Eccl. Secul. 1. p. 567.

Acts

Acts firſt getting into publick eſteem. Nor is it of any force, to ſay they are cited in the former age by Cyprian in his two orations (ſee the places at large, Chap. XXXIV.); for it is almoſt univerſally agreed, that neither of thoſe orations were wrote by that Father, but are ſpurious and ſuppoſititious. Bellarmin himſelf places them both among thoſe works of Cyprian which are *ſuppoſititia vel dubia*; i. e. ſpurious or doubtful [a]; and ſo I find they are ranked in many of the editions of Cyprian's works [b]. Accordingly they have been rejected as ſuch by the criticks in their ſtudies, viz. Eraſmus [c], Cocus [d], Rivet [e], Cave [f], &c. As to Epiphanius, Ambroſe, Gregory Nazianzen, who were cotemporaries, and ſome others who lived about the ſame time, and have cited certain paſſages out of theſe Acts or Hiſtory of Thecla; as it is evident they did not cite them as Scripture, but only as what they believed to be a true and uſeful hiſtory; ſo it is no leſs evident they were impoſed upon by the artifices and frauds of ſome deſigning men, who trumped up this old forgery again, and publiſhed it with the addition of ſome embelliſhment of their own, in order to ſupport the high ſuperſtitious notions which men at this time began to entertain of perpetual virginity. *Non ſemper vera ſunt aut genuina, quæ a priſcis patribus vel uſurpata ſunt, vel etiam aliquando probata*, ſays the learned Rivet on this very matter [g]; i. e. *We are not always to conclude thoſe things to be true, which have been referred to and approved by the antient Fathers.*

Arg. IV. The Acts of Paul and Thecla are Apocryphal, becauſe *they relate ſeveral things falſe, and which are contrary to thoſe things which are certainly known to be true*, by Prop. VIII. I have given above ſome general, and what appears to me concluſive evidence, that the whole buſineſs is a mere romance and fiction; what I intend here is, to ſelect ſome par-

[a] De Script. Eccleſ. ad Cyprian.
[b] Vid. Ind. Opp. Cypriani, et Pamel. Præfat. in tom. 3.
[c] Apud Rivet. Critic. Sacr. lib. 2. c. 15.
[d] Cenſur. Vet. Script. p. 75, 76.
[e] Critic. Sacr. loc. cit.
[f] Hiſt. Liter. in Cypriano, vol. 1. p. 90.
[g] Critic. Sacr. lib. 1. c. 5.

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ticular inſtances of ſuch things as appear directly to oppoſe and contradict acknowledged truths; ſuch as,

1. The doctrine of celibacy, or the unlawfulneſs of marriage, which is here ſaid to be expreſsly taught and preached by Paul, Ch. IV. *Bleſſed are they who keep their fleſh undefiled.* And, Ch. VII. *Bleſſed are the ſouls and bodies of virgins; for they are acceptable to God, and ſhall not loſe the reward of their virginity. For the word of their heavenly Father ſhall prove effectual to their ſalvation in the day of his Son, and they ſhall enjoy reſt for evermore.* So his doctrine is underſtood by Theoclia, Chap. IX. She tells Thamyris that Paul taught, that *we ſhould continue in chaſtity*, i. e. *not marry.* So Demas and Hermogenes repreſent him, Ch. XI. as teaching *there can be no future reſurrection, unleſs ye continue in chaſtity, and do not defile your fleſh*, viz. by marrying: accordingly Thamyris draws up his indictment before the judge againſt him, as aſſerting *matrimony to be unlawful*, Ch. XIV. To add no more, it was on this account Thecla left her intended huſband Thamyris, and ſuch mighty miracles attended her; and, to ſupport this doctrine, it is plain the whole book was calculated. But can any thing be more abſurd, or contrary to truth? This mad doctrine, had it been poſſible for it to have prevailed, muſt ſoon have extinguiſhed and put an end to mankind on earth. Beſides, nothing is more contrary to the known and confeſſed doctrine of St. Paul, who has in his received Epiſtles (which we may, conſidering what is already above ſaid, preſume to be of equal authority with theſe Acts of Paul and Thecla) *ſeveral times wrote*[a] *directly againſt thoſe early Hereticks*, who denied the lawfulneſs of marriage, 1 Cor. vii. 9. he ſtyles ſuch, 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3. *Departers from the faith, giving heed to ſeducing ſpirits*; and calls the doctrines of thoſe who forbid to marry, *the doctrines of devils.* If then the hiſtory of theſe Acts be true, and Paul preached and taught as above, he manifeſtly contradicts himſelf: and I muſt own myſelf of the Manichee Fauſtus's mind, who ſaid (ſee the place

[a] See the former volume of this work, Part II. Ch. XVI. p. 209, &c.

above,

above, Ch. XXXIV. Num. 4.) upon the ſuppoſition of the hiſtory of Paul and Thecla to be true: If the doctrine of celibacy and perpetual virginity be falſe, *I cannot but be in pain for your own Apoſtle (Paul), leſt he ſhould be found himſelf to have eſtabliſhed the doctrine of devils; when, by his diſcourſe at Iconium, he incited Thecla to a vow of perpetual virginity, though ſhe was at that time actually engaged to marry.* I ſee no poſſible method of anſwering the force of this heretick's argument, and to make the Apoſtle conſiſtent with himſelf, if the hiſtory of Paul and Thecla ſhould be true. It is evident therefore theſe Acts contained things falſe; and ſo, that they are Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

2. *The introducing Paul with a known downright lie in his mouth*, Ch. XIX. ſeems to me a juſt foundation to *charge falſehood on theſe Acts of Paul and Thecla.* That he is ſo introduced, is evident; for after an intimate acquaintance between Paul and Thecla (Ch. XIV, XVII.), and their having taken a journey together to Antioch (Ch. XIX.), he is preſently made to deny her, and to tell Alexander, *I know not the woman of whom you ſpeak, nor does ſhe belong to me.* But how contrary this is to the known and true character of St. Paul, every one muſt ſee. He who ſo boldly ſtood up for the defence of the Goſpel againſt all ſort of oppoſition, who hazarded and ſuffered all things for the ſake of God and a good conſcience, which he endeavoured *to keep void of offence towards God and men*, ſure never would ſo eaſily have been betrayed to ſo groſs a crime, to make a ſacrifice of the credit of his profeſſion, and the peace of his conſcience at once upon ſo ſlight a temptation and provocation. Nor will it be of any force to object here, that, in the received Scriptures, Abraham is ſaid twice to have denied his wife, viz. Gen. xii. 19. and xx. 2, &c. as alſo Iſaac is ſaid to have denied his, Gen. xxvi. 7, &c. and in the New Teſtament, that Peter denied his Maſter, and declared he did not know him, Matt. xxvi. 72. for the circumſtances are in many caſes very different, and eſpecially in this, that Paul appeared now in no danger if he had confeſſed her; or, if he had been in danger, might have eaſily delivered himſelf from it; to which add, that he had undergone a thou-

ſand more difficult trials for the ſake of God and a good conſcience, and never was by fear betrayed into ſuch a crime.

3. *It ſeems to be falſe in theſe Acts, that Paul is ſaid* (Ch. XXV.) *to have given Thecla a commiſſion to go forth and preach the Goſpel:* whereas this was contrary not only to the conſtant practice of both Jews and Gentiles, but to his own precepts in his genuine Epiſtles.

1.) *It was contrary to the conſtant practice both of Jews and Gentiles,* that any woman ſhould publickly teach or ſpeak in their aſſemblies. As to the Jews, there is a noted ſaying among them to this purpoſe [a], viz. אשה לא תקרא מפני כבוד הצבור i. e. *A woman ſhall not read in the ſynagogue, becauſe of the honour which is due to the ſynagogue* (*or aſſembly*). Among the Romans it was ſo too. *Quid fœminæ cum concione? Si patrius mos ſervetur, nihil. What have women to do to make publick ſpeeches, or in publick aſſemblies? If we obſerve the cuſtoms of Rome, they have nothing to do in ſuch matter,* ſays Valerius Maximus [b].

2.) Women's teaching in the church is *contrary to St. Paul's own precepts in his genuine Epiſtles.* There are two places, which are remarkable, to this purpoſe, viz. that 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. *Let your women keep ſilence in the churches, for it is not permitted to them to ſpeak*—(nor yet to aſk queſtions in the church; for it follows) *and if they will learn any thing, let them aſk their huſbands at home; for it is a ſhame for women to ſpeak in the church*; and 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. *Let the woman learn ſilence with all ſubjection; but I ſuffer not a woman to teach—but to be in ſilence.* Now hence I argue theſe Acts of Paul and Thecla to be Apocryphal, as containing a notorious falſehood, in aſſerting that Paul commiſſioned Thecla to preach in the churches. For as nothing is more contrary to St. Paul's known character, than to introduce a cuſtom which was ſo contrary to the practice of Jews and Gentiles, and which conſequently would appear ridiculous to both, and be the means

[a] Vid. Capell. Spicileg. in 1 Cor. xiv. 34.

[b] Lib. 3. c. 8. See other inſtances in Grot. Annot. in 1 Cor. xiv. 34.

of

of prejudicing them againſt Chriſtianity; ſo nothing can be a more direct contradiction to the precepts given to the Corinthians and Timothy, which are certainly his. And hence I conclude the ſaid relation in theſe Acts to be falſe, and conſequently the Acts themſelves to be Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

It is well known there are ſome among us, who contend for the reaſonableneſs of women's publick preaching and teaching; with whom I have no farther concern here, than to vindicate the two texts of St. Paul, now cited, from their exceptions. The champion of the party (Robert Barclay, a man unqueſtionably of a good genius) thinks it anſwer enough to them, to ſay, that *women have propheſied and preached in the church* [a]; which is indeed true: but he ſhould have obſerved, that it was only ſuch women as were under the extraordinary influences and conduct of inſpiration (as thoſe he mentions referred to Acts ii, 17. and Philip's daughters, Acts xxi. 9.); of which inſpiration, if the women who preach among them are able to give ſatisfactory evidence, I freely allow, that St. Paul's prohibitions do not extend to them.

[a] See his Apology for the true Chriſtian Divinity, or for the Quakers, Prop. X. p. 328.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Other Arguments to prove the Acts of Paul and Thecla to be Apocryphal; viz. *becauſe they contain ſilly Things, and Things much later than the Time in which the Book pretends to be written*; e. g. *The Sign of the Croſs, and Prayers for the Dead: the Antiquity and Origin of this Cuſtom diſcuſſed.*

Arg. V. THE Acts of Paul and Thecla are Apocryphal, becauſe *they contain ſeveral idle and fabulous relations*, by Prop. IX. Such,

1. I take the *deſcription of Paul's perſon* (Ch. II.) to be. I ſhall fix only on the latter part, in which he is ſaid, *ſometimes to have appeared as a man, ſometimes to appear like, and have the countenance of an angel*; which is a deſcription, as very unlike to any thing in the genuine writings of the New Teſtament, ſo exactly agreeable to the trifling fancies of the ancient Apocryphal books. So, for inſtance, in the ſpurious Acts made by Leucius Charinus under the names of the Apoſtles, we are told, that *Chriſt appeared often in various ſhapes to his diſciples; ſometimes as a young man, ſometimes as an old man, and ſometimes as a child; ſometimes larger, ſometimes leſs; ſometimes ſo tall, as that his head would reach up to the heavens.* (See Phot. Bibl. Cod. CXIV. and the place at large in the firſt Volume of this work, Part II. Chap. XXI. p. 240.) I ſhall ſay nothing of the former part of the deſcription, viz. of his perſonage, his *being of a low ſtature, bald, crooked thighs, hollow-eyed, had a crooked noſe*, &c. only obſerve, that Dr. Grabe concludes from this the great antiquity of the book; becauſe, ſays he [a], there is a like deſcription in Lucian's Philopatris. It is true, indeed, that merry Pagan introduces one of his ſpeakers as a ſort of Chriſtian, and makes him to have received his knowledge of Chriſtianity from one whom he calls the Galilean, and of whom he gives the following ac-

[a] Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 334.

count,

count, viz. [a] that *he was bald behind, crook-nosed, and was taken up to the third heavens; that he there learnt things most excellent, made us new (creatures) by baptism, led us to follow the steps of the blessed, and has redeemed us from the (eternal) abodes of the wicked.* But how will this prove the antiquity of the Acts of Paul and Thecla? *Why*, says the learned Doctor, *because no later writer would have described Paul thus.* But I would ask; Is the description true or false? If false, what will become of the Doctor's favourite Acts? If true, why should any one be ashamed or afraid to own, that Paul was no handsome man? Besides, several later writers have not been ashamed to mention it, as Chrysostom and Nicephorus in particular [b]; nay, several modern criticks have expounded those words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. x. 10. *His bodily presence is weak*, by this passage of Lucian. (See Joannes Stephanus Menochius, and Jacobus Tirinus, and Dr. Whitby in loc.) So that from the Doctor's argument it must follow, these late criticks also lived in the Apostles' time. After all, it is to be questioned whether this dialogue be really Lucian's; and Jacobus Micyllus, who translated it into Latin, seems to believe the contrary [c]. And I will add, that perhaps the author in the words did not respect Paul, but Christ himself, when he says, *he hath redeemed us from the abodes of the wicked*, or from hell, which it is not likely a Christian would say of any one but Christ.

2. It seems very idle and fabulous, which is related Ch. IX. *that Paul should preach incessantly three days, and Thecla continue in her window without meat and drink during all that time.*

3. Nothing can look more with the air of romance, than the *story of Falconilla's coming from the dead, and desiring her*

[a] Ἡνίκα δέ μοι Γαλιλαῖος ἐνέτυχεν, ἀναφαλαντίας, ἐπίῤῥινος, ἐς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀεροβατήσας, καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκμεμαθηκὼς, δι' ὕδατος ἡμᾶς ἀνεκαίνισεν, ἐς τὰ τῶν μακάρων ἴχνια παρεισώδευσε, καὶ ἐν τῶν ἀσεβῶν χώρων ἡμᾶς ἐλυτρώσατο. Philopat. §. 12. He had just before been describing the Trinity, viz. the Father, Son, and Spirit from the Father, ἓν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία, one of three, and three of one, &c.

[b] Apud Whitby in loc.

[c] Argument. huic Dialog. præfix.

mother Trifina to entreat Thecla to pray for her, Ch. XX. I might have reckoned this among the evident falſehoods of this book under the former head; but I choſe rather to omit it there, as I do to ſay more of it here, becauſe I ſhall take more large notice of this matter in the next head, as an invention, or trick, found out long after the time in which it pretends to have been done.

4. *The ſtory of the fiſhes ſwimming dead upon the ſurface of the water, in which Thecla was baptized, by means of the light which attended her baptiſm* (Ch. XXIII.), is an apparent fable. And indeed the author, in this circumſtance of killing the fiſh, has unluckily exceeded; becauſe his deſign did not lead him at all to deſtroy the fiſh, till Thecla was drowned, viz. that they might not devour her. See Ch. XXII. in the end.

Arg. VI. The Acts of Paul and Thecla are Apocryphal by Prop. X. becauſe *they relate ſeveral things which were certainly much later than the time of St. Paul*; i. e. the time in which they are ſaid to be tranſacted. I ſhall make choice of two plain inſtances.

1. *Thecla's ſigning her body with the ſign of the croſs.* This we meet with twice, viz. Ch. XV. when ſhe was going upon the wood-pile, which was made for burning her; and Ch. XXVII. when ſhe was about the ſecond time to leave her mother, and go forth to preach the Goſpel. But there is not the leaſt evidence that there was any ſuch ſuperſtitious cuſtom introduced into the Church till the time of Tertullian; though afterwards it grew exceedingly common among the Chriſtians. But this matter I have already more largely diſcuſſed in this Part, in my obſervations about the Goſpel of Nicodemus [a].

2. A very demonſtrative proof of this book's being a compoſure long after the Apoſtle's time, *I take the inſtance of Falconilla's appearing after her death to her mother Trifina, and deſiring her to intreat Thecla to pray for her, that ſhe might be tranſlated into a ſtate of happineſs*; which Thecla accordingly

[a] Ch. XXXII. p. 348, 349.

is

is said to do in these words, *O Lord God of heaven and earth, Jesus Christ, thou Son of the most High, grant her that her daughter Falconilla may live for ever.* (See Ch. XX.) Now this is certainly a fiction long after the Apostles' times, in whose lives or writings we never meet with any thing that can give the least colour to such doctrine as *prayers for the dead*; but on the other hand, we find them in a just pursuance of their Master's instruction, always declaring the states of men to be immediately fixed and determined, either to unalterable happiness or misery, immediately upon the soul's departure out of the body. I suppose it would appear to others, as it does to me, a very superfluous and needless undertaking to go about the proof of this, which, as well from plain declaration of Scripture, as from the nature of things, is so evident. It concerns me rather to shew the *novelty of the opinion and practice* of praying for the dead; which, I think, will be sufficiently done to my present purpose, by observing that we find nothing of it till the times of Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, &c. It is indeed certain, that very early in the second century many of the Christians had imbibed, out of the Pagan philosophy, very absurd and incongruous notions of the soul in its separate state; e. g. of its *going to subterraneous places, not entering into immediate happiness, or enjoying the beatifick vision of God till after the judgment and resurrection*, &c. Justin Martyr, though in the beginning of the dialogue with Trypho, p. 223, he seems to have determined rightly concerning the future state of souls; viz. that *those which are pious, should abide in some happier place; but those which are unholy and impious, in a miserable place, waiting for the judgment-day* [a]: yet towards the end of that dialogue he seems to imagine otherwise, reasoning thus; viz. *It is apparent that all souls survive this life, because the witch of Endor called up Samuel's soul; whence it appears, that in like manner all the souls of the just men and prophets fall under the custody of some such power (or*

[a] Τὰς μὲν τῶν εὐσεβῶν (ψυχὰς) ἐν κρείττονι σοι χώρῳ μένειν, τὰς δὲ ἀδίκους καὶ πονηρὰς ἐν χείρονι, τὸν τῆς κρίσεως ἐκδεχομένας χρόνον τοῦτ. p. 223.

ſpirit) as was then in that witch. And therefore Chriſt committed his ſpirit into the hands of the Father. And we ought to pray to be delivered from ſuch evil ſpirits at our death [a]. Irenæus ſpeaks more expreſsly to the ſame purpoſe: [b] *It is manifeſt that the ſouls of our Lord's diſciples—ſhall go into a certain inviſible place, appointed for them by God, and ſhall abide there until the reſurrection, waiting for it*, &c. This opinion, ſupported by two ſuch men, and many others of the firſt rank for piety and learning, grew very common in the ſecond century; and from thence the growing ſuperſtition of the third century excited their compaſſion, and put them with a blind devotion upon praying for thoſe whom they judged to be ſo miſerable. But there is not yet the leaſt evidence, that in the time or countries of the Fathers mentioned, there was any ſuch practice as prayers for the dead, or the ſouls of thoſe whom they judged not to have attained to heaven. Tertullian, as I have obſerved, is the firſt who mentions it. *Neque ejus ante Tertullianum ſit mentio*, ſays the learned Scotchman Forbes [c]; *Nor was it mentioned by any one before Tertullian*, who lived (according to Jerome [d]) in the time of the Emperors Severus and Caracalla, i. e. in the very end of the ſecond, and former part of the third century; nor yet by Tertullian, till after he had imbibed and owned the principles of Montaniſm. *Hanc conſuetudinem poſtea ipſe Tertullianus jam factus hæreticus Montaniſta approbat, ut Chriſtianis etiam neceſſario uſurpandam*, &c. This cuſtom of praying for the happineſs of the dead, which Tertullian himſelf intimates was an antient Pagan practice, he afterwards, when he fell into the hereſy of

[a] Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ὅτως δικαίων καὶ ἀχρόφητων ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν ἐτέθησαν τῶν τοιούτων δυνάμεων, ὁποῖα δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐγγαστριμύθῳ ἐκείνῃ, &c. p. 333.

[b] Manifeſtum eſt, quia et diſcipulorum ejus—animæ abibunt in inviſibilem locum, definitum eis a Deo, et ibi uſque ad reſurrectionem commorabuntur, ſuſtinentes reſurrectionem. Adver. Hæreſ. lib. 5. c. 31. This is reckoned among the errors of Irenæus by Scultetus, Medull. Patr. l. 1. c. 8. and Daillé; See *Right Uſe of the Fathers*, book 2. ch. 4. p. 65. although Feuardentius, by a method more ingenious than juſt, endeavours to clear him, and give another ſenſe to his words. Vid. Annot. in loc. Iren. p. 493.

[c] Inſtruct. Hiſtoric. Theolog. l. 13. c. 10. §. 3.

[d] Catal. Vir. Illuſtr. in Tertull.

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the Montaniſts, did approve, as what ought to be uſed by the Chriſtians, ſays the learned Scotch author now cited [a]. The truth of which will appear by this ſingle conſideration, that every one of the books, in which there is any mention of, or reference to, this cuſtom, were wrote by him after his fall into Montaniſm (viz. *De Teſtimon. Animæ adv. Gent. c.* 4. *De Corona Militis, c.* 3. *Exhort. ad Caſtitat. c.* 11. *De Monogamia, c.* 10 [b]). It is evident therefore, that the offering up prayer for the dead, i. e. for the reſt and happineſs of departed ſouls, was not in uſe till the latter end of the ſecond, or beginning of the third century; and conſequently that the Acts of Paul and Thecla, which mention this cuſtom, muſt be wrote in or after this time, which is an undeniable evidence of their being both ſpurious and Apocryphal by Prop. X. The Magdeburg centuriators are of opinion, that this cuſtom aroſe from Montanus; but of this, for want of evidence, I ſhall ſay nothing, only refer the reader to their book, and Pamelius's objection to this opinion of theirs. See Pamel. in Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. 3.

It may indeed be objected, that *the practice of praying for the dead, or departed ſouls, is mentioned in the Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles, and the writings under the name of Dionyſius the Areopagite*; and accordingly theſe are appealed to by Durant [c], and many of the Popiſh writers, for proof of this point. (Vid. Pamel. loc. cit.)

To which I anſwer, that it is indeed true, the rite of praying for ſouls in their ſeparate ſtate, is plainly enough mentioned in theſe books. In the pretended Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles (book 8. c. 41.) we are not only *exhorted to pray for our brethren that are at reſt in Chriſt, that God, who has received their ſouls, would forgive them every ſin, voluntary and involuntary, and be merciful to them, and give them their lot in the land of the pious*, &c. but *we have a form of prayer for a deceaſed perſon prepared for the Biſhop to make uſe of.* In the

[a] Loc. jam cit.

[b] See Dr. Cave's Hiſt. Liter. p. 58. Jerome's Catal. Vir. Illuſtr. in Tertull.

[c] De Ritib. Eccleſ. Catholic. lib. 2. c. 43. in init.

book

book under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite [a], we meet with the same doctrine; and in the form for burying the dead, *the Bishop is instructed to address the divine mercy, and pray that God would pardon all the sins of the deceased person; which were committed through human infirmity; that he would place him in the (world of) light, and region of the living, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, &c. And a little farther, *the Priest or Bishop is taught to pray, that God would bestow sacred rewards on all such who did live piously* [b]. But neither of these testimonies will gain the least antiquity to the practice, it being a thing which has been often demonstrated, and is now acknowledged almost by every one, that both the Constitutions (as they are called) of the Apostles, and the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, are the forgeries of some silly impostors, who lived at the distance of several centuries from the Apostles' time. And indeed to me it seems a very convictive argument of the lateness of both these works, that they have this business of praying for the souls of the deceased mentioned in them; and accordingly I observe, that Mr. Turner [c], in his discourse about the Constitutions against Mr. Whiston, makes the above-cited passage of prayers for the dead to be *one probable mark of their forgery*. In the ages in which these spurious books were written, no doctrine, no practice more common, than that of prayers and sacrifices for separate souls. It spread very much in the third and fourth centuries; and I have seen the mention of it (besides in the places above cited) in Cyprian [d], Epiphanius [e], who warmly disputes for it, and reckons Aerius among the hereticks for opposing it; Cyril of Jerusalem [f], Austin in diverse places [g];

[a] De Ecclesiast. Hierarch. cap. 7. §. 4.

[b] Ibid. §. 7.

[c] Ch. 23. p. 274.

[d] Epist. 66. Though the learned anonymous Protestant Annotator on Cyprian says there, which is very strange, *Nulla Cypriani saeculo preces pro defunctis*; but he is certainly mistaken.

[e] Haeres. 75. §. 3, 7.

[f] Catech. Mystagog. v. §. 6. Cocus (Censur. quorund. vet. Scriptor. p. 117, 118.) and Rivet (Critic. Sacr. l. 3. c. 8, 10.) endeavour to prove, that these five Mystagogical Catecheses are not Cyrill's: but Dr. Cave labours to prove they are, Hist. Liter. vol. 1. p. 163.

[g] Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 110. De Civitat. Dei, lib. 5. c. 20. De Haeresib. ad Quodvult. Num. 53.

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to omit a multitude of other writers of the ſucceeding ages, which, with whatſoever is to be ſaid on this ſubject, he who has a mind may ſee in Pamelius [a], Chemnitius [b], Durant [c], Forbes [d], &c.

Upon the whole, I hope, I have ſufficiently proved theſe Acts of Paul and Thecla to be ſpurious and Apocryphal; and ſhall only add, that though ſome of the Popiſh party have eſteemed them genuine (as Molanus, and others), in order to ſupport the above-mentioned doctrine, yet the more learned and impartial have rejected them as fictitious and fabulous, as Bellarmin and Durant. *Quare quod de Trajano et Falconilla, quos liberatos ex inferno orationibus S. Gregorii et Theclæ ex Damaſceno et quibuſdam aliis vulgo fertur——ficta et commentitia ſunt, quod pluribus probat eruditus Bellarminus* [e]: Wherefore, ſays Durant, that which is commonly reported out of Damaſcene, and others, concerning Trajan and Falconilla being delivered out of hell by the prayers of St. Gregory and Thecla, is fictitious and forged, which the learned Bellarmine has largely proved, Controverſ. 6. l. 2. c. 8.

If at laſt I were to offer my conjecture concerning the original and progreſs of theſe Acts of Paul and Thecla, it ſhould be this: that whereas it is very certain, and I have largely proved (Vol. I. Par. II. Ch. XVI. p. 209, &c.), that in the very infancy of Chriſtianity, great numbers of perſons called Chriſtians, aſſerted the unlawfulneſs of marriage, and contended for celibacy, the preſbyter of Aſia took occaſion from the growth of this opinion to forge theſe Acts, to which, as the opinion grew more received, additions were made for many ages for its ſupport.

[a] In varia Tertulliani et Cypriani loca ſupra citata.

[b] Exam. Concil. Trident. par. 3. p. 138, &c.

[c] De Ritib. Eccleſ. Cathol. lib. 2. c. 43.

[d] Inſtruct. Hiſtoric. Theolog. lib. 13. c. 8, 9.

[e] Durant. loc. cit.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Reaſons of conſidering the Epiſtle of Barnabas here: all the Teſtimonies of the Antients (viz. Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Euſebius, and Jerome) concerning it.

I Propoſed here to have finiſhed the third part of this work, but find it will be by no means proper to do it without ſome conſideration of the Epiſtle of Barnabas; this being a book extant, which ſeems to lay a more pompous claim to Canonical authority than many others. There are indeed, ranked commonly along with Barnabas, other antient pieces, for whom alſo learned men have made very conſiderable claims, viz. *The two Epiſtles of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians*, *The Shepherd of Hermes*, *The Conſtitutions of the Apoſtles*, *The Epiſtle of Polycarp*, *The Epiſtles of Ignatius*, and ſome ſuch other. I deſigned in this volume particularly to have conſidered each of theſe, and refuted their reſpective claims; but am obliged to lay aſide this work for the preſent, partly becauſe the inſerting them would make this volume too large, and much beyond the ſize propoſed, and partly becauſe the Apoſtolick Fathers will for ſeveral reaſons appear better in a diſtinct volume, which, after this is finiſhed, with the bleſſing of God I intend. But the Epiſtle of Barnabas was by no means to be omitted; it is that which of all the Apoſtolick Fathers bids faireſt for Canonical authority, as pretending to be wrote by one who was *expreſsly ſet apart and ſent forth to the work of an Apoſtle by the order of the Holy Ghoſt*, Acts xiii. 2, 3, 4. is called *an Apoſtle*, Acts xiv. 14. and ſaid to be *a good man, full of faith and of the Holy Ghoſt*, Acts xi. 24. He was long a conſtant companion of St. Paul in his journeys for the propagation of Chriſtianity. His Epiſtle is called *The Catholick Epiſtle of Barnabas*, cited by ſome of the antient Fathers, read in the Churches, generally eſteemed by learned men in all parts to have been genuine, and placed by many of them in a rank little inferior to thoſe of the ſacred Canon, and by ſome judged of equal authority with the books of

of the Canon. All this makes it abſolutely neceſſary this Epiſtle ſhould be conſidered here. As it is in our language already, I ſhall not inſert it here, but refer the Engliſh reader to the tranſlation made by his Grace the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

In diſcuſſing this Epiſtle, I will,

(1.) Produce the teſtimonies of the antient writers concerning it.

(2.) Shew the ſentiments of more modern writers.

(3.) Make the beſt reflections upon the whole which I am able; and endeavour to ſhew it to be a ſpurious, Apocryphal, and ſilly piece.

(1.) I ſhall firſt produce the teſtimonies of the antient writers within the firſt four centuries relating to this Epiſtle, according to the order of time in which they lived: among theſe, the principal is,

1. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

1.) *Stromat. lib.* 2. *p.* 373.

Εἰκότως ἓν ὁ Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας, Ἀφ' ἓ, φησὶν, ἔλαβον μέρος, ἐσπούδασα κατὰ μικρὸν ὑμῖν πέμψαι· ἵνα μετὰ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, τελείαν ἔχητε καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν. Τῆς μὲν ἓν πίστεως ἡμῶν εἰσιν οἱ συλλήπτορες φόβος καὶ ὑπομονή· τὰ δὲ συμμαχοῦντα ἡμῖν μακροθυμία καὶ ἐγκράτεια. Τούτων ἓν, φησὶ, τὰ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, μενόντων ἁγνῶς, συνευφραίνονται αὐτοῖς, σοφία, σύνεσις, ἐπιστήμη, γνῶσις.

Rightly therefore ſaid the Apoſtle Barnabas: *Out of the portion (of knowledge) which I have received, I have endeavoured briefly to write to you, that together with your faith you may alſo have a perfect knowledge.* (This is to be found in the preſent Epiſtle of Barnabas, Ch. I. What follows is in Ch. II.) *The aſſiſtants therefore of our faith are fear and patience; our fellow-ſoldiers are long-ſuffering and temperance. So then* (ſays he) *while theſe abide pure in things relating to the Lord, wiſdom, underſtanding, learning, and knowledge, rejoice together with them.*

2.) *Ejuſdem*

2.) *Ejuſdem libri, p.* 375.

Καὶ Βαρνάβας ὁ Ἀπόστολος, Οὐαὶ οἱ συνετοὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμονες, προτάξας [a], ἐπήγαγεν· Πνευματικοὶ γενώμεθα, ναὸς τέλειος τῷ Θεῷ· ἐφ' ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, μελετῶμεν τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ φυλάσσειν ἀγωνιζώμεθα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασιν αὐτοῦ εὐφρανθῶμεν.

And the Apoſtle Barnabas (firſt citing thoſe words of Iſaiah, ver. 21. *Wo unto them that are wiſe in their own eyes, and prudent in their own conceit*) adds, *Let us be ſpiritual, a perfect-temple to God, and, as far as we are able, let us conſider the fear of God, and ſtrive to keep his commandments, that we may rejoice in his judgments.* This is in the Epiſtle of Barnabas, Ch. IV.

3.) *Ejuſdem libri, p.* 389.

Clemens there cites Barnabas by name, and takes out of him a paſſage which is in the tenth chapter of the Epiſtle under his name; but in another place cites the paſſage more largely, and thence I ſhall take it and inſert it below, Num. 6.

4.) *Ejuſdem libri, p.* 396, 397.

Ἀμέλει μυστικῶς ὁ Βαρνάβας· Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κυριεύων, φησὶ, δώη καὶ ὑμῖν σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν, ἐπιστήμην, γνῶσιν τῶν δικαιωμάτων αὐτοῦ, ὑπομονήν. Γίνεσθε ἓν θεοδίδακτοι, ἐκζητοῦντες τί ζητεῖ ὁ Κύριος ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἵνα εὑρητε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως.

Barnabas really ſpoke myſtically, and ſaid: *May that God, who is ruler of all the world, give you wiſdom and prudence, underſtanding and knowledge of his judgments, and patience. May ye be taught of God, ſeeking to know what the Lord requires of you, that you may find (mercy) in the day of judgment* [a]. This is in the laſt chapter of the Epiſtle of Barnabas.

5.) *Ejuſdem*

[a] [Vulg. προτάξας.]

[b] I make no ſcruple to end the paragraph according to the punctuation of Cotelerius, who has evidenced the preſent punctuation in the printed copies of Clemens to be abſurd;

5.) *Ejuſdem libri*, p. 410, 411.

Ὅπως δὲ ἡμεῖς τῷ Διαβόλῳ τὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὰ πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα εἰς τὴν τῶ ἁμαρτωλῶ ψυχὴν ἐπισπείρειν φαμὲν, ἔμοι δεῖ πλειόνων λόγων, παραθεμένῳ μάρτυν τὸν ἀποστολικὸν Βαρνάβαν· ὁ δὲ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἦν, καὶ συνεργὸς τῷ Παύλῳ· κατὰ λέξιν ὧδέ πως λέγοντα· Πρὸ τῶ ἡμᾶς πιστεῦσαι τῷ Θεῷ, ἦν ἡμῶν τὸ οἰκητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀσθενὲς, ἀληθῶς οἰκοδομητὸς ναὸς διὰ χειρός· ὅτι ἦν πλήρης μὲν εἰδωλολατρείας, καὶ ἦν οἶκος δαιμόνων, διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν ὅσα ἦν ἐναντία τῷ Θεῷ——Προσέχετε ἵνα ὁ ναὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐνδόξως οἰκοδομηθῇ· πῶς; μάθετε, λαβόντες τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα, γενώμεθα καινοὶ πάλιν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτιζόμενοι.——Διὸ

How is it that we hold the influences of the Devil and evil ſpirits upon the ſoul of a ſinner, needs not that I ſhould declare in many words, but only that I make uſe of the teſtimony of the Apoſtolick Barnabas (for he was one of the ſeventy, and a fellow-laboutrer with Paul) ſpeaking in the following manner: *Before we were believers on God, the tabernacle of our hearts was corrupt and impotent (to any good), and properly as a temple built with hands; for it was full of idolatry, the habitation of Devils, becauſe every thing that was oppoſite to God was done in it.——Conſider, that now the Temple of the Lord is gloriouſly built; How? Learn, that receiving the forgiveneſs of our ſins, and having hope in the name of the Lord, we are made new again (as) we were made at firſt*[a]——

abſurd; though, I confeſs, upon this correction there ſeems to be a word wanting, which I have ſupplied in my tranſlation by the word *mercy*; and ſo it will agree with the preſent Greek of Barnabas.

[a] It is evident that there ought to be a correction of the copies both of Barnabas and Clemens in this place, and that the comma ought to be inſerted after πάλιν, to join it with the former words; and that the particle ὡς, or ἐκεῖ, or ſome ſuch, muſt be inſerted after it. Without this, how odd is the phraſe! Let the Archbiſhop's tranſlation, in which he has followed the preſent punctuation, ſhew it: he tranſlates thus after the Greek—*We are become renewed, being again created from the beginning*; of which I confeſs myſelf unable to make any ſenſible conſtruction.

ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ Θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν· Πῶς; ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως, ἡ κλῆσις αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἡ σοφία τῶν δικαιωμάτων, αἱ ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς.

So that God really dwells in our tabernacle, i. e. *in us. But how? viz. The word of his faith, the calling of his promiſe, the wiſdom of his judgments, and the commands of his inſtruction.* This is in Barnabas's Epiſtle, Ch. XVI.

6.) *Stromat. lib.* 5. *p.* 571, 572.

Ἔμπαλιν δὲ ἐπιτρέπει διχηλεῖν καὶ μαρυκώμενον ἐσθίειν μηνύων, φησὶν ὁ Βαρνάβας, κολλᾶσθαι δεῖν μετὰ τῶν φοβουμένων τὸν Κύριον, καὶ μετὰ τῶν μελετώντων ὃ ἔλαβον διάψαλμα ῥήματος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, μετὰ τῶν λαλούντων δικαιώματα Κυρίου καὶ τηρούντων, μετὰ τῶν εἰδότων ὅτι ἡ μελέτη ἐστὶν ἔργον εὐφροσύνης, καὶ ἀναμαρυκωμένων τὸν λόγον Κυρίου. Τί δὲ τὸ διχηλεῖν; ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιπατεῖ, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον αἰῶνα ἐκδέχεται. Εἶτα ἐπιφέρει· Βλέπετε, πῶς ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Μωϋσῆς καλῶς. Ἀλλὰ πόθεν ἐκείνοις ταῦτα νοῆσαι ἢ συνιέναι; ἡμεῖς δικαίως νοήσαντες τὰς ἐντολὰς, λαλοῦμεν ὡς ἠθέλησεν

Again (Moſes) permitted them to eat thoſe animals which divided the hoof and chewed the cud[b]; *teaching us thereby*, ſays Barnabas, *that we ought to aſſociate with thoſe who fear the Lord, and with thoſe who meditate upon the word which they have received, as it was divided to them; with thoſe who declare the judgments of the Lord, and obey them; with thoſe who know that meditation is a work of pleaſure, and ſo ruminate (or chew) upon the word of the Lord. But why might they eat thoſe who divided the hoof? Becauſe the juſt man, though he live here on earth, has his expectations from an holy eternity.* Then he adds: *See what excellent laws Moſes gave! But how came they by the knowledge and underſtanding of theſe things? As for our part, we duly conſider his commands, and ſo ſpeak as the Lord's mind is*

[b] Lev. xi. 4, &c. Deut. xiv. 4, &c.

becauſe

Κύριος· διὰ τοῦτο περιέτεμε τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρδίας, ἵνα συνίωμεν ταῦτα. Καὶ μὴν ὅτ' ἂν λέγῃ, Οὐ φάγῃ τὸν ἀετὸν, τὸν ὀξύπλερον καὶ τὸν ἰκτινον, καὶ τὸν κόρακα, οὐ κολληθήσῃ, φησὶν, οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις, οἵ οὐκ ἴσασι διὰ πόνου καὶ ἱδρῶτος πορίζειν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν τροφὴν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁρπαγῇ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ βιοῦσιν.

becauſe he hath circumciſed our ears and hearts, that we ſhould underſtand theſe things. And when he ſays, Thou ſhalt not eat the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the kite, nor the crow, *he means, Thou ſhalt not aſſociate with, nor be like to thoſe men, who know not how by their labour and ſweat to get themſelves food, but live in rapine and oppreſſion.* This is all in Barnabas's Epiſtle, Ch. X.

7.) *Ejuſdem libri, p.* 577, 578.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ Βαρνάβας, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς συγκηρύξας τῷ ἀποστόλῳ κατὰ τὴν διακονίαν τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸν λόγον, Ἁπλούστερον, φησὶν, ὑμῖν γράφω ἵνα συνίητε. Εἶθ' ὑποβὰς, ἤδη σαφεστέρου γνωσικῆς παραδόσεως ἵνα παρατιθέμενος λέγει· Τί λέγει ὁ ἄλλος προφήτης Μωϋσῆς αὐτοῖς; Ἰδὲ τάδε λέγει Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς, Εἰσέλθετε εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, ἣν ὤμοσεν Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ· καὶ κατακληρονομήσατε αὐτὴν γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα

So alſo Barnabas, who was a fellow-preacher with the Apoſtle in his miniſtry of the Word among the Gentiles, ſaid, *I write to you more plainly, that ye may underſtand.* And a little after, citing a more plain inſtance out of the wiſeſt of all books, he adds, *What ſays another Prophet, Moſes, to them? Enter ye into the good land, which the Lord God, the God of Abraham, and Iſaac, and Jacob hath ſworn (to give you), and ye ſhall inherit a land flowing with milk and honey* [b]. *Conſider now*

[b] Exod. iii. 7, 8.

καὶ μέλι. Τί λέγει ἡ γνῶσις, μάθετε· ἐλπίσατε, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ μέλλοντα φανερῶσθαι ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν· ἄνθρωπος γὰρ γῆ ἐστι πάσχουσα· ἀπὸ προσώπου γὰρ γῆς ἡ πλάσις τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐγένετο. Τί δὲ λέγει εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, τὴν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι; εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοὶ, ὁ σοφίαν καὶ νοῦν θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν κρυφίων αὐτοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης, Παραβολὴν Κυρίου τίς

what the meaning of this is; it is as if he ſaid, Depend upon Jeſus, who will hereafter be manifeſted in the fleſh. For man is the earth which ſuffers; for the firſt man was made out of the ſuperficies of the earth. But what does he mean by the land flowing with milk and honey? Brethren, bleſſed be our Lord, who has given us wiſdom and underſtanding in his ſecrets; for the Prophet ſays [a], Who ſhall underſtand the hard ſayings of the Lord?

νοήσει, εἰ μὴ σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν Κύριον αὐτοῦ; Epiſt. Barnab. c. 6.

Theſe are all the places in which Clemens Alexandrinus expreſsly cites any part of this Epiſtle [b]. He mentions indeed the name of Barnabas in another place (viz. Stromat. l. 6. p. 646.); but Cotelerius [c] and Dr. Grabe [d] have conjectured, that it was through a defect in memory, the words which he cites being in the firſt Epiſtle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, Ch. XLVIII. and not in any part of Barnabas's Epiſtle (ſee above, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. VIII. p. 161.); which, as I have ſaid in the place cited, ſeems probable, unleſs we will chooſe rather to ſuppoſe, that the name of Barnabas was by ſome buſy ſcribe inſerted in the room of Clemens; which one would be the more inclined to believe, becauſe few

[a] Iſaiah xl. 13. Prov. i. 6. Eccleſ. i. 10. are the places which Cotelerius ſuppoſes to be referred to here. There ſeems to me ſomething wanting in the copies both of Barnabas and Clemens here; there being no anſwer given to the preceding queſtion.

[b] Clemens in Pædagog. l. 2. c. 10. p. 188. alludes to Barnabas, ch. x. but does not name him.

[c] Teſtim. præfix. Patr. Apoſt. p. 3.

[d] Spicileg. Patr. tom. i. p. 303.

lines

lines after this Clemens Romanus is cited, and a paſſage taken out of his Epiſtle to the Corinthians, ch. xx. and, if I am not much miſtaken, Clemens Alexandrinus in another place (viz. Stromat. lib. 1. p. 289.) citing this very paſſage, does expreſsly aſcribe it to Clemens Romanus, and ſubjoins the very next words following in that Epiſtle of his to the Corinthians, ch. xlviii. Which puts the matter beyond all doubt, that Clemens Alexandrinus's copies are here corrupted, and the name of Barnabas falſely inſerted here inſtead of Clemens.

2. ORIGEN has cited the Epiſtle of Barnabas.

1.) *Contr. Celſ. lib.* 1. *p.* 49.

Γέγραπται δὴ ἐν τῇ Βαρνάβα Καθολικῇ Ἐπιστολῇ (ὅθεν ὁ Κέλσος λαβὼν τάχα εἶπεν, εἶναι ἐπιῤῥήτως καὶ πονηροτάτας τὰς ἀποστόλους), ὅτι ἐξελέξατο τὰς ἰδίας ἀποστόλους Ἰησοῦς, ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν ἀνομωτέρους.

It is true indeed, it is written in the Catholick Epiſtle of Barnabas (and perhaps that is the very place, which gave Celſus a handle to repreſent the Apoſtles as the vileſt and moſt infamous perſons) *that Jeſus choſe thoſe to be his own Apoſtles, who were exceeding great ſinners.* Epiſt. Barnab. Ch. V.

This paſſage out of Barnabas, with what precedes it in Origen, from thoſe words ὅτι τοῖς δυναμένοις, pag. 48. lin. 10. to thoſe οὐκ οἶδα, pag. 49. lin. 42. is alſo in the extracts of Gregory Nazianzen and Baſil out of Origen's works, intitled *Philocalia.* (See Ch. XVIII.)

2.) *De Princip. lib.* 3. *c.* 2. *fol.* 144.

Eadem quoque Barnabas in Epiſtola ſua declarat, cum duas vias eſſe dicit, unam lucis, alteram tenebrarum; quibus et præeſſe certos quoque Angelos dicit: viæ quidem lucis Angelos Dei, tenebrarum au-

To the ſame purpoſe Barnabas ſpeaks in his Epiſtle, when he ſaith, *That there are two ways, the one of light, the other of darkneſs, over both which certain Angels preſide*; viz. *the Angels of God over the way*

tem viæ Angelos Satanæ. Cap. XVII. Barnab.

way of light, and the angels of Satan over the way of darkneſs.

3. EUSEBIUS.

1.) *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3. c. 25.*

Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω ——ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή.

The Epiſtle which is carried about under the name of Barnabas, is to be ranked among the books which are ſpurious.

2.) *Idem Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 13.*

Κέχρηται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις, τῆς τε λεγομένης Σολομῶντος Σοφίας, καὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σιρὰχ, καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς, τῆς τε Βαρνάβα, καὶ Κλήμεντος, καὶ Ἰούδα.

Beſides he (viz. Clemens Alexandrinus) in his Stromata takes ſome teſtimonies out of thoſe Scriptures which are rejected by ſome; viz. *The Wiſdom of Solomon, The Wiſdom of the Son of Syrach, The Epiſtle to the Hebrews, The Epiſtle of Barnabas, and Clemens and Jude.*

3.) *Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 14.*

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὑποτυπώσεσι πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου γραφῆς πεποίηται διηγήσεις, μήδε τὰς ἀντιλεγομένας παρελθών· τὴν Ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς Καθολικὰς Ἐπιστολὰς, τήν τε Βαρνάβα καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λεγομένην Ἀποκάλυψιν.

In his book called *Hypotopoſes* (the ſame Clemens) has wrote ſome ſhort commentaries upon all the books of Scripture, not omitting even the controverted books; I mean *that of Jude, and the other Catholick Epiſtles, the Epiſtle of Barnabas, and that called the Revelation of Peter.*

4. JEROME.

1.) *Catal. Vir. Illuſt. in Barnab.*

Barnabas Cyprius, qui et Joſeph Levites, cum Paulo gen-

Barnabas of Cyprus, called alſo Joſeph the Levite, was ordained

tium Apoſtolus ordinatus, unam ad ædificationem Eccleſiæ pertinentem Epiſtolam compoſuit, quæ inter Apocryphas Scripturas legitur.

ordained Apoſtle of the Gentiles together with Paul, and has wrote one Epiſtle for the edification of the Church, *which is read among the Apocryphal Scriptures.*

2.) *Idem Comment. in Ezek.* xliii. 19.

Vitulum autem qui pro nobis immolatus eſt, et multa Scripturarum loca, et præcipue Barnabæ Epiſtola, quæ habetur inter Scripturas Apocryphas, nominat.

Many parts of Scripture, and eſpecially the Epiſtle of Barnabas, which is reckoned among the Apocryphal Scriptures, mentions *(Chriſt under the repreſentation of)* a young beaſt *(or the heifer,* Num. ch. xix.) which was ſacrificed for us[a]. Epiſt. Barnab. Ch. VIII.

3.) *Idem, adv. Pelag. lib.* 3. *c.* 1.

Ignatius (*lege* Barnabas) vir apoſtolicus et martyr ſcribit audacter; Elegit Dominus Apoſtolos, qui ſuper omnes homines peccatores erant.

Ignatius (he meant, if he did not write, Barnabas) an apoſtolick man and a martyr, boldly writes, *The Lord choſe his Apoſtles, who were ſinners above all men.*

Cotelerius[b] and others ſuppoſe Jerome by fault of memory to have miſtaken Ignatius for Barnabas, the paſſage being ſo clear in the latter, and no where to be found in the writings of the former; though Dr. Bernard[c], after Archbiſhop Uſher[d], by an ingenious conjecture ſuppoſes the miſtake to have happened from this, viz. that the Epiſtles of Barnabas and Ignatius were joined in one volume, and by that means Jerome cited what he knew was in the volume where Barnabas was, though it happened not to be in Barnabas.

[a] Hugo Menardus has obſerved this place, and that it can only refer to the eighth chapter of Barnabas. See his note there, 96.

[b] Teſtimon. præfix. Ep. Barnab.

[c] Vid. ejus Adnot. annex. edit. Oxon. hujus epiſtolæ.

[d] Vid. Præfat. edit. Oxon.

4.) *Idem Lib. de interpret. nomin. Hebraic. ex Epiſtola Barnabæ.*

Abraham, pater videns populum.	*Abraham, i. e.* a father ſeeing people.
Amalec, populus lingens, ſive populus brutus.	*Amalec, i. e.* a people lapping, or a brutiſh people.
David, deſiderabilis.	*David, i. e.* deſirable.
Eva, calamitas, aut certe vita.	*Eve, i. e.* calamity, or it is certainly life.
Ephraim, frugifer ſive uber-tas.	*Ephraim, i. e.* fruitful, or fruitfulneſs.
Manaſſe, oblitus.	*Manaſſe, i. e.* having forgot.
Nahum, germen.	*Nahum, i. e.* a ſprout.
Rebecca, patientia.	*Rebecca, i. e.* patience.
Sabbata, requies.	*Sabbath, i. e.* reſt.
Sion, ſpecula.	*Sion, i. e.* a watch-tower.
Sina, menſura, mandatum, tentatio.	*Sina, i. e.* a meaſure, command, or trial.
Satan, adverſarius, ſive præ-varicator.	*Satan, i. e.* an adverſary, a deceiver.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Sentiments of modern Writers concerning the Epiſtle of Barnabas, viz. *Archbiſhop Uſher, Hugo Menardus, Archbiſhop Laud, Iſaac Voſſius, Cotelerius, Biſhop Fell, Dr. Bernard, Mr. Dodwell, Mr. Du Pin, Dr. Cave, Frederick Spanheim, Mr. Toland, the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Mill, Mr. Eachard, Dr. S. Clark, Mr. Whiſton, Mr. Le Clerc, and Dr. Jenkin.*

HAVING thus produced all that I know, which is ſaid by the antients within my time, concerning the Epiſtle of Barnabas, I proceed now to give the reader ſome account of the ſentiments of modern writers on the ſame. And here,

as

as in other caſes, we ſhall find them divided into various and differing opinions. I ſhall recite them according to the order of time, in which they lived or wrote.

1. Archbiſhop USHER[a].

He was the firſt who undertook the publiſhing or printing this Epiſtle in the world, in the year 1643; but by means of a great fire which happened that year at Oxford, the printing-houſe with all its furniture was deſtroyed, and, among the reſt, the manuſcript copy of Barnabas, with all the Archbiſhop's notes, and nothing ſaved, but only a few pages which were in the corrector's hands, which were procured of him by Dr. Bernard, and given by him to Biſhop Fell, who publiſhed them in the preface to his edition of Barnabas at Oxford, 1685.

What this learned primate's opinion was concerning the author and authority of this Epiſtle, is not (as Biſhop Fell obſerves) fully expreſſed in any part of this Fragment; yet there are no contemptible evidences therein, that he eſteemed it the work of ſome unknown author, who wrote not long after the time of Barnabas, and that it was excluded from the Canon by the judgment of the univerſal Church; which never received any works aſcribed to Barnabas.

2. HUGO MENARDUS[b].

He was a Benedictine monk (or, which is the ſame[c], of the order of St. Maurus), and prepared an edition of this Epiſtle out of a Greek manuſcript, which he had from Father Sirmond, and an antient Latin Verſion of it, which was found in a manuſcript of the Abbey of Corbey, near a thouſand years old; but he dying before he could publiſh it, Father Don Luke d'Acherry printed it after his death at Paris, 1645[d]. Me-

[a] Præfat. edit. Oxon.

[b] Vid. Menard. judic. præfix. huic epiſtolæ in Clerici edit. Patrum Apoſtolic.

[c] St. Maurus was one of the diſciples of Benedictus Nurſinus, the founder of this order, as indeed of moſt of the mouaſtick diſcipline in the ſixth century, &c. Vid. Spanheim. Hiſt. Eccl. Sec. vi. §. 13. p. 1147, 1148.

[d] Dupin's Hiſtory of the Canon, vol. ii. c. 6. §. 7. p. 133.

nardus obſerves, that it was juſtly eſteemed to be Apocryphal by Euſebius, Jerome, &c. not only becauſe it was uncertain whether this Epiſtle was wrote by Barnabas, but becauſe there are ſome ſilly and inexcuſable things in it. Nor does it at all prove to the contrary, that Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen have cited it without expreſsly mentioning that it was Apocryphal; becauſe they have in like manner cited other books certainly Apocryphal; as *The Book of Enoch*, *The Shepherd*, *The Traditions of Matthias*, *&c.* The deſign of it is, to prove againſt the Chriſtian Jews (or Ebionites), that the law of Moſes was utterly abrogated, and not to be joined with Chriſtianity.

3. Archbiſhop LAUD[a].

The ſame Hugo Menardus, when he had prepared his edition of Barnabas, ſent it over by the Lord Scudamore, Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, to Archbiſhop Laud, for his opinion and judgment of it; who returned him in anſwer, that though the Epiſtle of Barnabas was old, it was ſo far from being Canonical, in his opinion, that he believed it was not wrote by Barnabas, for the three following reaſons.

1. Becauſe the Numeral Divinity, as he calls it (viz. the proof of the Meſſiah from the three letters I. H. T. which ſignify one hundred and eighteen, the number of perſons whom Abraham circumciſed; ſee Ch. IX. of this Epiſtle), looks very unlike the ſpirit or air of an Apoſtle.

2. Becauſe he proves that the world will have its end in the year ſix thouſand; (becauſe God was ſix days in making it, and to every day a thouſand years are allowed; for God ſays, *A thouſand years are with him as one day).* See Ch. XV.

3. Becauſe he ſpeaks expreſsly of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. (See Ch. XVI.)

This letter was dated from Lambeth, July 31ſt, 1639, and communicated afterwards to Paulus Colomeſius by Archbiſhop Sancroft.

[a] Vid. Syll. Epiſtolar. edit. Patr. Apoſtol. prælix. Epiſt. I. cui titulus *Epiſtola Reverendi in Chriſto Patris Will. Laudi, Archiep. Cantuar. et totius Angliæ Primatis ad Virum Clariſſ. Hugonem Menardum Monachum Benedictinum.*

4. ISAAC

4. Isaac Vossius[a].

Before Archbiſhop Uſher had begun to print his edition of Ignatius's Epiſtles at Oxford, 1643, to which he deſigned to have ſubjoined Barnabas, if the great fire there had not prevented it, Voſſius had formed a deſign of publiſhing the Epiſtle of Barnabas from a Greek copy of Andreas Schottus, which was tranſcribed by Salmaſius, and by him given to Voſſius, and from the Latin copy of the Abbey of Corbey, which he had tranſcribed by Cordeſius. But when he perceived the deſign of Archbiſhop Uſher, at his requeſt he gave him the uſe of his manuſcripts, which he intended to have printed in the Oxford edition; but the fire deſtroying every thing belonging to it, he at length publiſhed himſelf the Epiſtles of Ignatius, with the Epiſtle of Barnabas annexed, from three manuſcripts, viz. one out of the library at Florence, the other two from Rome. His opinion concerning the Epiſtle of Barnabas is, that it really is his compoſure, becauſe Clemens and Origen aſcribe it to him; and although there be in it ſome odd and ſtrange interpretations of Scripture, which are ſcarce conſiſtent with the character of Barnabas, yet theſe are to be imputed to the ignorance and cuſtoms of the primitive Chriſtians; and though Euſebius and the later Greeks call it Apocryphal, that they only did ſo becauſe of its *myſtical* interpretations of Scripture; and that if a book is to be rejected which has been ſometimes called Apocryphal, we muſt reject Paul's Epiſtle to the Hebrews, the Epiſtle of Jude, and that of Clemens to the Corinthians.

5. Cotelerius[b].

This very learned French Clergyman has publiſhed together all the Apoſtolick Fathers, viz. Barnabas, Hermes, Clemens, Ignatius, and Polycarp. His edition is moſt correct, having had the help of ſeveral manuſcripts, and is adorned

[a] Vid. ejus judicium de Barnab. Epiſt. edit. Cleric. præfix. et conſer Præmonit. Jacob. Archiepiſcop. Armach. edit. Oxon. præfix.

[b] See the Preface to his edition of the Apoſtolick Fathers.

with

with large and uſeful annotations. He publiſhed it in the year 1672 [a]. His opinion concerning the Epiſtle of Barnabas is, that Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Jerome did believe it genuine; but for his own part thinks it incredible, that ſo eminent an Apoſtle, a man *full of the Holy Ghoſt and faith* (Acts xi. 24. and xiii. 2.), *ſeparated by the Spirit to the work of the miniſtry* with Paul, and his colleague, ſhould be the author of ſuch a work, in which are ſo many forced allegories, improbable explications of Scripture, fables about animals, &c. He believes Origen and Jerome eſteemed it not only genuine, but of the Canon; but that Clemens Alexandrinus, though he thought it the work of Barnabas, expoſed and wrote againſt it.——That it was certainly wrote after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and before the end of the ſecond century, if not early therein. After all this he adds: The Epiſtle of Barnabas was by Origen and ſome Churches eſteemed Canonical; by Clemens Alexandrinus ſometimes Canonical, ſometimes not Canonical; by Euſebius dubious, ſpurious, cited by the antients, and among the better ſort of Apocryphal; by Jerome Apocryphal, and not belonging to the Canon. He ſuppoſes it was wrote for the benefit of the Chriſtianized Jews (i. e. the Ebionites), who were yet too tenacious and fond of their old Jewiſh rites and ceremonies.

6. Dr. FELL [b], Biſhop of Oxford.

After all the former, he alſo publiſhed at Oxford an edition of the Epiſtle of Barnabas in the year 1685. It is evident that he, as ſeveral of our Engliſh divines have, choſe rather to deliver their ſentiments of this and the other Apoſtolick Fathers ambiguouſly, than clearly; fearing to own expreſsly what they ſeem to have been perſuaded of in their own minds, that theſe books ought to be treated with the ſame reſpect as ſeveral of the books of our preſent Canon. He ſays concern-

[a] See the life and progreſs of this edition of the Apoſtolick Fathers, in a Letter of Steph. Baluzius to Emericus Bigotius, among the Letters prefixed by Le Clerc to his edition.

[b] So I call the editor of this edition, though his name be not prefixed, having heard he was the perſon, and finding it not obſcurely intimated by Dr. Mill, Proleg. in N. T. §. 1449 et 1497.

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ing the Epiſtle of Barnabas, that whatever we ſuppoſe of it, we muſt at leaſt own, that he was in all points orthodox, and one that cloſely imitated St. Paul: that its authority is not the leſs, becauſe its author may not be certainly known, or becauſe it lay for ſome time obſcure; for this was the caſe of ſeveral of the books of the Canon: and that we are not to pretend to be able to make ſo good a judgment of its genuineneſs as Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, who lived in the next century, and aſcribed it to Barnabas: that it did not continue to be read in the Churches as other Scriptures, only for the reaſon of its being obſcure and myſtical, which (ſays he) is the very caſe of ſome of the more obſcure parts of the Canon now: that its moſt forced and far-fetched allegories are borrowed from St. Paul's Epiſtles, &c.

7. Dr. BERNARD,
Savilian Profeſſor at Oxford.

He not only judges it genuine, but that it was in ſo great eſteem at Alexandria, as to be read from beginning to end in their Churches, as the Canonical Scriptures were; and this he ſuppoſes was done in that famous Church, becauſe St. Mark, who was its founder, had been the aſſiſtant and companion of Barnabas. See the Preface to his ſhort notes on Barnabas at the end of the Oxford edition.

8. Mr. DODWELL[a].

He eſteemed Barnabas, as well as Hermes, &c. to be undoubted writers of the firſt century, and whoſe works were publiſhed before ſome books of the preſent Canon, viz. the Epiſtle of Jude, and the writings of both the Johns.

9. DU PIN[b].

The ſubſtance of what he ſays is, that though the Church has not delivered to us the Epiſtle of Barnabas as Canonical, yet we are not for that reaſon to reject it, but to look upon it as an Epiſtle written by the Apoſtle Barnabas.

[a] Diſſert. 1. in Iren. §. 39.
[b] Hiſtory of the Canon, vol. ii. c. 6. §. 7.

10. Dr.

10. Dr. CAVE[a].

He contends, that this Epiſtle is the genuine Epiſtle of Barnabas, and anſwers the three arguments, which La Moyne has brought againſt its being written by Barnabas.

11. FREDERICK SPANHEIM[b].

Concludes from the ſtyle, deſign, perpetual allegories, and odd expoſitions of Scripture, that it has ſcarce any thing of the ſimplicity of the Apoſtolick age in it.

12. Mr. TOLAND[c].

Obſerves, that the Epiſtle of Barnabas, as well as Hermes and the other Apoſtolick Fathers, are generally received in the Church of Rome, and by moſt Proteſtants; but thoſe of the Church of England have particularly ſignalized themſelves in their defence, and by publiſhing the correcteſt impreſſions of them. The antients paid them the higheſt reſpect, and reckoned the firſt four eſpecially (viz. Barnabas, Hermes, Polycarp, and Clemens Romanus), as good as any part of the New Teſtament. The Epiſtle of Barnabas is by Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen not only reckoned genuine, but cited as Scripture, &c. In another place[d] Mr. Toland is of opinion, that it is the eaſieſt taſk in the world, next to that of ſhewing the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the writers, to prove them all ſpurious, and fraudulently impoſed upon the credulous. And elſewhere[e], *If they think them genuine, why do they not receive them into the Canon of Scriptures, ſince they were the companions and followers of the Apoſtles, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke?*

13. Dr. WAKE, the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

In the year 1693, he obliged the world with a tranſlation of the Apoſtolick Fathers, Barnabas, Ignatius, Clement, Poly-

[a] Hiſt. Liter. vol. i. in Barnab. p. 11, 12.
[b] Histor. Chriſt. Sæcul. i. p. 570.
[c] Amyntor, p. 44.
[d] Ibid. p. 38.
[e] Ibid. p. 47, 48.

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carp, and Hermes, into Engliſh, together with the martyrdoms of Ignatius and Polycarp. To each of theſe he has prefixed a diſcourſe concerning it, and after theſe added one chapter concerning the authority, and another concerning the uſefulneſs of theſe apoſtolick treatiſes (viz. Chap. X. and XI.) I have had occaſion already [a] to obſerve what his Grace's ſentiments are concerning theſe pieces, and how he eſteems them wrote by perſons endued with the extraordinary aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, and tells us, we ought therefore to look upon them as an authoritative declaration of the Goſpel of Chriſt: that the authors were inſpired, and not only have not miſtaken, but were not capable of miſtaking the mind of the Apoſtles, &c. This is to be eſteemed as his Grace's opinion concerning Barnabas in particular: to which I ſhall only add, that in his diſcourſe on this Epiſtle, Ch. VII. he endeavours to vindicate its genuineneſs againſt all objections that have been made to it.

14. Dr. MILL [b].

Suppoſes the Epiſtle of Barnabas written after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; but not ſo long after, but that the Epiſtle of Jude, the three Epiſtles of John, and the Revelation, were wrote after it was.

15. Mr. EACHARD [c].

That Barnabas wrote his Epiſtle about the year 72, and though it was of great repute among the antients, and ſometimes read in the Chriſtian Churches, yet never was admitted into the Canon of the holy Scripture.—The frame and contexture of it is intricate and obſcure to us, made up of uncouth allegories, with ſome forced and improbable interpretations of Scripture.

16. Dr. S. CLARK [d].

The Epiſtle of Barnabas, is without all controverſy an an-

[a] See the Diſſertation before the firſt volume, p. 5, 6.
[b] Prolegom. in N. T. §. 144.
[c] Eccleſ. Hiſt. b. ii. c. 8. §. 2.
[d] Reflect. on Amyntor at the end of his Letters about the Immortality of the Soul. See p. 263, 269, 273, &c.

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tient work of the apoſtolick age, being quoted by almoſt all the primitive Fathers: that there are internal arguments, drawn from the ſimplicity of ſtyle and way of arguing uſed in theſe writings (viz. Barnabas, Hermes, &c.), agreeable to the cuſtom of the age in which they are ſuppoſed to be written, from the conformity of the matter contained in them to the doctrine and diſcipline of thoſe times, &c. which afford—good reaſon to believe theſe books to be genuine;—and though the Epiſtle of Barnabas contain ſome very ſtrange and allegorical interpretations of Scripture, yet he that conſiders how much that manner of interpretation was antiently in uſe among the Jews in their Targums, and how many important truths were that way conveyed, ſo that the Apoſtles themſelves, in their arguings with the Jews, did often make uſe of it, as we ſee in their uncontroverted writings, will rather chooſe modeſtly to ſuſpend his judgment, than raſhly to upbraid this author with the terms of fooliſh and ridiculous:—that Barnabas and the other books are to have a proportionable veneration with thoſe of the Canon; yet we have not the ſame evidence of their genuineneſs; there is ſomething human, ſomething of infirmity, ſomething of fallibility in them.

17. Mr. WHISTON[a]

Places the Epiſtle of Barnabas in his Catalogue of the Books of the New Teſtament, and ſuppoſes it written A. D. 87, and elſewhere calls it a ſacred book of the New Teſtament[b]; and in a late treatiſe written to exclude the Canticles from the Canon of the Old Teſtament, he calls Barnabas *that prodigious allegorizer*. See p. 30.

18. Mr. LE CLERC[c]

Is for compounding the matter between all the former, by ſuppoſing that Barnabas indeed wrote a ſhort and plain Epiſtle, which was afterwards corrupted, and interpolated largely by ſome perſon or other for his own private advantage.

[a] Eſſay on the Conſtitutions, p. 17, 24.
[b] Ibid. p. 36.
[c] Hiſt. Eccl. Sæcul. i. ad ann. lxxi. §. 2. p. 474.

19. Dr.

P 431

19. Dr. JENKIN [a].

The genuine Epiſtle of Barnabas, who is ſtyled an Apoſtle, Acts xiii. 2. and xiv. 14. was never received but as Apocryphal (viz. becauſe it was not known to be inſpired). Upon all perſonal and human accounts, an Epiſtle of St. Barnabas or St. Clement muſt have carried as much authority with it, as any thing under the name of St. Mark or St. Luke. If either in the Epiſtle of Barnabas or St. Clement it be ſuppoſed, that the reaſoning is not always juſt, but is ſometimes too allegorical, and ſometimes founded upon miſtakes in natural philoſophy, yet it is certainly agreeable to the ways of reaſoning, and the philoſophy of that age; ſo that nothing of this kind could then be any hindrance to the reception of theſe Epiſtles.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Epiſtle of Barnabas proved to be ſpurious: it was wrote by one originally a Pagan. A Remark on 1 *Pet.* iv. 3. *It was wrote after the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem. Barnabas one of Chriſt's Seventy Diſciples. Explication of John* xxi. 21. *and Matth.* xvi. 18.

THE opinions both of the antient and modern writers being thus propoſed concerning the Epiſtle of Barnabas, I come now to offer to the reader my own obſervations and ſentiments concerning it. All that is conſiderable, will be fully diſcuſſed in a diſquiſition concerning the two following queſtions, viz.

(1.) *Whether the Epiſtle of Barnabas be genuine.*
(2.) *What authority it claims, or ought to have in the Church.*

[a] Reaſonableneſs and Certainty of the Chriſtian Religion, vol. ii. c. 4. p. 92.

(1.) *Whether*

(1.) *Whether the Epiſtle of Barnabas be genuine*; i. e. was written by that holy companion of the Apoſtle, whoſe name it bears. It is evident by the citations of the former chapter, that moſt of the learned writers, who have mentioned it, believed it was, and as ſuch by their authority it has paſſed, and is received in the world at this time. But I confeſs, to me there is nothing can appear more improbable; and there are ſeveral arguments which induce me to believe, that Barnabas was not the author of this Epiſtle under his name; e. g.

Arg. I. *This Epiſtle was written by one who was originally a Gentile, or Pagan, and conſequently was not written by Barnabas*, who was originally a Jew. The latter part of the propoſition, viz. that Barnabas was a Jew, is indiſputable from thoſe words in St. Luke's Hiſtory of the Apoſtles' Acts (Ch. iv. 36.), *And Joſes, who by the Apoſtles was ſurnamed Barnabas (which is, being interpreted*, The Son of Conſolation), *a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus*, &c. His name, which was Jewiſh, and his particular tribe being expreſſed, make it undeniable, that though he were born of parents who lived in Cyprus (the Jews at that time being diſperſed into all countries, and great multitudes of them being at Cyprus), yet he was a proper Jew, and (as it ſeems) had his reſidence at Jeruſalem, where very probably he had his education, as Paul alſo had, who was born at Tarſus. If then it can be proved, that the author of this Epiſtle was not a Jew, but a Gentile, it will be evident that Barnabas was not the author. Now there are ſeveral things in this Epiſtle, which I have obſerved, that ſeem to me clearly to evince this; as particularly,

1. Thoſe words, Ch. XVI. [a] *Before that we were believers on God, the tabernacle of our hearts was corrupt and impotent, and properly as a temple built with hands; for it was full of*

[a] Πρὸ τοῦ ἡμᾶς πιστεῦσαι τῷ Θεῷ, ἦν ἡμῶν τὸ κατοικητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀσθενὲς, ὡς ἀληθῶς ναὸς οἰκοδομητὸς διὰ χειρός· ὅτι ἦν πλήρης μὲν εἰδωλολατρείας, οἶκος εἰδωλολατρεία (legendum omnino εἰδωλολατρείας), ἦν οἶκος δαιμονίων, διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν ὅσα ἦν ἐναντία τῷ Θεῷ. Ch. xvi.

idolatry

idolatry (or the worſhip of idols); *and a houſe of idolatry is a houſe of devils, becauſe in it was done whatſoever was contrary to God.* Hence I obſerve, (1.) That there was a time when this author did not believe on the One God, but (2.) was a worſhipper of idols and falſe Gods; neither of which could ever have been ſaid of one that was a Jew, and eſpecially a Levite, but does moſt exactly ſuit the character of one, who was formerly a Pagan, and bred up in the idolatrous worſhip of falſe Gods. The author of this Epiſtle was therefore a Pagan originally, and conſequently not Barnabas.

Biſhop Fell, in his note on this place, takes notice of this argument, and would perſuade us, *that Barnabas ſpeaks of himſelf and others as Jews, who were therefore called by him idolaters, becauſe they did the things contrary to God.* But this deſerves no other anſwer, than that it is a plain evaſion to ſerve a purpoſe. What he adds is more conſiderable, viz. that by this argument we may as well prove the author of the firſt Epiſtle of Peter to have been a Gentile too, becauſe he reckons himſelf among idolaters, 1 Pet. iv. 3. where he ſays, *For the time paſt of our life may ſuffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in laſciviouſneſs, luſts, exceſs of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries.* This ſeems conſiderable; but it is eaſily anſwered, if we conſider that the true reading in the Greek of this place either ſhould be ὑμῶν, not ἡμῶν (i. e. *the time paſt of* your *life may ſuffice* you, &c. and not *the time paſt of* our *life may ſuffice* us), as it is in ſeveral of the moſt antient printed editions (e. g. the Complutenſian printed A. D. MDXV. and that of Simon Colinæus printed at Paris in MDXLIII.) and manuſcripts; or elſe, which is I believe the true reading, we ſhould inſert neither ὑμῶν nor ἡμῶν; for neither of thoſe words is in the antient manuſcripts or verſions, or was read by the Fathers in their copies. For proof of which, I need only refer the reader to Dr. Mill [a], who tells us, there is no ſuch word in the Alexandrian

[a] In 1 Pet. iv. 3. Beſides the proof from the manuſcripts and verſions, I add, that it would have been very abſurd for the Apoſtle to have brought himſelf in by the word ἡμῶν, when he ſo particularly addreſſes

andrian manuſcript, one of Cardinal Barbarine's, that of Geneva, one of Magdalen College, Veleſius's collation of ſixteen manuſcripts, nor in the old Vulgate, Syriack, or Æthiopick Verſion, nor in the copies of Clemens Alexandrinus and Auſtin. From all which it is evident, St. Peter in this place does not enumerate himſelf with the Gentile idolaters; and conſequently nothing can be concluded hence againſt my argument preceding, to prove that the author of this Epiſtle under the name of Barnabas *was originally a Gentile, not a Jew.*

2. I argue that the author of this Epiſtle was a Gentile, not a Jew, from *the conſtant diſtinction or oppoſition which he makes between Jew and Gentile, always ranking himſelf among the latter ſort.* So, for inſtance, Ch. II, he cites Jer. vii. 22. *Did I at all command your fathers, when they came out of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and ſacrifices?* and applying it to the Jews, introduces it thus; *Dicit Dominus ad illos*; i. e. *The Lord ſpeaketh to them*; immediately after he cites thoſe words Pſal. li. 17. *The ſacrifice of God* is a broken ſpirit, *a broken and contrite heart God will not deſpiſe*; and applying the words to the Gentiles, introduces them thus; *Dicit nobis*, i. e. *He ſpeaketh to Us.* So again, Ch. III. he applies Iſai. lvii. 4, 5. to the Jews, *he ſpeaketh to Them*; but the following verſes, ver. 6, 7, &c. he applies to the Gentiles, and brings them in, *But to Us he ſpeaketh thus*, &c. and thence concludes in theſe words, *We ſhould not run as proſelytes to Their law.* Ch. IV. he exhorts, according to the general deſign of his Epiſtle, thoſe to whom he writes, *not to be like thoſe who ſay that Their covenant is Ours* (he means the Nazarenes or Ebionites, againſt whom he writes, as is well obſerved by Menardus), which cannot poſſibly mean any other, than that the Gentiles were included in the Moſaick covenant; and if ſo, it is plain the author by that expreſſion ſhews that he was no Jew, as he does more fully when he adds, *nay, but it is Our covenant (only*, which word is well added by the Archbiſhop

dreſſes to them in the ſecond perſon in the preceding and following verſes; and though our tranſlators have inſerted the word *our* before *life*, there is nothing to anſwer to it in the original.

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in his Verſion), ſufficiently diſtinguiſhing himſelf thereby from the Jews. Again, Ch. V. of the things which are written, *Quædam ad populum Judæorum, quædam ad nos*; *Some concern the people of the Jews; ſome concern Us.* Once more, Ch. VIII, *To Us they are clear, but to Them* (i. e. the Jews) *they are obſcure.* To omit any farther citations and inſtances of this ſort, in the judgment of any one unprejudiced, I cannot but think theſe are ſufficient to ſhew the author of this Epiſtle was originally a Gentile, and never a Jew.

Before I leave this head, I muſt obſerve, that in the fifth chapter of this Epiſtle we read, in the Archbiſhop's tranſlation, of Chriſt's appearing in the fleſh, that *he might make good the promiſes before given to Our fathers*; which words are indeed a proof, that the author of the Epiſtle was a Jew, becauſe no one elſe could call the Patriarchs and Prophets *our* fathers. But the word *our* is ſuppoſititious, having nothing to anſwer it in the old Latin Verſion, out of which the tranſlation is made. But I ſuppoſe his Grace was led into the miſtake by the Greek tranſlation of Biſhop Fell, which he has inſerted in his edition, to ſupply the original Greek, and has printed in red letters; and in this place, for the Latin, *Parentibus promiſſum*, has τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν προεπηγγελμένον; and though the Latin has the word *parentibus*, there can be no doubt but it means in general *the Fathers*, and is tranſlated from the Greek πατράσιν, which is the word made uſe of in the Greek Teſtament, to denote the Patriarchs and Prophets who lived before Chriſt's time. (See Acts xiii. 32. Rom. ix. 5. Heb. i. 1.) But barbarous tranſlations were common with this old Latin interpreter.

3. That which farther proves this author not to have been a Jew, is, that *there are no Hebraiſms in his ſtyle*; which was a thing almoſt impoſſible to have been avoided, had he been a Jew. How common Hebraiſms are in the writings of the New Teſtament, is known to every one acquainted with theſe ſort of ſtudies; and how entirely deſtitute this Epiſtle under the name of *Barnabas* is of them, will be evident to every one who is a judge of the matter. I ſhall add no more on this

head, but refer the reader to what I have ſaid already, Vol. I. Ch. XIII. Prop. XII.

If then, as I have endeavoured to prove, the author of this Epiſtle was not a Jew, but a Gentile; it follows from what has been ſaid, that it was not compoſed by Barnabas, but is ſpurious and ſuppoſititious.

Arg. II. That this Epiſtle is ſpurious, or not written by Barnabas, is probable, becauſe *it was written after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.* This argument is mentioned by Archbiſhop Laud, La Moyne, and others to this purpoſe. The firſt mentioned expreſsly ſays, *that Barnabas was dead before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem*[a]: which, though indeed it cannot certainly be demonſtrated, is exceeding probable; for Barnabas was very early a diſciple. If there be any credit to be given to antiquity, he was one of the ſeventy diſciples, whom our Saviour himſelf ſent forth to preach (Luke x. 1.). So we find in Clemens Alexandrinus[b], Euſebius[c], Epiphanius[d], and other antient writers, whoſe poſitive teſtimony in this matter is, I think, beyond all exception, and has been only diſputed by Bede (in Act. iv.), who without any reaſon imagined, that St. Luke in the Acts ſaid he was not converted till after our Lord's aſcenſion. However this be, it is certain from Acts iv. 36. that immediately after our Lord's aſcenſion he was among the diſciples at Jeruſalem: ſo that in the year of Chriſt XXXII. or XXXIII. at leaſt, Barnabas was a diſciple of Chriſt. Now at this time, it was neceſſary that he ſhould be above thirty years of age, none being before that time permitted to exerciſe any ſacred office among the Jews; as neither John the Baptiſt, nor our Saviour, did before that age enter upon the exerciſe of their publick miniſtry. For which reaſons Irenæus (adv. Hæreſ. l. 2. c. 39.) ſpeaking of our Saviour's entrance upon the exerciſe of his miniſtry after his

[a] Loquitur de excidio Hieroſolymitano, quod poſt mortem Barnabæ accidit. Epiſt. ad Menard. præfix. edit. Cleric.

[b] Strom. l. 2. p. 410.

[c] Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 12. et lib. 2. c. 1.

[d] Hæreſ. 19. §. 4.

baptiſm,

baptiſm, ſaid, it was when he was thirty years old, and then *magiſtri ætatem perfectam habens, venit ad Jeruſalem, ita ut ab omnibus juſte audiretur magiſter:* being arrived *to the perfect age* (or requiſite age) *of a maſter* (or teacher), he went to Jeruſalem, and ſo was juſtly acknowledged by every one to be a maſter. This was founded upon a divine command, Num. iv. 3. *That from thirty years old and upward, even until fifty years old, they* (viz. the Levites) *ſhould enter into the hoſt to do the work of the Tabernacle of the congregation*; and the practice of David, who is ſaid (1 Chron. xxiii. 3.) to have *numbered the Levites from thirty years old and upward.* Unleſs therefore we will ſuppoſe our Saviour to have made a greater innovation in the cuſtoms of the Jews[a] in the choice of his diſciples, than he made himſelf when he entered upon his publick miniſtry, we muſt ſuppoſe Barnabas at leaſt thirty years old when Chriſt choſe him, and very probably (conſidering him a Levite, who had perhaps been ſome time employed in that office) ſeveral years older, and equal in age at leaſt to any one of the Apoſtles. Now the deſtruction of Jeruſalem was (as is agreed on all hands) juſt ſeventy years after Chriſt's birth, and this Epiſtle of Barnabas was certainly wrote after that; ſo that if we ſuppoſe Barnabas to have been no more than thirty-five years of age when Chriſt firſt ſent him (Luke x. 1.), and that he wrote his Epiſtle no more than five years after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem (both which are, conſidering all circumſtances, very modeſt and reaſonable ſuppoſitions), he muſt have wrote his Epiſtle in his eightieth, or at leaſt ſeventy-ninth year. But whereas no one of the Apoſtles (except St. John) lived to that age, but by one means or other much ſooner fell into the hands of their enemies, it is at leaſt improbable to ſuppoſe that Barnabas did, and conſequently improbable that he was the author of this Epiſtle wrote under his name.

That which confirms this matter is, that our Saviour ſpeaks of it as *ſomething very ſingular and extraordinary*, that John

[a] Vid. Spanheim. Dub. Evang. tom. 2. Dub. 96. et Outram. de Sacrific. lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2, 3, &c.

ſhould live ſo long as the deſtruction of the city of Jeruſalem (John xxi. 21, &c.), *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* By which coming of Chriſt nothing elſe is meant, in the judgment of our beſt expoſitors and criticks, Mede [a], Lightfoot [b], Hammond [c], Whitby [d], Dr. Cave [e], &c. than *his coming to the final overthrow and deſtruction of Jeruſalem*; and many of the criticks have judged no way ſo proper to expound that text, Matt. xvi. 28. *Verily I ſay unto you, there be ſome ſtanding here, which ſhall not taſte of death, till they ſee the Son of Man coming in his kingdom*, as to refer it to John's ſurviving the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. If then Barnabas did not live till the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, he could not be the author of this Epiſtle under his name, wherein that event is not only referred to, Ch. IV. but expreſsly mentioned more than once, Ch. XVI. where ſpeaking of the Temple he ſaith, Διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτὸς καθῃρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν νῦν, *It is now through their wars deſtroyed by their enemies*; then citing a prophecy, to ſhew that city, temple, and people were to be given up, he adds, Καὶ ἐγένετο καθὼς ἐλάλησε ὁ Κύριος, *And it has come to paſs according as the Lord ſpake.*

There is, indeed one way of evading the force of this argument, viz. by ſuppoſing Barnabas to have wrote of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by a ſpirit of prophecy, and by means of that ſpirit to have ſpoke of things yet to come, as being paſt. This, however abſurd, Menardus found neceſſary to aſſert, as Archbiſhop Laud ſaith in his Letter to him, calling it a *Petitio Principii.* But as I can find nothing like this in Menardus's printed notes, I am apt to imagine he ſtruck it out on account of the Archbiſhop's reflection. Upon the whole then we have good reaſon to conclude this Epiſtle to be ſpurious, and not wrote by Barnabas the diſciple of Chriſt. I might here eaſily collect many other arguments, whereby the ſpuriouſneſs of this Epiſtle would be evinced; but I chooſe rather to omit them here, they being ſuch as withal prove it

[a] Vid. Poli Synopſ. tom. 5. p. 1388.
[b] Hor. Hebr. in loc.
[c] Annot. in loc.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Lives of the Apoſtles, p. 154.

Apo-

Apocryphal, and therefore more properly fall under our conſideration on the ſecond head; of which in the following chapter.

CHAP. XL.

The Epiſtle of Barnabas proved to be Apocryphal: it is not in any of the antient Catalogues of ſacred Books: not cited by any of the Fathers as Scripture: Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen the only Fathers that have cited it: neither of them believed it Canonical: it was not read in the Aſſemblies of the primitive Chriſtians.

WERE it not for the extravagantly high opinion which thoſe have of this Epiſtle, who contend for the genuineneſs of it, I ſhould have been apt to imagine I had done enough already, by *proving it ſpurious, to prove it Apocryphal.* But becauſe we are told, *It was only reckoned Apocryphal, becauſe of its myſtical interpretations of Scripture; and that if a book be to be rejected, becauſe it has been ſometimes called Apocryphal, we muſt reject the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, and that of Jude* (ſee Voſſius above, Ch. XXXVIII. Num. 4.): *that it is in all points orthodox, and the author one that cloſely imitated St. Paul: that it did not continue to be read in the Churches as other Scriptures, only for the reaſon of its being obſcure, which is the caſe of ſome books of the Canon: that its forced and farfetched allegories are borrowed from St. Paul's Epiſtles* (as Biſhop Fell above, Num. 5.): *that it is cited as Scripture* (according to Mr. Toland, Num. 12.): *that it was wrote by a perſon endued with the extraordinary aſſiſtance of the Spirit, and is to be looked upon as an authoritative declaration of the Goſpel of Chriſt, wrote by a perſon who was inſpired,* &c. (as the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury above, Num. 13.): *that it is without all controverſy a work of the Apoſtolick age, being quoted by almoſt all the primitive Fathers: that its ſtyle and matter prove its genuine antiquity* (as Dr. Clark, Num. 16.): *that it*

is to be placed among the ſacred books of the New Teſtament (as Mr. Whiſton, Num. 17.): becauſe, I ſay, we are told all this of this Epiſtle, than which ſcarce any thing more can be ſaid of the books of the Canon, it is neceſſary that I do a little farther enquire into the authority of it: and this I ſhall do according to the ſeveral propoſitions laid down for this purpoſe in the firſt part of this work; and ſo ſhall have occaſion to examine all, or moſt of the foregoing aſſertions in favour of this Epiſtle. I come then,

(2.) To enquire, *What authority the Epiſtle of Barnabas does claim, or ought to have, in the Church*; i. e. whether it be Canonical, or not. And,

Arg. I. I argue that it is Apocryphal by Prop. IV. *becauſe it is not found in any of the catalogues of the ſacred books of the New Teſtament made by the primitive Chriſtians.* This will be undeniably evident to any one, who will but caſt his eye upon thoſe catalogues which I have collected, Vol. I. Part I. Chap. VIII. He will ſee that there is no mention of it either in the catalogue of Origen, Euſebius, Athanaſius, the Council of Laodicea, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Philaſtrius, Jerome, Ruffin, Auſtin, the third Council of Carthage, &c. and conſequently muſt judge it Apocryphal. It is ſtrange therefore Mr. Whiſton ſhould at laſt take upon him, to place it among the ſacred books of the New Teſtament; and the more ſtrange, ſince it is not in the catalogue which is in the eighty-fifth Canon of the Apoſtles.

Arg. II. The Epiſtle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal, *becauſe it is not cited in the writings of the primitive Chriſtians as Scripture*, Prop. V. Dr. Clark indeed (above, Ch. XXXVIII. Num. 16.) tells us, *it is cited by almoſt all the primitive Fathers.* But upon enquiry I find theſe *almoſt all* amount to no more than Clemens the maſter, and Origen the ſcholar, at the ſame town of Alexandria: elſewhere it does not appear to have been ſo much known as to have been cited by any one Father, unleſs Jerome's tranſlating a few Hebrew names, which are in it, into Latin, be ſuch. But neither can this

this be called Jerome's *work*; for it is only a tranſlation of a book of Origen's out of Greek into Latin upon the ſame ſubject. (See Dr. Cave Hiſt. Lit. t. 1. p. 83 et 224.) Indeed, Euſebius and Jerome elſewhere have mentioned it, but not ſo as to cite it, only to tell us it was Apocryphal, as I ſhall ſhew preſently. Clemens of Alexandria therefore, and his ſcholar Origen, are the only two Fathers we have to do with here; who, though indeed they have cited it, yet do not appear to have given it any of that authority which is now claimed for it, as indeed it was not in their power. But let it be obſerved,

1. That *neither of them have cited it as Scripture, or in the way which they ordinarily do the genuine Scriptures.* The bare citation of a book by a Chriſtian Father will not prove it Canonical, elſe would a thouſand Pagan authors be of the Canon. Beſides, the former volume will afford many inſtances of books under Apoſtolick names, cited by theſe and other Fathers, which they looked upon to be Apocryphal, as I have there proved. I know indeed Mr. Toland [a] tells the world, that Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen not only reckoned the Epiſtle of Barnabas genuine, but *cited it as Scripture:* but this, as Mr. Richardſon [b] well obſerves, *is not true in fact; They cite it*, ſays he, *but under no ſuch title.*

2. It is certain that Origen, though he cites the Epiſtle of Barnabas, did not eſteem it as any part of Canonical Scripture, becauſe he left it out of his catalogue of ſacred and inſpired writings, which we have laid together by Euſebius [c]. It is evident therefore, that his ſentiments of Barnabas were the ſame as his ſentiments of ſeveral of the Apocryphal books of the Old Teſtament; which though he often cites, yet he entirely omits in his enumeration of the books of the Old Teſtament, which is perfectly the ſame with the preſent Canon [d].

3. Suppoſe then that one Father (Clemens Alexandrinus) had too high an opinion of a book, *are we to be governed in determining the Canon, by the private opinion of one ſingle writer,*

[a] Amyntor, p. 44.
[b] Anſwer to Amyntor, p. 25.
[c] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.
[d] Ibid. He omits James and Jude, but owns them elſewhere.

contrary

contrary to the known ſentiments of the whole primitive Church? Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Athenagoras, Theophilus Antiochenus, thoſe moſt early writers, have made no mention of it; Euſebius and Jerome expreſsly reject it as Apocryphal. But Clemens of Alexandria cites it. Muſt it therefore be genuine? Muſt it therefore be Canonical, though all the world beſides were ignorant of it? Muſt a ſingle preſbyter of Aſia, who lived at leaſt one hundred twenty-one years after the writing of this Epiſtle (according to the time in which its patrons ſuppoſe it written, viz. A. D. LXXI.), and who might be eaſily impoſed upon, judge for the whole Chriſtian world? And muſt his quoting a book prove its authority, when it does not appear to have been received by one Chriſtian writer beſides, but on the contrary rejected as Apocryphal by every one who has mentioned it? I ſhall add no more here, but repeat what I obſerved Vol. I. Prop. V. that we are not to determine the authority of any book or books upon the credit of any one or two particular writers, but the whole body of the writers of the primitive Church. But,

4. There is no inconſiderable proof to be made out of the works of Clemens Alexandrinus himſelf, that *he did not look upon this Epiſtle as having any manner of authority*, but on the contrary *took the liberty to oppoſe and contradict it, when he ſaw fit.* One inſtance will be ſufficient. In Pædag. l. 2. c. 10. p. 188, he cites the explication of Barnabas on that law of Moſes, *Thou ſhalt not eat of the hyæna nor the hare*, i. e. not be like thoſe animals in their laſcivious qualities. He does not indeed name Barnabas, as in other places; but nothing can be more evident, than that he refers to the Epiſtle of Barnabas, Ch. X. After which he adds, that though he doubted not but Moſes deſigned a prohibition of adultery by prohibiting theſe animals, ἐ μὴν τὰ τῇδε ἐξηγήσει τῶν συμβολικῶς εἰρημένων συγκατίθεμαι, *yet he could not agree with the ſymbolical explication ſome gave of the place*, viz. that the hyæna changes its ſex yearly, and is ſometimes male, ſometimes female, as Barnabas ſaith. After which he largely diſputes againſt the fact. To me this looks like demonſtration; ſo that I ſhall add no more, but what Cotelerius (to whom I owe this hint) obſerves, *Opus quod credit eſſe Barnabæ*

Barnabæ impugnat—id nequaquam commiſiſſet, ſi ad Canonem pertinere fuiſſet arbitratus; i. e. Clemens oppoſes the Epiſtle which he believed to be Barnabas's; which he would never have done, if he had thought it belonged to the Canon. *Præf. in Barnab.*

Arg. III. The Epiſtle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal by Prop. VI. becauſe *it was not read by the primitive Chriſtians in their aſſemblies as the Word of God.* I had ſcarce mentioned this argument, but that I find Dr. Bernard aſſerting, that *it was read in the Churches* [a], *together with the Canonical Scriptures, from beginning to end.* But of this he pretends to give no other evidence, than that the Hebrew names in it are interpreted by Origen, in his book *De Interpretatione Hebraicorum Nominum*, after he had interpreted the Hebrew names in the true Scriptures. But in anſwer to this I obſerve, that this work of Origen is not extant itſelf, but only Jerome's tranſlation of it, with what additions and alterations he thought fit [b]: ſo that nothing hence can be concluded concerning its being read in Origen's time. And if we admit this argument as proof that it was read in Jerome's time, it happens very unluckily for the Doctor; that whereas he ſays it was read *inter Canonicas Scripturas*, among the Canonical Scriptures, Jerome expreſsly ſays *inter Apocryphas Scripturas legitur* [c], it was read among the Apocryphal Scriptures. It is certain there were ſeveral pious books read in the antient Churches, which they did not look upon as Scripture (which were called Eccleſiaſtical), nor were ever uſed as of any authority to prove articles of faith: the ſame Churches who read them, looked upon them as Apocryphal: this we learn from Ruffin [d], Jerome himſelf [e], and others [f]. So that if this Epiſtle was read in Jerome's time, which is the firſt that can be

[a] Præfat. in Not. in Barnab. Epiſt. A principio ad finem inter Scripturas canonicas hanc Epiſtolam tum olim lectam fuiſſe acceptamque.

[b] Vid. Cave Hiſtor. Liter. tom. 1. p. 234.

[c] Catalog. Vir. Illuſtr. in Barnab.

[d] In Symbol. Apoſtol. §. 36.

[e] Præfat. in Libr. Salomon.

[f] See Richardſon againſt Amyntor, p. 19, 27. and Vol. I. Par. I. Ch. X.

pretended,

pretended, it is plain it gains no credit thereby. On the other hand, Cyril, Biſhop of Jeruſalem [a], directing what books ſhould be read in the Churches, recites thoſe only which we now receive, and dehorts from the reading of any Apocryphal books. So alſo the Council of Laodicea [b], enumerating no books which are not in the preſent Canon, preſſes the reading of them, and no other. So that if the Epiſtle under the name of *Barnabas* was read in Jerome's time among the Apocryphal Scriptures, it was but in ſome few Churches; for he lived near Cyril's time, if not in it, and in the time of the Council of Laodicea. We ſee then with how little juſtice we are told by Dr. Bernard, that *it was read in the primitive Churches among the Canonical Scriptures*; and by Biſhop Fell, that *it did not continue to be read in the Churches as other Scriptures, only for the reaſon of its being obſcure; which is the caſe of ſome books of the Canon* [c]. Whereas the fact is, that it does not appear to have been read in the Churches at all till the time of Jerome; and, if it was read then, it was only in ſome few Churches, as an Apocryphal book.

CHAP. XLI.

Other Arguments to prove the Epiſtle of Barnabas to be Apocryphal: one Part contradicts another: it contains many notorious Falſehoods, and groſs Miſtakes: ten Inſtances produced.

Arg. IV. THE Epiſtle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal by Prop. VII. becauſe there ſeems to me a very manifeſt contradiction in it, viz. that the author of the Epiſtle ſhould in one place ſay (viz. Ch. XV.) *the world muſt neceſſarily laſt ſix thouſand years, becauſe God*

[a] Catech. IV. §. 22.
[b] Can. LIX. ad Concil. t. 1. p. 1521.
[c] Vid. utriuſque Præfat. in Barnab.

made

made the world in ſix days; and yet in another tells us (viz. Ch. XXI.), that *the day was near at hand, in which all things ſhould be deſtroyed, together with the wicked one. The Lord is near, and his reward is with him.* In the former place he ſpake according to an old tradition of the Jews, which they aſcribe to Elijah (ſee it at large out of the Talmud in Sixt. Senenſ. Bibl. Sanct. lib. 5. annot. 190. p. 400. and in Petr. Galatin. de Arcan. Cathol. Verit. lib. 4. cap. 20, with the ſentiments and comments of the Rabbins upon it), viz. that *the world ſhould laſt juſt ſix thouſand years*, viz. *two thouſand years before the Law, two thouſand years under the Law, and two thouſand after the Law under the Meſſiah:* ſo that, according to him, there were two thouſand years, or one third part of the whole world's duration to come, before its deſtruction would be. But in the latter place he ſays, *the day was at hand, in which all things* (viz. the world and all that was in it) *ſhould be deſtroyed:* and this ſeems to be ſpoken according to the miſtaken notion of ſome early Chriſtians, who concluded from Phil. iv. 5. Heb. x. 25. Jam. v. 3. 2 Pet. iv. 7, 8, &c. and ſuch texts, that Chriſt's coming was very near at hand. Grotius on Phil. iv. 5. intimates, that the Apoſtles themſelves thought ſo; which opinion of his Dr. Whitby (on the ſame place) endeavours to confute. However this be, I ſee no way of clearing our author from a notorious contradiction, and conſequently muſt conclude his Epiſtle to be Apocryphal by Prop. VII.

Arg. V. The Epiſtle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal by Prop. VIII. becauſe *it contains ſeveral things which are falſe.* There are not many pages in the Epiſtle, but will afford us ſome proof of this. The Rabbinical ſtories, the allegorical interpretations of Scripture, &c. which we meet with every where in it, I look upon as ſo many falſehoods; but becauſe they are ſilly, fabulous, trifling, and ridiculous, I ſhall therefore leave theſe to the next head, and make choice of ſome other inſtances of falſehood in this Epiſtle; and among theſe I aſſign the following, viz.

1. Chap.

1. Chap. VI. he boaſts of a ſkill and wiſdom given him by God to underſtand ſecrets; and then adds, to compliment himſelf, *For, ſaith the Prophet, who ſhall underſtand the hard ſayings of the Lord, but he that is wiſe and underſtanding, and who loveth his Lord?* But there are no ſuch words in any of the prophets, or any other part of Scripture.

2. Ch. VII. to make out a type under the Law, of Chriſt's having vinegar given him on the croſs to drink, he calls the Prophet to witneſs, and ſays, *All the prieſts, and they only, ſhall eat with vinegar the inwards (of the goat) not waſhed.* But there is nothing like this in the Law of Moſes, or any of the Prophets. Cotelerius ſuppoſes, the author took it out of ſome Apocryphal books, or rather from the Jewiſh traditions; as does alſo Menardus [a]. I rather look upon it as *a pious forgery and fraud*, there being nothing of this ſort known to have been among the Jewiſh cuſtoms, and this book having ſeveral ſuch frauds in it.

3. In the ſame chapter, to make the ſcape-goat a type of Chriſt, he recites as a command of God, *Do ye all ſpit upon it, and prick it, and put the ſcarlet wool upon its head, and ſo let it be ſent forth to the wilderneſs*; whereas there is no ſuch precept any where in the Pentateuch, nor either of thoſe circumſtances of ſpitting upon it, and piercing it, to be found in the Jewiſh writings; though I own that of putting ſcarlet wool upon the head of it, was an old cuſtom among the Jews. See Dr. Prideaux's Connect. of the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, Part II. Book I. in the beginning.

4. Chap. VIII. in making the heifer (Num. xix.) to be a type of Chriſt, our author's fancy ſeems to grow more fruitful and luxuriant; becauſe there was not enough in Moſes's inſtitution to ſuit his purpoſe, he adds,

1.) *That certain men, guilty of the greateſt ſins, ſhould bring the heifer.*

2.) *That young men ſhould take up the aſhes, and put them in veſſels.*

[a] Vid. utriuſque Annot. in loc.

3.) *That*

3.) *That the ſame young men ſhould tie a piece of ſcarlet wool and hyſſop upon a ſtick; and they ſhould ſprinkle every one of the people, that they ſhould be clear from their ſins* [a].

Now there is not any intimation of either of theſe three things among the Laws of Moſes, nor, as I can find, in any of the Jewiſh books; but our author found it neceſſary to invent them, to make his allegory more plauſible, thus: "*The hei-*" *fer is Chriſt; the wicked men that offered it, are thoſe who* " *brought him to his death—The young men who ſprinkled* " *them, are thoſe who preach to us the Goſpel of the remiſſion of* " *ſins, and the purification of the heart, who were twelve, for a* " *witneſs to the tribes, which were twelve.*" He is after ſo particular as to tell us, *The young men who ſprinkled were three,* viz. *in teſtimony of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, who were great before God.* But why was the wool put upon a ſtick? *Becauſe the kingdom of Jeſus was founded upon the croſs,* &c.

5. Ch. IX. our author has given us a maſterly ſtroke of his allegorizing talent, and ſeems ſo pleaſed and confident of his being right, that he ſays, *He who has put this infuſed gift of his doctrine in us, knows that I never taught any one a more pure* (or *genuine*) *doctrine. But I know that ye are worthy of it.* But ſure never any thing was ſaid more trifling and ridiculous, more ſilly and nauſeous, than this moſt pure and genuine doctrine. I am here to obſerve only wherein it is falſe. His deſign is to prove, by the number of perſons whom Abraham circumciſed, that Abraham had therein regard to Chriſt; and that in the number of perſons circumciſed, were typified Chriſt and his croſs. Let us now ſee his proof. *The Scripture,* ſays he, *tells us, that Abraham circumciſed three hundred and eighteen men of his houſe: but what was the knowledge* (or *myſtery*) *ſhewn to him herein? Underſtand ye that there are firſt eighteen, then three hundred.* (Now the Greek letter I denotes ten, and the Greek letter H denotes eight.) *Therein ye have the name Jeſus,* viz. becauſe I and H are the two firſt letters of ΙΗΣΟΥΣ. *And becauſe he was to have grace by the*

[a] Theſe are obſerved by Menardus in loc.

croſs,

croſs, the ſign of which is the Greek letter T, which is the Greek numeral letter for three hundred; he therefore added *three hundred.* So that Jeſus is denoted by two letters (I and H, which ſignify eighteen), and his croſs by one (T, which ſignifies three hundred). Glorious arguing indeed! Is it poſſible for any thing to be more ſilly in all the cabaliſtick books of the Jews? I cannot but break off, and appeal to our Archbiſhop and Mr. Whiſton, whether this is to be received with little leſs veneration than the ſacred writings? Whether this be the pure uncorrupt doctrine of our bleſſed Saviour? Whether this was wrote by the extraordinary aſſiſtance of the holy Spirit, and is an authoritative declaration of the Goſpel of Chriſt, worthy of all acceptation, and ought to have a more than human approbation? In a word, whether an Epiſtle containing ſuch trumpery is to be reckoned among the ſacred books of the New Teſtament? But to return: it is not the ſillineſs of the allegory, but the falſeneſs of it, which I have now to do with; and I am not afraid to aſſert, that it is founded upon groſs and plain miſtakes, and ſo is entirely falſe.

There are, among others, three miſtakes which are viſibly ſuch, viz.

1.) That Abraham circumciſed three hundred and eighteen.

2.) That Abraham underſtood Greek, at leaſt knew the Greek letters.

2.) That he knew the form of the croſs.

1.) This allegory is founded upon a miſtaken notion, that *Abraham did circumciſe juſt three hundred and eighteen perſons.* The words of the Epiſtle are, Λέγει γὰρ καὶ περιέτεμεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ, καὶ τριακοσίους; i. e. the Scripture ſaith, *And Abraham circumciſed three hundred and eighteen males of his houſe.* But in the whole Scriptures we ſhall find no ſuch aſſertion. The place where the hiſtory of Abraham's circumciſing his family is related, is Gen. xvii. 23, &c. and all

all there ſaid is, that *he himſelf was circumciſed, his ſon Iſhmael, and every male of his houſe, both thoſe who were born there, and thoſe who were bought with money.* But it is eaſy to ſee, what led the author of the Epiſtle to fix upon the number three hundred and eighteen, viz. that which is ſaid Gen. xiv. 14. *And when Abraham heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained ſervants born in his own houſe,* three hundred and eighteen, *and purſued them unto Dan.* Hence the author of the Epiſtle concluded, that Abraham circumciſed three hundred and eighteen; but the concluſion is upon many accounts unjuſt, and it is probable Abraham circumciſed many more than three hundred and eighteen at that time. To confirm this, obſerve,

1.] That when Abraham went forth againſt the four kings, he armed only חניכיו i. e. as we render it, *his trained ſervants,* עולמוהי Targ. Onkelos, i. e. *fortes,* thoſe who were ſtrong, and *trained up to the buſineſs of war.* There were left at home all the children of his family, and all infirm perſons; but when he circumciſed, he circumciſed all [a].

2.] When he went to war, he took with him only *thoſe born in his own houſe*; but when he circumciſed, he circumciſed *every male, both thoſe born in his houſe, and thoſe bought with money* [b].

3.] Abraham himſelf was not reckoned among the three hundred and eighteen; but he was among the circumciſed.

4.] Iſhmael was not born when Abraham went forth to battle (ſee Gen. xvi.), but *he* is alſo reckoned among the circumciſed.

5.] There were near twenty years between Abraham's going forth to battle with the three hundred and eighteen, and the circumciſion of his family; and it is very probable his family was conſiderably increaſed in that time.

[a] Nam ſi trecentos et octodecem vernas potuit armare, non dubium eſt, quin alii eſſent non pauci, qui nondum apti erant militiæ per ætatem, præter emptitios multos. Rivet. Exercit. 75. in Gen. xiv.

[b] Scimus ingentem fuiſſe illi turbam domi, et quæ fere populum unum æquaret. Calvin. in Gen. xvii. 23.

All this makes it evident, that it was a miſtake in the author of the Epiſtle, to ſuppoſe that Abraham circumciſed the exact number of three hundred and eighteen; and conſequently the whole foundation of the allegory is groundleſs and falſe.

2.) The author of the Epiſtle, in his allegory, ſuppoſes that Abraham *underſtood Greek*, at leaſt *that he knew the Greek letters*. This is evident from thoſe words, Τίς ἐν ᾗ δεδόθισα αὐτῷ γνῶσις; which is tranſlated by the Archbiſhop thus, *But what therefore was the myſtery which was made known to him?* Which clearly implies, that Abraham had all the myſtery, which he ſuppoſes hidden under the three letters, I, H, T, made known and diſcovered to him; but this he could not poſſibly have, unleſs he knew thoſe letters, and knew alſo what the numeral ſignification of each of thoſe letters was. But was ever any thing more groſs, more ſtupid, than to imagine that Abraham underſtood Greek? He muſt then underſtand a language, many hundred years before ſo much as the letters of it were invented. If there be any credit to be given to antiquity, the Greek letters were not known till Cadmus brought them from Phœnicia to Greece: ſee Herodotus [a], Tacitus [b], Euphorus in Clemens Alexandrinus [c], and many others, cited by the great Bochart [d]. Cadmus is ſuppoſed to have lived about the middle time of the Judges, or ſomewhat after, viz. about the year of the world 2660 [e].

3.) The author of the Epiſtle ſuppoſes, that *Abraham knew the puniſhment and form of the croſs*. This is evident from what is above ſaid; but that inſtrument of puniſhing was not known in the world till almoſt two thouſand years after Abraham's time: it was, if I miſtake not, originally a Roman puniſhment, and not known to the Jews till after their ſubjection to that empire; inſomuch that they had not in their language any word to denote it.

From all theſe things laid together, we have very ſufficient evidence, not only of the weakneſs, but the miſtakes and falſe-

[a] Lib. 5. c. 58.
[b] Annal. lib. 11. c. 14.
[c] Stromat. lib. 1. p. 306.
[d] Canaan. lib. 1. c. 20.
[e] Vid. Helvic.

hood

hood of this author, in his allegory concerning Chriſt and his croſs, from the three hundred and eighteen men whom Abraham circumciſed.

6. Ch. X. we have his wretched expoſition of the laws of Moſes, concerning animals which were not to be eaten, and as he moſt aukwardly explains them, by telling us they *relate to ſuch and ſuch duties of morality*; ſo to make room for his myſtical interpretations, he premiſes, Ἆρα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐντολὴ Θεῷ τὸ μὴ τρώγειν. Μωσῆς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι ἐλάλησεν: i. e. *It was not the meaning of God's precepts, that they ſhould abſtain from eating ſuch and ſuch animals*; or, they were not obliged to regard the letter of the Law, as to abſtinence from unclean animals, *for Moſes had a ſpiritual meaning*; and a little after blames the Jews, that they underſtood Moſes, when he forbad their eating theſe animals, as though he had been ſpeaking about meats. But, as Menardus ſays, no doubt they had ſinned if they had eaten any of theſe beaſts, and they were literally obliged to obſerve theſe laws[a]. And this now makes the whole chapter to be one continual falſehood; for whereas he ſays, *Thou ſhalt not eat ſwine*, the Lawgiver meant, *thou ſhalt not live in pleaſure, and forget God*; *nor the hawk, eagle, kite, nor crow*, he meant, *thou ſhalt not be ravenous*; *nor the hare*, i. e. *thou ſhalt not be adulterous*; and ſo in like manner of the reſt; whereas, I ſay, he ſays theſe myſtical interpretations were the primary intentions of Moſes's laws, when it is certain he had not the leaſt regard to them. It is evident the whole chapter is one continued falſehood, and eſpecially in the concluſion, where he ſays, *We have a right underſtanding of theſe commandments, and ſpeak as the Lord will have us.*

7. Ch. XII. he ſays that God prefigured the croſs by another prophet, ſaying, *And when ſhall theſe things be accompliſhed?* The Lord anſwered, *When the tree ſhall be fallen down and riſe up again, and when blood ſhall drop down from the tree.* But this alſo is falſe, inaſmuch as neither God nor his prophets have ſaid any ſuch thing, but it was either taken

[a] In loc. He endeavours nevertheleſs to give the words this turn, that God principally commanded them to obſerve the ſpiritual meaning of the laws.

out of ſome Jewiſh Apocryphal book now loſt, as Cotelerius [a], Dr. Bernard [b], and Biſhop Pearſon [c] ſuppoſe; or out of the books of the Sibyls, which is the ingenious, and not improbable conjecture of Biſhop Fell [d]; unleſs we will rather chooſe to ſuppoſe it a pious fraudulent fiction of his own brain: either of theſe will ſufficiently prove the author guilty of falſehood and miſtake in this place.

8. Of the ſame ſort is that in the ſame chapter, where the author ſays, *The Holy Spirit put it into the heart of Moſes to make the ſign of the croſs, and of him that was to ſuffer—That Moſes accordingly piled up armour upon armour on a riſing ground, &c.* He refers to the hiſtory Exod. xvii. but the Scripture ſays no more than that Moſes ידו הירים, i. e. *lift up his hand*, without any mention of the croſſing them, or the piling of the armour. *The text*, ſays Biſhop Pearſon [e], *aſſures us of no more, than that Moſes held up his hand, which might be without any ſimilitude of a croſs; and when both were lifted up by Aaron and Hur, the repreſentation is not certain.* The matter of fact ſeems plainly to have been thus: Moſes for a time held up the rod of God, firſt in one hand, and then in the other; till, both being weary, Aaron and Hur made him ſit down, and ſtayed his hands; not that both hands, ſays Mr. Pool [f], were erected and joined together, which was not a fit poſture for one holding a rod in his hand, but that Moſes ſhifted the rod out of one hand into the other, when the former was weary; and that Aaron and Hur did each of them with both hands hold up that hand which was next to them ſucceſſively, that they alſo might relieve one the other.

9. Of the ſame ſort with the former is that towards the end of this twelfth chapter, where he ſays, *What ſaith Moſes to Jeſus the ſon of Nane (Nun), when he gave him, being a prophet, that name only for this purpoſe, that all the people might perceive that the father had manifeſted all things concerning his Son Jeſus to the ſon of Nun. So then Moſes giving him that*

[a] Not. in loc.
[b] Not. in loc.
[c] On the Creed, Art. IV. pag. 201.
[d] Annot. in loc.
[e] Loc. jam. cit.
[f] Annot. in Geneſ. xvii. 12. Vid. etiam Rivet. in loc.

name,

name, when he ſent him to ſpy out the land, ſaid[a], Take a book into thy hands, and write what the Lord ſaith, viz. that *the ſon of God ſhall cut off by the roots all the houſe of Amalek in the laſt days.* But there is nothing of this to be found in Scripture, viz. of the Son of God's deſtroying Amalek; but the place which our author referred to, undoubtedly was that in the chapter where he had been allegorizing juſt before, viz. Exod. xvii. 14. where God commands Moſes, and not Moſes commands Joſhua (as it is in this ſpurious Epiſtle) *to write the victory for a memorial in a book, and rehearſe it in the ears of Joſhua; for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.*

10. The laſt miſtake I ſhall mention in the author of this Epiſtle, is in the end of the ſame twelfth chapter, where, that he might find out a very expreſs prediction of Chriſt, he refers to Iſaiah xlv. 1. where, by a wilful and deſigned miſtake, he reads Κυρίῳ for Κύρῳ. The text runs thus: *Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus,* לכורש למשיחו, which the LXX. tranſlate Τῷ Χριστῷ μου τῷ Κύρῳ, and ſo it is in all the Greek Verſions. But our author judged it to be to his purpoſe, and ſaw it to be a very eaſy change, and therefore for τῷ Χριστῷ μου Κύρῳ, puts τῷ Χριστῷ μου Κυρίῳ; i. e. inſtead of *The Lord ſaid to my anointed Cyrus*, he ſets down, *The Lord ſaid to my anointed the Lord*, than which nothing can be a more notorious impoſture. Nor is it to be ſaid, that we ſhould in Barnabas read Κύρῳ and not Κυρίῳ; becauſe not only the Latin tranſlation has *Domino* for it, but if it had been ſo, it would not have anſwered his deſign in the citation, viz. to prove that Chriſt was Lord.

Thus I have, in ten inſtances, endeavoured to ſhew the miſtakes and falſehoods of this Epiſtle under the name of Barnabas; it were eaſy ſoon to inſtance in as many more: but as I am weary, and fear the reader ſhould be ſo too, in dealing with ſuch impertinencies, ſo I cannot but think the

[a] Καὶ λέγει is not indeed in the Greek; but as there is *dixit* in the old Latin, and the ſenſe requires ſuch a word, I have followed the Archbiſhop's Verſion, and inſerted the words *and ſaid.*

preceding inſtances will be, to every unprejudiced examiner, a full proof that there are notorious falſehoods, deſigned miſtakes, and groſs blunders in this Epiſtle, and conſequently that it is to be eſteemed Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

CHAP. XLII.

The Epiſtle of Barnabas proved Apocryphal, by Inſtances of the trifling, ſilly Things which it contains.

Arg. VI. THE Epiſtle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal by Prop. IX. as *it contains ſeveral things which are trifling and ſilly.* To collect all the inſtances of this ſort, would be to tranſcribe a great part of the Epiſtle; I ſhall therefore ſelect only a few inſtances out of many.

1. Chap. VI. he cites that place, Exod. xxxiii. 1. *Enter ye into the good land, of which the Lord hath ſworn to Abraham, and Iſaac, and Jacob, that he would give it you, &c. Now,* ſays he, *what the ſpiritual meaning of this is, learn,* viz. *Put your truſt in Jeſus, who ſhall be manifeſted to you in the fleſh; for man is the earth which ſuffers, for man was made out of the ſuperficies of the earth.* He means (Menard. in loc.) that *the land flowing with milk and honey* is *faith in Chriſt,* becauſe Chriſt took his human nature out of land or earth, as he was of the poſterity of Adam; and this earth (i. e. his human nature) ſuffered.

2. Ch. VIII. *The heifer* (Num. xix.) he ſays, *is Chriſt; the men that brought it to be ſacrificed, were the Jews that crucified Chriſt; the young men that ſprinkled the aſhes, are the Apoſtles and preachers of the Goſpel: they were three, becauſe there were but three patriarchs, Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob. The wool being put on a ſtick, denoted the kingdom of Jeſus, which was founded upon the croſs, which was wood.*

3. Ch.

3. Ch. IX. Abraham's circumciſing three hundred and eighteen, ſhews, according to him, that he knew of Chriſt and his croſs; for *eighteen* in Greek is denoted by I and H, the two firſt letters of the name Jeſus; and *three hundred* is denoted by the letter T, which is the ſign or form of the croſs. *With leſs probability* (ſays Biſhop Pearſon[a]) *did they gather both the name of Jeſus, and the croſs of Chriſt, from the three hundred and eighteen ſervants of Abraham, as if* I H *ſtood for Jeſus, and* T *for the croſs.—Such things may be applied, but prove not.* The learned Rivet, who had not ſeen this trifling ſtuff in Barnabas, obſerved and ridicules it in Clemens Alexandrinus, and adds; *This ſpeculation has nothing ſolid in it, and is like moſt others of that ſort, which do more damage to the intereſt of Chriſtianity among infidels, than thoſe good men were aware of, who gave themſelves the liberty to make* quidlibet ex quolibet, *every text ſpeak all that they could fancy*[b]. The ſame writer, a little after, tells us a piece of cabaliſm, or allegory of the Jews, upon the number of Abraham's ſervants, viz. three hundred and eighteen; which I mention, becauſe it is not much unlike, though I think it does not reach this of the pretended Barnabas. The name of Eliezer, Abraham's ſteward, according to the value of the Hebrew letters which compoſe it, makes three hundred and eighteen, thus:

	א	1
	ל	30
אליעזר	י	10
Eliezer.	ע	70
	ז	7
	ר	200
		318

Now, ſay the Jews, the numeral letters of אליעזר *Eliezer* mak-

[a] On the Creed, Art. IV. pag. 199.

[b] In numero CCCXVIII. luſit Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 6. c. 4. Quia enim litera T CCC notat apud Græcos, quæ figuram crucis refert, et I H ſunt initiales literæ nominis Jeſu; inde elicit Abrahæ domeſticos eſſe, qui ad ſignum ſimul et nomen Dei profugerunt, qui infideles ſuperant et alios de captivitate eruunt. Quæ ſpeculatio nihil ſolidi habet, ut pleraeque aliæ ejuſdem generis; quæ plus officiunt cauſæ Chriſtianæ apud infideles, quam potuerint videre boni illi viri, qui ſibi indulſerunt quidlibet ex quolibet efficiendi. Exercitat. LXXV. in Gen. xiv.

ing juſt 318, the number of ſervants which Abraham armed, we learn hence, that Abraham did the buſineſs, and got the victory with Eliezer alone, who was equal to all of them, and that he left the reſt at home, becauſe either their ſins or fears made them unfit to go.

I cannot but add here, what Archbiſhop Laud ſaith on this head, viz. *Numeralis illa theologia, ſive ſcientia trium literarum* I, H, T, *(ut loquitur) mihi non placet. Nam etſi neſcius non ſum ſcriptores ſatis antiquos et conſultos, Tertullianum, Clementem Alexandrinum, Irenæum, et alios, in ea ludere aliquando, tamen non ſapit ſpiritum Apoſtolicum:* i. e. He is proving that this Epiſtle was not written by Barnabas, and gives this as a reaſon, viz. "his numeral divinity, or knowledge of the three "letters (as he calls it) I, H, T, is what I cannot approve; "for though I know that ſome antient and good writers (Ter- "tullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, and others) have "trifled in like manner ſometimes, yet it does not look like "an Apoſtolick ſpirit." Epiſt. ad Menard. præfix. Epiſt. Barnab. edit. Cleric.

4. Ch. X. Nothing can be more trifling than his aſſertions in this chapter, that Moſes did not deſign to forbid the Iſraelites eating ſuch and ſuch animals, but had a ſpiritual meaning in each precept; which this author imagines he at length has found out, though every one of his explications are beyond Moſes's intention. I ſhall inſtance only in two or three. *Thou ſhalt not eat the hare*, that ſignifies *thou ſhalt not be a lover of boys (or ſodomite); for the hare every year multiplies the places of its conception, and as many years as it lives, ſo many it has. Thou ſhalt not eat the hyæna*, that ſignifies *thou ſhalt not be an adulterer, nor like ſuch; for that creature every year changes its kind, and is ſometimes male, ſometimes female.* He forbad the weaſel, (Lev. xi. 29.) ſignifying thereby, that *they ſhould not be like thoſe who commit wickedneſs with their mouths by reaſon of their uncleanneſs, nor join themſelves to thoſe impure women who commit wickedneſs with their mouths; for that animal conceives by its mouth.* Thus happy is our author in his explications of the laws of Moſes, which the Iſraelites, he ſays, did not underſtand, becauſe they took them in a literal ſenſe;

ſenſe; yet is he ſo kind as to compliment David with ſome knowledge this way; for, he adds, though they underſtood Moſes as only ſpeaking of meats, *yet*, he ſays, *David took the commands in relation to the three ſorts of animals* (viz. fiſhes, beaſts and birds) *rightly*; *for he ſays*, (Pſal. i.) *Bleſſed is the man who hath not walked in the counſel of the ungodly*, (*i. e. as the fiſhes which are unclean, who go down in darkneſs to the deep*;) *nor hath ſtood in the way of ſinners*, (*i. e. as perſons who ſeem to fear the Lord, but ſin as the ſow does*:) *and hath not ſat in the ſeat of ſcorners*, (*i. e. as thoſe who ſit and watch that they may devour.*) Admirable reaſoning indeed! Is this likely to proceed from one *full of faith and the Holy Ghoſt*, as Barnabas is ſaid to be, Acts xi. 24?

5. Ch. XV. he proves the world ſhall laſt juſt ſix thouſand years, and no more, becauſe *God made the world in ſix days, and reſted the ſeventh.*

The preceding inſtances are enough to prove the Epiſtle of Barnabas, to contain the moſt trifling and ſilly things. And can it be imagined, God would ever put his creatures under a neceſſity of believing things ſo contrary to their beſt improved and informed judgments? Or can ſuch an author be fit to be a guide to us in matters of everlaſting conſequence? God forbid!

CHAP. XLIII.

An Examination of what is ſaid by Biſhop Fell and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in Vindication of the Allegories of this Epiſtle: the Jews' Uſe of ſuch, no Apology for this Author: our Saviour and his Apoſtles never uſed any ſuch Allegories.

I AM not inſenſible that Biſhop Fell [a] and the preſent Archbiſhop of Canterbury [b] have endeavoured to evade the force of this argument, by telling us, "it was the cuſtom of "the Jews at that time, the practice of the Apoſtles (Biſhop "Fell adds, and of our Saviour too), and of the primitive "Chriſtians in the ages next ſucceeding Barnabas, to interpret the Scripture after the ſame manner; and the laſt-named writer adds, that if any of Barnabas's ſeem to be far-fetched, either the very ſame, or the traces and footſteps of "them, are to be found in St. Paul's Epiſtles." To which I anſwer.

1. That ſuppoſing all this to be true, the credit and authority of this Epiſtle muſt nevertheleſs ſink, becauſe his allegories and interpretations are *groundleſs, falſe, and proceed from and upon miſtakes.*

2. That *the cuſtom of the Jews can be no apology for Barnabas.* Their allegories, it is true, were as ſilly and trifling as his; but will it at all juſtify a perſon in a fault, that others were guilty as well as he? The merits of the cauſe are to be enquired into, and if it appear that the pretended Barnabas hath often trifled with and miſtaken the Scripture (as I have above ſhewn), it will be nothing at all in his favour to ſay, the Jews were wont to do ſo too. The Jews dealt much in cabaliſm; Barnabas did ſo too: is Barnabas therefore at all the better for that? The Jews prove by their *Geometria* (a ſpecies of theoretick cabaliſm), that Eliezer, the numeral letters of whoſe name make three hundred and eighteen, was

[a] Præfat. in Barnab.
[b] Diſſertation concerning the Epiſtle of Barnabas, chap. 7. §. 27.

taken

taken by Abraham to war, and that he beat his enemies with him alone; which is directly contrary to the Scripture, which ſays, *he took the three hundred and eighteen ſervants with him.* Barnabas by a like cabaliſm finds, that Abraham knew of Chriſt and his croſs by the number three hundred and eighteen, whom he circumciſed; which is alſo, as I have proved, abſolutely falſe. Is now the Jewiſh cabaliſm any apology for Barnabas's miſtake? The ſame way it were eaſy to argue in the other inſtances.

3. It is ſaid by Biſhop Fell, that *our Saviour himſelf uſed this way of reaſoning and interpreting Scripture.* But that Biſhop would have done well to tell us where. Sure no man who has read the Goſpels ever imagined there were ſuch things in them, as I have above produced out of Barnabas; if there be, I deſire the next patron of this Epiſtle to produce them for the good of mankind, who are in general ignorant of them. Our Saviour has indeed uſed parables; but every one muſt ſee how different theſe are from the forced, far-fetched interpretations of this author. But on the contrary, our Saviour was ſo far from any thing of this ſort, that, if I miſtake not, he has often inveighed againſt it. In how many places does he ſpeak againſt their traditions, which were for the moſt part founded upon ſuch myſtical, miſtaken applications and interpretations of Scripture! He tells them, that *in vain they worſhipped him, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*; i. e. משנות the explications which the Phariſees, and that body of the Jews who reckoned the traditions as good as Scripture, gave of it [a], and of which the Cabala was a conſiderable part.

4. It is farther urged, that *the Apoſtle Paul, in his Canonical Epiſtles, affords many inſtances of this which is ſo much found fault with in Barnabas. Any one may find,* ſays Biſhop Fell [b]; *and I might eaſily make appear from a multitude of paſſages out of them, were it needful for me to enlarge myſelf on a point, which every one, who has read the Scriptures with any care, cannot chooſe but have obſerved,* ſaith the Archbiſhop [c]. I wiſh either

[a] See Matth. xv. and xxiii. and Mar. vii. and Dr. Lightfoot's Hor. Hebr. in Matt. xv. 2.

[b] Loc. jam. cit.

[c] In the place laſt cited.

the

the Biſhop or his Grace had made this appear by particular proof; as they have not, I ſhall think it ſufficient to ſay, till the contrary is proved, that I could never diſcern in Paul's Epiſtles any thing like what is in Barnabas. There are, it is true, two or three allegories; but then they are natural, juſt, and have all the perfections of an allegory in them; whereas thoſe in Barnabas are unnatural, harſh, ſtrained, and, what is worſt of all, have the misfortune to be falſe, and built upon falſe foundations.

5. Whereas it is urged, that *the Chriſtian writers of the ages ſucceeding Barnabas (Origen for inſtance, and Clemens Alexandrinus) have made uſe of the very ſame method of interpreting Scripture*; I anſwer, that it is indeed too true; they have done ſo, and done it to the great ſcandal of the Chriſtian religion: their enemies derided and bantered them for it, as they juſtly might; and, as Rivet well obſerves in the place above cited, *they hurt the cauſe of Chriſtianity by this means more than they were aware of.* Hence came the clamour in all ages, of *pious frauds* and *religious cheats.* What could weaken the Chriſtian religion more, than pretending to ſupport it by ſuch idle reaſonings as are in this Epiſtle under the name of Barnabas? What could do Chriſtianity more injury, than to pretend to prove the truth of it by ſuch predictions as this book contains, eſpecially when as to many of them they were no where to be found, but were mere pious forgeries to ſerve a purpoſe? Such as theſe in the writings of the Fathers, leſſened the opinion which the men of ſenſe among the Pagans had of our holy religion; as well as they certainly leſſen the opinion now of theſe Fathers, in the minds of many of ſolid learning and good judgment. The forgery of the Sibylline oracles in favour of Chriſtianity, is a thing owned now almoſt by every one; ſee Caſaubon [a], Daillé [b], Dr. Cave [c], Spanheim [d], and others cited to this purpoſe in the former volume [e]. And who now can vindicate thoſe primitive Chriſtians,

[a] Adv. Baron. Annal. Exercit. I. Num. 18.

[b] Right Uſe of the Fathers, c. 3. p. 18, 19.

[c] Hiſt. Liter. in Sibyll. p. 34.

[d] Hiſt. Chriſt. Secul. II. §. 11.

[e] Part II. Ch. XXXIV.

who

who either forged them, or made uſe of them to delude their adverſaries? *Laudo propoſitum, conſilium vehementer improbo, et toto pectore deteſtor*, ſays the great Caſaubon [a]; *I approve their deſign, the method of effecting I diſlike and abhor with all my ſoul.* This learned writer thought it no virtue in the primitive Fathers, to make uſe of ſuch methods as Barnabas to maintain Chriſtianity. And it is well known that Celſus ſet Origen very hard to it for an anſwer, when he urges that *the Chriſtians had corrupted the books of the Sibyls, by inſerting many things in favour of Chriſtianity into them* [b]. See more to this purpoſe, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XXXIV. p. 361. But after all, what apology can it be for Barnabas, that the Fathers followed him in his errors, and by his example were led into an unreaſonable way of expounding Scripture? This, if the Epiſtle had been really written by Barnabas, would have been ſo far from extenuating, that it would have aggravated his crime. I conclude therefore, notwithſtanding all theſe apologies, that this Epiſtle is both ſpurious and Apocryphal.

Arg. VII. The Epiſtle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal, becauſe *it is not in the Syriack Verſion*, Prop. XV.

Upon the whole then I have endeavoured to prove, that the Epiſtle under the name of Barnabas was not written by him, but by ſome perſon who was originally a Pagan, who confeſſes himſelf formerly to have been an unbeliever in the true God, and a worſhipper of idol-Gods, who making continually a diſtinction between Jew and Gentile, conſtantly ranks himſelf among the latter, and who has none of the Hebraiſms of the Helleniſtick language; that the Epiſtle was wrote after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and conſequently after the true Barnabas was dead; that it is Apocryphal, becauſe it is not to be found in any of the ancient catalogues of the ſacred books of the New Teſtament, not cited as Scripture in any of the writings of the primitive Fathers, but excluded from the Ca-

[a] Loc. jam cit. [b] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 7. p. 368, 369.

non

non by Origen and Clemens Alexandrinus, the only two Fathers who have made uſe of it: it was never read in any of the Chriſtian Churches till the time of Jerome, and then only in ſome few among the Apocryphal Scriptures; it contains ſeveral things which are abſolutely falſe, of which I have produced ten inſtances; it contains a great number of trifling, ſilly, and idle things, and is not in the Syriack Verſion. This I have endeavoured to prove; all which laid together, does (I think) afford us as much evidence as can be expected in things of this ſort, that the high opinions, which many learned men have entertained of this Epiſtle, are groundleſs, and that it is not to be looked upon either as a ſacred book, or any thing like a ſacred book of the New Teſtament.

I have nothing farther to add concerning this Epiſtle, unleſs it be to conjecture, that, becauſe only Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen have cited it, it was forged at Alexandria; and becauſe there are ſo many pious frauds in it, that it was the forgery of ſome ſuch perſon as corrupted the books of the Sibyls, and that it was written about the middle of the ſecond century.

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END OF VOL. II.

ERRATA IN VOL. II.

P. 3. l. 11. for ἐθέμεν read ἐθέμην
7. l. 27. for Θεάθεν, θαῦμα read θεάθεν θαῦμα
9. in note [f] for *Secul.* read *Secul.* 1.
140. l. 27. for *n* read *in*
168. l. 26. after *salutem* add *mundi*
194. l. 23. for *divulgaberis* read *divulgaveris*
211. l. 2. for *Domoni* read *Domino*
253. l. 21. for Ὑπαπάντης read Ὑπαπαντῆς
258. l. 33. for *revived* read *received*
282. l. 29. for *Judiæ* read *Judæi*
305. l. 14. for *hat* read *that*
390. l. 13. for *περιφονεῖ* read *περιφρονεῖ*
——l. 19. for *vere* read *vero*
——l. 28. after *thalamo* place a comma, and erase it after *amorem*
420. l. 22. for *Hypotoposes* read *Hypotyposes*

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